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A

JOURNEY

THROUGH

ALBANIA,

AND

OTHER PROVINCES

OF

TURKEY IN EUROPE AND ASIA,

TO

CONSTANTINOPLE,

DURING THE YEARS 1809 AND 1810.

BY

J. C. HOBHOUSE.

THIRD EDITION.

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LETTER XXXII.

Religion of the Greeks—Ceremonies and Customs of their Superstition—Festivals—Funerals—A Mahometan Funeral—Greek Cemeteries—Priests—Monks of the Order of St. Basil—Their Monasteries—The Seculars—Instances of the Superstition of the Greeks—Notion entertained of the English by Greeks and Turks—The Patriarchate of Constantinople—The Arts—Medicine—Physicians—Exorcisms—The Plague—Use of the Hot Bath.

IN my former Letter I have introduced some particulars of the Greek character, and shall devote the following sheets to the same subject.

The traveller, especially one who has left behind him the enlightened freedom of the English capital, and the decent ceremonies of the protestant church, when he beholds the religious system of the Greeks, must be prompted to suppose himself carried back into the darkest ages of ignorance and superstition There is something sacred in every observance attached to any Christian worship, which ought to save it from contempt and ridicule, yet the rights of the Greek church have in them such an air of absurdity, and are performed with what we should consider such a want of solemnity, that it is not easy to refrain from smiling

during the celebration of the mass. The chief part of the service seems to consist of frequent crossing, performed with the thumb laid on the two fore-fingers, and ten thousand repetitions of "Lord have mercy upon me," sung through the nose, and, apparently kept up as long as the breath of the chanter will last. It is some time before you can make out the words they are repeating, which, though you may have supposed them a continued psalm, or lesson, are only "Lord have mercy upon me; Lord have mercy upon me; Lord Jesus Christ have mercy upon me, a sinner"—*Κύριε ἐλεήσον, Κύριε ἐλεήσον, Κύριε Ιησοῦ Χριστὲ ἐλεήσον με τὸν ἁμαρτολὸν.*

There is, at the same time, a degree of primitive simplicity in most of the churches, which recalls to our recollection the earliest ages of Christianity. They are generally very small, the floor of mud, the altar of stone, the sanctuary separated from the nave by deal boards, and an enclosure of pales at the other end, for the women. It is but seldom that there are any seats, but in one corner of the building there is an assortment of crutches, on one of which each of the more aged worshippers supports himself, leaning on his arms and chin, in the posture of one of the figures in the cartoon of Paul preaching before Felix.

In the great towns, and in some of the monasteries, the churches are better fitted up, though in the most paltry style, covered with gilt daubings, and ornamented with pictures of Saints, whose only value arises from their supposed miraculous powers.

It would be difficult to meet amongst the laity with a single person at all sceptical on the article of religion; they all seem most attached to the ceremonies, and strictly to observe the ordinances of their church, which are very strict and severe. There are only one hundred and thirty-nine days in the year free from

all fasts. The Easter Lent continues for two months, the Christmas forty days, and there are two others, the Lent of St. Peter and St. Paul, and that of the Virgin; besides which, Wednesdays and Fridays are fasts throughout the year. The caloyers have three other lents, which last in the whole forty-eight days more.

The clergy enjoy a most unbounded influence over their flock, and it is painful to see the sacrifices which the meagre, half-starved peasants make to their priests. Besides many gifts, there are certain days when all the attendants, men and women, of the poorest class, bring loaves, and plates of sweetmeats, called a *colyva*, and wax tapers, and lay them, during the service, at the foot of the altar, whence they are conveyed into the sanctuary, and serve as the evening's feast for the priests. The colyva is a quantity of boiled wheat, covered with currants, and garnished with pomegranate-seeds, sugar, comfits, sesamum, and sweet basil. The Greek girls carry presents of these colyvas, and other sweetmeats, on twelfth-day, which they name πολυχερίον, to their friends; and in some other respects, the amusements and religion of this people seem as much connected as in ancient times. They dance in honour of some of their Saints, and on the feast of the Epiphany, bands of fiddlers and other musicians patrole the streets from morning to night.

This feast, by accident, whilst we were at Athens, fell on the same day as the second Bairam of the Turks, the 17th of January, and the Mahometans were firing cannon, and discharging sky-rockets, from the Acropolis, with the sound of drums and pipes, at the same time that the Christians were manifesting their joy at the commemoration of another event, in every street of the city below.

This oppressed people would find life too long and burthensome,

were it not for their religious festivals, and accordingly they have retained much of the joyful part of the ceremony attached even to the funeral rites of their ancestors. On the death of any person of dignity, the body is dressed in a rich garment, and laid upon a litter, strewed with flowers, and covered with a rich canopy, and the corpse, with the face displayed, is left a short time in the vestibule of the house, surrounded by the family of the deceased. At the stated time, the procession sets forward. The servants of the household move two and two before the bier, which is borne on poles at a little height from the ground. The male relations and the priests immediately precede the body. On each side of the bier, are two or three old women, lamenting aloud, detailing the dignities and virtues of the deceased, and interrogating him, as to his reasons for quitting the world—"Why did you die? You had money, you had friends, you had a fair wife, and many children,—why did you die?" These mourners are hired, and the common pay of each is five loaves, four jars of wine, half a cheese, a quarter of mutton, and about fifteen-pence in money. Their howling is extremely ludicrous, and has not even the semblance of grief. Behind the body, is a long train of the female relations and friends, muffled up in mourning habits. If the dead be a young woman, several girls in white precede and follow the bier, and at intervals scatter real or artificial flowers on the body.

At Constantinople, or rather at Pera, the distance to the burying-ground is considerable, and gives time for large bodies of followers to collect, and accompany the procession to the tomb. Arrived at the place of interment, the bier is set down, a short service read, and the body deposited with its dress, and rolled in

a winding-sheet, in the grave, the mourners continuing to howl most piteously during this last ceremony. Some of the garlands that adorned the bier are thrown into the grave, whilst the remainder are carried home by the mourners and friends.

Afterwards, and generally on the ninth day after the funeral, a feast is prepared by the nearest relation, accompanied with music and dancing, and every other species of merriment. But the priests are the gainers by these festive demonstrations of grief. They are supplied always on the ninth day, and frequently also during the mourning, with large colyvas, which present is repeated also for three or four anniversaries of the burial.

You may have before seen it observed, that there is a remarkable conformity between some customs of the Irish and of the Greeks. The funerals of the two nations bear the strongest similarity to each other, though the lower classes alone of the former people preserve that part of the ceremony which, amongst the latter nation, is peculiarly attached to the wealthy and important, for according to a modern Greek saying, "a rich man is wept by hired mourners, a poor man by his friends." But a more singular resemblance is that which is to be remarked between a Mahometan and Irish opinion relative to the same ceremony. When a dead Mussulman is carried on his plank towards the cemetery, the devout Turk runs from his house as the procession passes his door, and, for a short distance, relieves one of the bearers of the body, and then gives up his place to another, who hastens to perform the same charitable and holy office. It is a belief enjoined by Mahomet himself, that to carry a body forty paces, gives expiation of sin.

Every one who has been in Ireland, must have seen the pea-

sants leave their cottages, or their work, to give a temporary assistance to those employed in bearing the dead to the grave, an exertion by which they approach so many steps nearer to Paradise*.

The cemeteries of the Greeks are not in their churches, nor in the precincts of any city, but at a little distance from the town, in a space not enclosed by a wall, near the high-road. The tomb-stones are some raised, some flat, and they are generally in a thin grove of cypress or yew trees. On certain days they are frequented by the relations of those who are lately dead, when, after a few tears, and the depositing of a garland and a small lock of hair on the grave, the parties assume their accustomed liveliness, and spend the remainder of the visit in dancing and singing.

The Clergy are divided into two classes, the Caloyers, or Monks of the order of St. Basil, from whom all the prelates are chosen, and the Papades, or secular priests, who may marry, if they choose a virgin, and engage before ordination. Caloyers never say mass; if they take the priesthood, they become what is called "Holy Monks," and only officiate on high festivals. Admission to the brotherhood is gained by applying to one of these Holy Monks, and paying sixty or seventy piasters, no probation or examination is requisite, and very young children are allowed to put on the cowl.

* A person who reads Mons. Galand's "Paroles Remarquables des Orientaux," would be surprised perhaps to find, that the famous *bull* recorded of an Irishman, who, looking over a person writing a letter, and seeing that he put—"I would be more particular, but a tall blackguard of an Irishman is behind my chair, and reads every word I say," exclaimed, "You lie, you rascal," is an Oriental story. The same book mentions two or three other good things, which are also to be found in our jest-books, applied to very modern characters. Voltaire has written an essay on the claims of the eastern nations to the best modern stories and plots. Even the Ephesian Matron is a Chinese story.

There are many inducements to belong to this religious fraternity. The priests are all-powerful with their flock, and enjoy some respect even from the Turks. It is better to be a wealthy man at large than a Monk, but who would not rather be a well-fed recluse than a hungry vagrant?

The first solitaries, the voluntary tenants of the burning deserts of Nitria, selected the most barren spots for their retreats; but the monks and hermits of the Greek church, in the present age, have wisely relinquished some of their meritorious mortifications, and, besides other advantages, have seated themselves in all the most beautiful spots to be found in Greece. The only establishment they possess in Italy, is situated as judiciously amongst the woods and gardens of Monte Dracone, near Frescati. The place is called Grotta Ferrata, and stands on the site of the Tusculan villa of Cicero.

> The marble porch, where wisdom wont to talk
> With Socrates or Tully, hears no more,
> Save the hoarse jargon of contentious monks. . . .

In their own country, their monasteries are frequent objects in the valleys, the forests, and on the slopes and summits of almost every hill, and are contrived as well for comfort as security; their farms, tenanted by one of their order, or a lay-brother, are scattered over the whole country.

Notwithstanding the fasts, when their prescribed diet is pulse, roots, and plain water, and their rising to pray an hour and a half after midnight, they seem almost the only sleek and well-fed people amongst the Greeks, and convince one how lavishly

> Dieu prodigue des biens
> A cieux qui font vœu d'être siens.

The purest wine, the clearest honey, olives, dried fruit, wheaten-bread, can always be procured in their habitations, and in theirs alone; nor is it easy to account for the plumpness of their appearance, without supposing them occasionally to transgress the rules of their order. There are, however, some more abstemious anchorets, who live three or four together, and now and then an ascetic, who passes his time in a solitary cell.

The Monks are supported partly by the lands attached to their monastery, and partly by the voluntary contributions of their believing flock. On particular days, they carry about with them little pictures of their saints, and a jar of holy water, with a brush, and entering the Christian houses, give their votaries the one to kiss, and make a mark of the cross on their foreheads with the other, receiving a para or two from each person.

The most sanctified of the Caloyers are those who have received their education in the monasteries of Athos, the Holy Mountain (Ἅγιον Ὄρος), which, by an institution of which there is no parallel in history, swarms with six thousand saints. The theological studies of these recluses are not so severe as their bodily labour; for not only do they cultivate the ground, and attend to the vineyards and orchards, but even build fishing-vessels, and exercise many mechanical trades, some of them undertaking to spin and weave. The monasteries of Patmos are also in great repute, and mendicant brothers from them, as well as from Mount Athos, are to be met with throughout Greece, dispensing their sacred favours, and, amongst other absurdities, even administering by anticipation the extreme unction to the healthy inhabitants of a whole house.

The Papades are not held in such estimation as the Caloyers, and though they are certainly more serviceable, have every appear-

ance of being more wretched than the recluses. A Deacon enters into priest's orders by a kind of public election, for, being produced to the congregation at church, the officiating Papas asks the audience if he is worthy, on which, if the acclamation of all declares him worthy, (and the cry is always ἄξιος ἄξιος), he is considered as duly qualified to commence his holy functions.

There is a chapel for almost every priest, it being considered a kind of spiritual adultery for any man to officiate out of his own place of worship. It is this that has multiplied the number of churches in Greece. In Athens alone there are forty churches, besides a hundred and fifty chapels, and those in all Attica amount to four thousand; but this includes every consecrated cavern with a door to it and a stone altar.

Some writers have represented the monasteries as the abodes of every vice, and, as it appeared to me, with great injustice. As to the accomplishments of those in holy orders, they must have been considerably improved during the last century, if it be true, as Tournefort says, "that," in his time, "'twas great merit in the clergy to read," and "that scarce twelve men in the empire understood ancient Greek." Belon had before said, that only two or three, of all the thousands on Mount Athos, knew their letters*. The only persons of liberal sentiments, with respect to religion, with whom I met in Greece, were a Bishop, and two Hadjis, or Priests who had been to Jerusalem. The more one knows and sees, the less one believes and admires. This Bishop had initiated himself so deeply into the mysteries of his faith, that he began to despise them; and the Hadjis, who had seen the

* See Ray's Collection of curious Voyages and Travels, tom. xv. cap. ii. p. 9.

holy city, declared that it was not worth going to see, nor worth seeing, regretting the thousand piasters they had each spent upon their pilgrimage.

The generality of the priesthood are certainly most ignorant, stupid, and inactive, and, to increase their gains, encourage the rest of the people in superstitions so absurd, that it is difficult to think that they themselves believe them. It is too true, that to them may be, in a great measure, attributed the debasement of the Greeks, or at least the continuation of that people in their present state of mental impotence. According to them, the world is still full of wonders, and the Devil possesses an active and apparent influence over the bodies and souls of men. Thus there are many Ε'νεργουμενοι, or, Possessed, and the exorcising of these unfortunate persons is a frequent and profitable employment for the priests.

The Athenians are, of all the Greeks, the most credulous, or inclined to invent ridiculous stories on this subject. They all, as was said before of the women, believe in the power of magic, and work up their imaginations to such a pitch, as to fancy themselves actually the sufferers by the incantations of some malevolent enemy. If a girl has two suitors, it is by no means uncommon for the unsuccessful lover, when his rival's marriage takes place, to have recourse to charms as a last resource. He ties the locks of his hair with a certain form of words*, and by every knot defers the bridegroom's happiness for a night; the tremendous operation is made known, and the unhappy husband, through credulity and shame, becomes not unfrequently the accomplice in

* "I tie A and B, and the Devil in the middle."

effecting his own misfortune. An Archon at Athens, whom we well knew, suffered this calamity for the first month of his marriage, and was only released from the bonds of the spell by the repeated prayers, images, and holy water of his chaplain.

Several of the houses at Athens are believed to be haunted by a spirit which is called an Arabin: the moans of one of them were frequently heard from the bottom of a well belonging to the house under the Acropolis in which Mr. Lusieri was lodged, and it was not always easy to persuade the servants of the family to draw water from the enchanted spring.

Whether the Turks have been infected by the Greeks with their superstitions, or brought their fables with them into Europe, they have belief in these fairies also, and denominate them "Gins." We saw at Libokavo, a large house belonging to a Turk, entirely deserted, and with a court and garden overrun with weeds, and were told that no one would live there, as it was haunted by the Gins. The operations of these beings are much the same as those of our ghosts; they create strange noises, and displace all the household furniture, but are seldom seen.

Panagia, or the all-holy Virgin, is the favourite of the Greeks; the Minerva of the modern Athenians. There is scarcely a cottage in which her picture, with a lamp burning before it, is not seen in a niche of the wall, or in a wooden case. The making and ornamenting of these images is a gainful trade: and sometimes you meet with one of them very neatly executed. A lavish Englishman offered fifty zequins for a Saint, I think Demetrius, to a painter at Athens, and was refused.

A peasant who lived at Athens, told me a strange story. I was riding in the island of Salamis, and observed a strong young man

running by the side of my attendant's horse, with a little box in his hand in which he had apparently collected charity. Enquiring the nature of his petition, he told me with tears in his eyes, and with the most solemn asseverations of the truth of his story, that, for some offence of which he was not aware, the Virgin, with the infant in her arms, and otherwise so accoutred that she could not be mistaken by him, appeared before him every night, and jumping on his bed, nearly throttled him. He had been to the priest, who could do nothing for him, but observing that the picture of his Panagia appeared rather shabby and worn, suggested that the terrible visitation might not be renewed if the image was adorned with fresh gilding. "I have no money myself," continued the Athenian, "but am going to Ampelaki and Colouri, to beg a few piasters, to pay the painter for his gold." I gave him a trifle, and my attendant, a good-humoured fellow, and a saint-maker by trade at Athens, told the man that he would gild his picture for him at a cheaper rate than he had ever done for any one before.

In the reign of Theodosius the Second, Gamaliel appeared to Lucian, a presbyter of Jerusalem, and told him that he and St. Stephen wished to be released from the obscure grave in which they had been buried in a neighbouring field*.

Since that time, revelations of the same sort have been frequent; and St. Nicholas delivered a similar message to a woman whilst we were at Athens. The holy apparition told the lady, that he was roaming about in a church, which had fallen, and was buried under ground, from which he desired to be delivered, and pointed out the spot where they were to dig, and effect his release. Ac-

* Decline and Fall, vol. iii.

cordingly, the next day, the lady, who was at once regarded as a saint, for having been thought worthy of such a communication, accompanied by a large party, consisting of the most respectable Archons and Priests, walked in procession to the place described, and pitched upon a part of the road west of that going to the Piræus, and leading to the gardens, about half a mile from the town. After digging a short time in two places, they came to some bits of painted tile, which may be found almost any where near Athens, and especially in this quarter, the old site of the Ceramicus without the city. Immediately there was a cry of the Church! the Church! (Eklesia! Eklesia!)—all the crowd began crossing themselves—candles were burnt before the holes—and an opulent Greek, possessed of the land immediately close to the road-side, made a present of it to the Saint, to be dug away, in order to give him a freer egress, and lay open the whole church.

There was a commotion at Athens on account of this discovery, and the road would have been entirely cut up in the course of this religious search, had not the Turks prudently interfered, and prevented all farther excavations. As it was, however, the spot was for many days watched by crowds of pious worshippers, and whilst I was present, a sort of controversy took place as to the respective merits of the two apertures, one of which was at last deserted, and all the tapers were burnt out before the other opening in the ground. An old woman most earnestly appealed to me to inform her which was the real church; when, as gravely as was in my power, I told her that they were under a sad mistake, and that the cavity which they had deserted was, in fact, the true church of St. Nicholas. The intelligence was immediately spread amongst the crowd, that the Frank had decided in favour of the other.

spot; and immediately the tapers were carried off to the deserted place, and all the crossing, bowing, and praying, were directed to the cavity which had been before neglected. The Greeks had listened to my decision; for Franks are thought by them to possess a preternatural, but by no means an enviable, degree of knowledge, communicated to them by the Evil Principle, their master and guide. The children in the streets, when one of them is passing, call out, "Franco di Dio! Franco di Dio!" by which, though I know not how the sentence is supplied, they mean "Godless Frank! Godless Frank!"

The abhorrence of the Franks, which the division of the churches, and the conduct of the Latins, created in the bosoms of the Greeks, is still in some measure preserved by the spirit of bigotry; and the mass of the people do not fancy that there are in the world any true Christians except themselves and the Russians. As for the English, they contend they are not Christians at all. If asked of what religion we are, they say, "We do not know; perhaps of none; some call you Lutherans: it is certain you are not Christians; you do not cross yourselves," (δὲν κάμνετε τὸ σταυρὸ). A respectable person addressed this argument to me. The Turks have nearly the same opinion of us; and, seeing that we show none of the external signs of reverence for Panagia, or other pictures, conclude us to be altogether such infidels as themselves.

A party of us were standing at the back of a Roman Catholic chapel at Pera, whilst the service was going on at the other end. Just as the host was elevated, a Turk looked in at the door, and seeing the congregation paying their reverence to the wafer, threw up his head with a look of infinite pity and con-

tempt, at the same time smiling, and giving a shrug at us, who were standing, as if he said, "What must you and I think of these poor fools?"

The English have no place for public worship at Pera, and may, therefore, be thought never to pray at all; service, however, has been once or twice performed in the Ambassador's palace. But the ministers of Catholic nations sometimes go in procession to mass.

Notwithstanding the disdain entertained by the Turks for the Christian religion, they grant their protection to the Greek clergy, and find it their interest to ratify the ordination of the great dignitaries of the church. Mahomet the Great presented to the first Patriarch chosen in his reign, the same gifts as the Emperors of the Greeks had formerly given; and, to this day, that sovereign Priest is invested in a triumphant manner by a minister of the Porte, who assists him in taking possession of the patriarchal church in that quarter of Constantinople called Balat. His influence with the Porte is very great, and his applications to the Sultan are generally effectual: he can punish with death.

The dignity is now exposed to sale, costing about sixty thousand crowns, and the Patriarch indemnifies himself by selling every lucrative place, the patriarchates of Jerusalem, Antioch, and Alexandria, and all the archbishoprics within his jurisdiction. The Greeks themselves were the beginners of this practice, and the first Patriarch so chosen ejected the incumbent by force; a custom of which there are now frequent examples.

Although the whole of the Patriarch's usual revenue does not amount to more than three thousand pounds, yet he has occa-

sionally, by fines and extortions, the means of increasing his income. The richest Bishops have not more than three hundred pounds a year.—I find by the registry of a parish in Yorkshire, that subscriptions were made in the beginning of Charles the First's reign, for the relief of the Greek church.

The synod of Constantinople, composed of the three Patriarchs and twelve Archbishops*, meets every month for the management of church affairs, the only affairs which still are at the absolute disposal of the Greeks.

The state of the arts in Greece is, as might be expected, most deplorable. It would be difficult to find an architect, a sculptor, or painter, equal to the common workmen in the towns of Christendom. In building the inland towns, they make use of a saw of a simple kind, a hatchet, and a hammer: the gauge and chisel are used on the sea-coasts, and in larger cities. The cells of their churches are constructed by a sort of quadrant †, which they apply

* An Archbishop or Bishop is styled "Your all-Priesthood, your Beatitude —Πανιερότη σᾶ, Μακαριότη σᾶ;"—Priests, "Your Holiness—Αγιότητα σᾶ."

The last edition but one of the Bibliotheca Græca, contains, in vol. vi. p. 748, a list of the Patriarchs since the last conquest of Constantinople. The history of Cyrillus Lucaris, is the history of the Patriarchate. "A. D. 1600, Cyrillus Lucaris Pro-Patriarch of Alexandria; A. D. 1621, Cyrill. Lucaris Patriarch (having been before Pro-Patriarch) for one year; A. D. 1624, Cyrill. Lucaris restored, for eight years; A. D. 1632, the same person a third time re-elected for one year and two months; A. D. 1633, the same a fourth time re-chosen, for one year; A. D. 1637, a fifth time, but after one year, *strangled*."

† Under the head of *modern architecture*, Letter xxxv. vol. iii. Mons. De Guys talks of Santa Sophia, and the aqueducts originally built in the time of the Greek Emperors, near Constantinople. All his detail about the *arts* in modern Greece tells nothing.

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A TURKISH FEMALE SLAVE,

Playing on the Dulcimer.

London Published by James Cawthorn, 24 Cockspur Street 1812.

to no other use. At sculpture they make no attempt, and their paintings are chiefly gilded saints.

The best pictures are to be seen at Scio, from the hands of Greek artists of an age or two ago. There is a composition containing several figures, the only one I ever saw in the country, in a church at Constantinople, which represents the last day. The sheep are on the right hand, and the devils are driving the goats into the flames on the left: the sinners are drest like Jews, Turks, and, what is something odd, Archbishops and Monks. The picture is very large, and is admired as a masterpiece, but is in reality a tawdry daub. The representations of costume contained in this collection, are from drawings made by a Greek at Constantinople, which, as far as a painter can succeed with no other excellence than minute and exact imitation, are well executed.

Physic is practised in the Levant, partly by Greeks who have received some education in Italy, and frequently continue on their return to wear the Frank habit, and partly by Italians. There is one, at least, of these persons in every considerable town in European Turkey, who is paid a thousand, or fifteen hundred piasters per annum, for taking care of the health of the whole of the inhabitants, and makes besides the most of strangers and casualties. They are extremely ignorant, and full of old prejudices, yet they are personages of some importance, as will be collected by this direction of a letter I carried to one of them—"Al Nobile Signor, Signor, Speridion Cazzaïti, Medico." Many of these physicians have received no education at all, but, having failed in trade, put on the hat and Frank habit, and commence practitioners. The Turks, and lower class of people amongst the

Greeks, commonly presume every one so dressed to be a Doctor, and travellers are frequently accosted as such in the streets.

The only exception to the general incapacity of these professors which fell under my observation was at Athens, and, by the way, in the person of the noble physician mentioned above. Signor Cazzaïti has tried some courageous innovations, and has even attempted the introduction of the cow-pox, and with partial success. He told me that he had inoculated about three hundred.

The general practice is, to administer jalap, manna, Glauber salts, in quantities too small to be serviceable, and bark draughts in almost every complaint, swilling the patient at the same time with fat broths and slops. Phlebotomy is also frequently practised, but with topical bleedings they seem unacquainted, although the Turkish and Greek peasants scarify themselves on the hands and feet, as a cure for rheumatic pains. If the disease does not speedily give way, and particularly if there is the least delirium, the patient is concluded to be possessed, the Kalo-iatros is dismissed, and the Papas, the most notorious in the place for casting out devils, is instantly sent for to exorcise the tormenting spirit, and either the recovery is attributed to the priest, or the death of the diseased to the prevailing power of the Evil Principle.

It thus appears, that maladies are considered by this ignorant and superstitious people rather as judgments and visitations, or the immediate operation of the Demon, than as the simple effects of a disordered system. Pestilential fevers, to which the whole of Greece is much subject, and cases of elephantiasis and leprosy, are scarcely attempted to be resisted. The plague, whose presence was announced to the terrified imaginations of the former Greeks by armed spectres dealing death and destruction on every

side*, is now also personified, and the apparition is sometimes seen in the form of a hag, lame and withered.

When in the months of a burning autumn all Nature begins to droop, and every herb and shrub dies beneath the sickly gale, the Greeks retire within their houses, the doors and casements are carefully closed, and the bold youth and heedless maiden are cautioned not to stir abroad, nor even to look into the street. "If in the dead of night a rap is heard at your window, rise not, nor open the casement, it is the decrepid hag that knocks—it is the plague."

I cannot help supposing that the use of the hot-bath, which, together with the loose robe, seems to have always belonged to the people of this country, must be prejudicial to health, from the excessive relaxation, and indeed exhaustion, which it produces. A person not accustomed to the heat of the inner chamber of the bath, is unable to support himself a moment in the warm steam, in which a Greek or Turk will remain, under the hands of the bathers, for half an hour.

The appearance of the bathers, white as wax, and shrivelled to the bone, is most disgusting, and it requires some practice to bear patiently the kneading of your limbs and cracking of your joints, with which they conclude their functions. Yet all the people of the Levant resort frequently to these public baths, and

* Such is the account given by Procopius of the plague at Constantinople, in 747. The same author records, that in the winter of 565, in Italy, its approach was signified by tremendous noises in the heavens, like those of mighty armies marching to the sound of trumpets. This authority is quoted by Dr. Pouqueville, in his Voyage en Morée, p. 404, chap. xxxvii. de la Peste—the masterpiece of the volume.

in crowds, the men at one time of the day, the women at another, and not so much for the purposes of cleanliness as of luxury, for I am sure that they find a sort of sensual gratification in that state of sleepy languor to which, when stretched upon the couches, they are reduced by the operations of the bathers, and the heat of the surrounding vapour. There are good grounds at least to suppose, that the ancients knew they suffered some corporeal enervation by indulging frequently in this enjoyment, for they ranked it with the pleasures of Venus and Bacchus, and looked upon it no less pernicious, if carried to excess, than the joys of love and wine*.

All the women bathe at least once a month, but some much oftener; the men in general once a week. The bath is the coffee-house of the Levant, and, for the females, is the scene of various diversions and ceremonies, as you may have collected from the luxurious, but, as I have heard, not exaggerated descriptions, of my Lady M. W. Montague. After all, this species of gymnastic has in it something rather revolting to our notions of delicacy, and is, perhaps, not free from rational objection. There are many

* Dum vina, *unguenta*, puellas
Carpimus, obrepit non intellecta senectus,

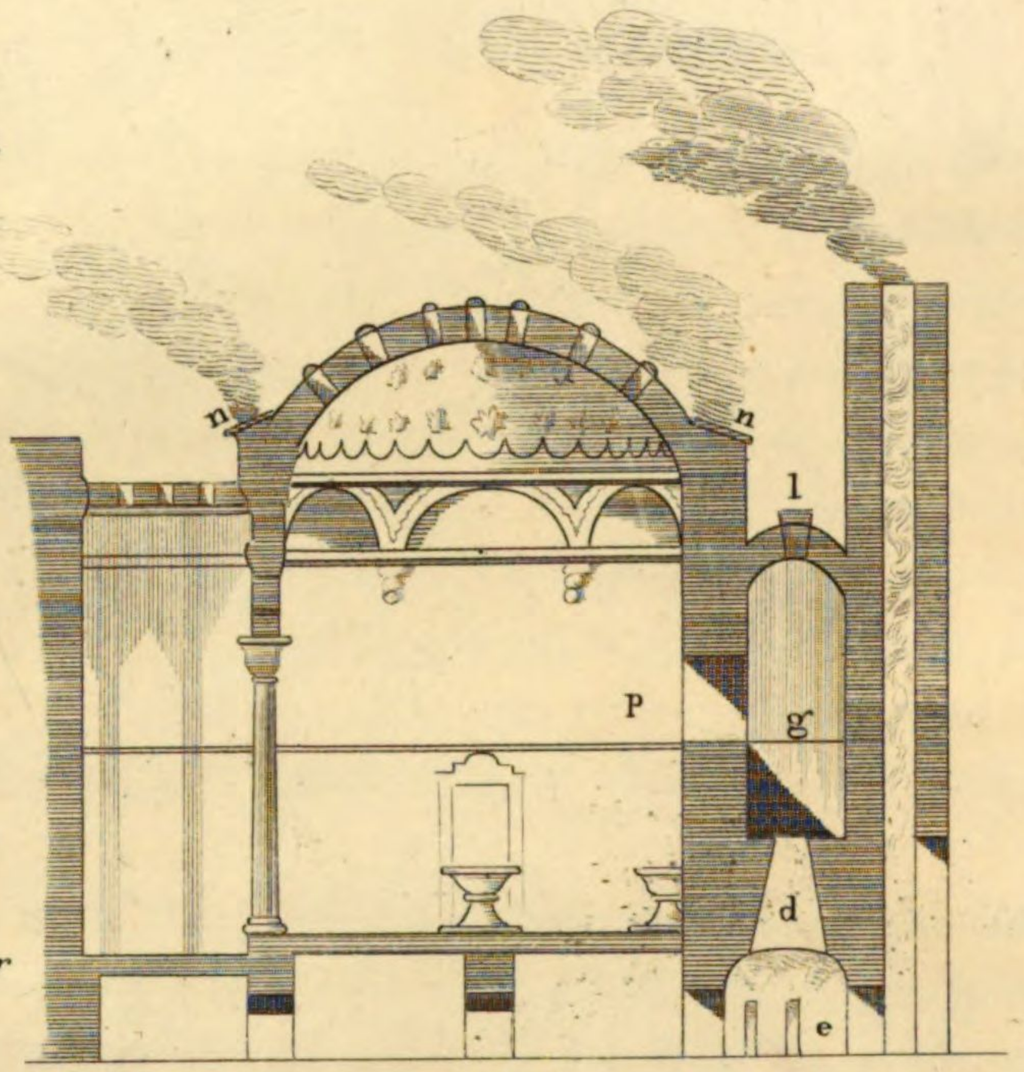
are the words of Juvenal, and I presume the ointments to allude to the bath;—a Greek epigram is more explicit and decisive—

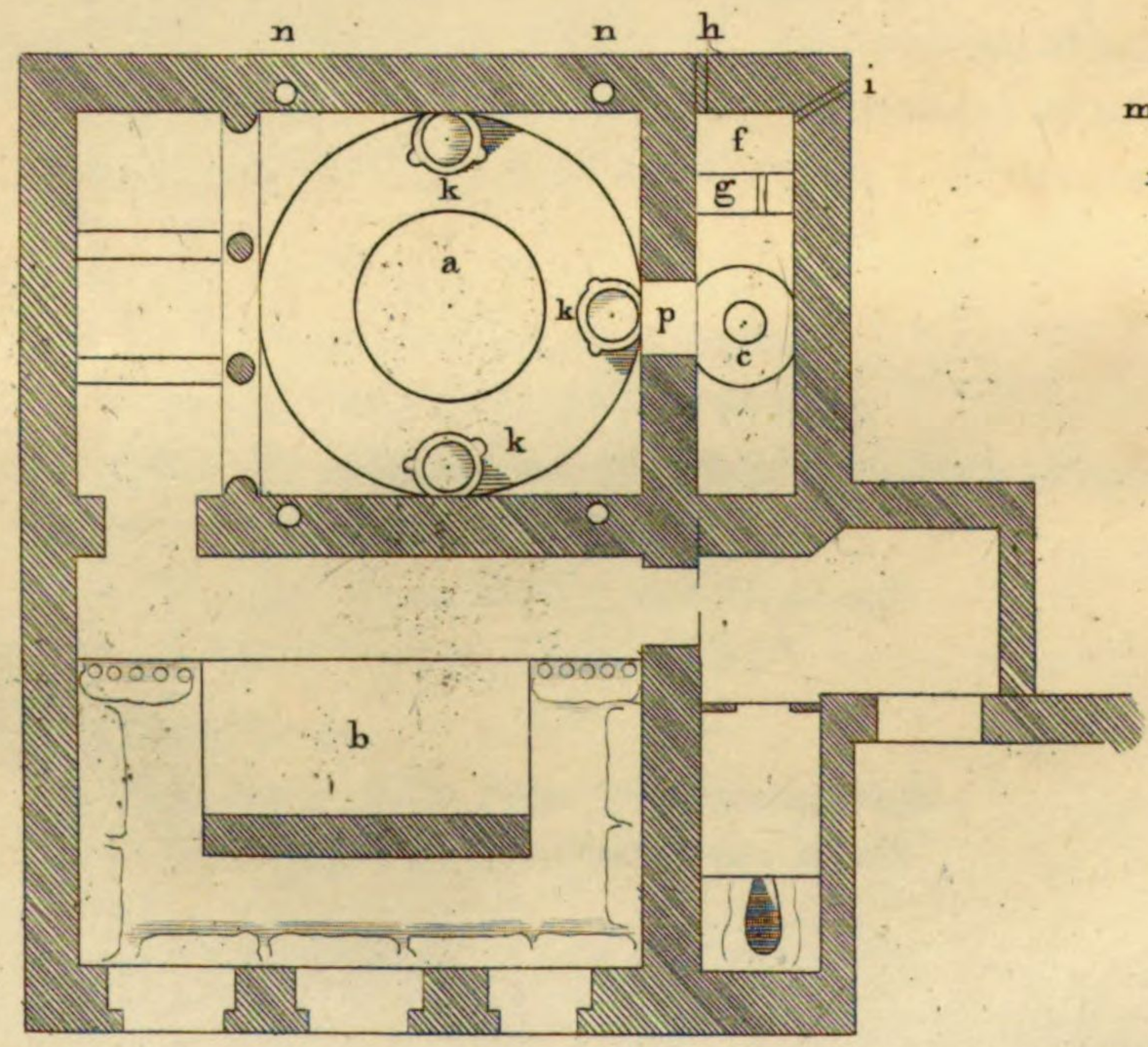
" Οινος καὶ τὰ λόετρα καὶ ἡ περὶ Κύπριν ἐρωὴ
" Οξυτέρην πέμπει τὴν ὁδὸν εἰς Αϊδην ;"

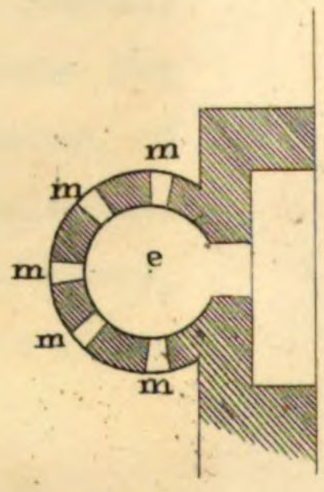
which is as much as to say,

" Drink much, bathe often, love a woman well—
" 'Twill send you just the shortest way to hell."

a.....*the bath .*
b.....*the resting chamber.*
c.....*the reservoir of warm water heated by cauldron* d.
e.....*the furnace.*
f.....*reservoir of cold water which is communicated by funnel* g.
h.....*funnel to let out the water.*
i.....*where the water is let in .*
k.....*fountains of warm & cold water which are supplied by the reservoir.*
l.....*aperture to cool the bath.*
mm....*passages for the heat underneath the bath.*
nn....*funnels through which the smoke & heat escape.*
p.....*window where the warm vapour is admitted into the bath.*







Scale of 8 Feet to an Inch.

London, Published by James Cawthorn, 24, Cockspur Street, 1812.

stories, both ancient and modern, which do not reflect any credit upon the institution. Busbek has the advantage of a learned language, to tell a most singular tale in his second epistle. The manners of the barbarous people of the West and North, seem less exceptionable in most points than those of the Orientals; amongst which the Greeks, and in some measure even the Romans, may be classed, and the modern Franks may reckon themselves to be better, if not wiser men, than the boasted nations of antiquity.

An exact plan of a bath at Athens, which is here annexed, may be useful towards understanding the descriptions of this contrivance contained in so many books on the Levant.

LETTER XXXIII.

The Literature of the Modern Greeks—Their Share in the Revival of Literature in the West—The Romaïc Pronunciation—The Romaïc, or modern Greek—its Date and Origin inquired into—Latter Greek Writers—Present State of Learning in Greece, &c. &c.

THE Greeks may be justly styled a very ingenious people, and though extremely ignorant, have all that quickness of parts which, with a better education, and an amelioration of their unfortunate condition, would enable them to distinguish themselves in the attainment of sciences and arts. The last precious present for which Europe was indebted to their once-famous country, was the care of the silk-worm, and the weaving of the materials produced by that valuable insect. This was in the twelfth century. Since that period, I know of no useful invention which they have transmitted to the nations of the West. The convulsions of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, attending the decay and fall of the Greek Empire, put us in possession of those treasures of antiquity, which have taught us how to think, to write, and to act; but for this advancement in every branch of knowledge, we owe more to the activity of the Italian revivers of learning than to the exiled scholars of Greece.

Notwithstanding the gratitude expressed by their pupils to Chrysoloras, Argyropolus, Chalcondyles, and Lascaris, and the veneration with which they were regarded by those who looked upon them as their guides through a lately-discovered and delightful region; yet these Greeks are, perhaps, to be considered in the light of grammarians, well versed in their native tongue, not as the heirs of the genius of their ancestors. Their poets, orators, and philosophers, had long slumbered in the monasteries of Mount Athos, or the recesses of the Byzantine libraries; and the first by whom they were wakened and brought to light, or who imbibed their divine spirit, and revived a true taste for ancient literature, were the scholars of the Florentine academies, supported by the patronage of the princes and rulers of the Italian states*. Indeed, the recovery of the works of the most valuable authors, is not to be attributed to the Greeks themselves, but to the munificent exertions of the Medicean family, and the labours of those who were employed under their directions, or remunerated by their bounty. The industry of Aurispa and Philelpo appears incomparably more active and useful than that of any native Greek; and the talents and erudition of such men as Ficino, Landino, Bracciolini, Politian, and Sannazaro, eclipse the fame of those who are called the instructors of the Italians.

† Petrarch had read Homer, and Boccace had studied more deeply under Leontius; but it is in vain that Father Gradenigo, in his Letter to Cardinal Querini, printed at Venice in 1742, endeavours to prove, that Greek had been generally cultivated in Italy in the twelfth century. Græcum est, non potest legi! was the exclamation of Accursus, the civilian of Florence, and his scholars of the thirteenth century, when they stumbled on a Greek word in the Latin text. See Tenhove's House of Medicis, cap. 11.

The great obligations of the moderns to the Byzantine scholars who settled in Italy, were questioned, and it appears with justice, by the judgment and increasing refinement of the succeeding age. We are apt to talk of the revival of literature in the West, as if there had been an uninterrupted succession of good writers and able critics in the East, and with the presumption that the learning of the Greeks was, by the irruption of the Barbarians, first driven into exile, and then naturalized amongst the nations established on the ruins of the Western Empire. "Alas!" said one of the Grecian professors of the Academy at Florence, "I see that Greece has fled beyond the Alps*;" but Argyropolus, if he had extended his meaning beyond the mere knowledge of his language, might with greater propriety have owned, that the genius of his native country, after the torpor of a thousand years, was revived amongst, rather than transmitted to, the scholars of Italy. The commentators and scholiasts of the latter periods of the empire, form no exception in favour of their countrymen.

That the Constantinopolitan Greeks of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were judges of the style, and understood the construction of the great ancient writers of their own country, can scarcely be doubted; but that they had themselves benefited by the contemplation of those perfect models, and could lay claim to the merit of originality, or even of happy imitation, does not at all appear. They were in possession of the key of a trea-

* Spoken to J. Reuchlen, a learned German, who died in 1521, from whom the pronunciation that obtains amongst the modern Greeks was called the Reuchlinian.—See Addenda Mic. Lang. ad Eras. Schmidt de Pronun. Græc. apud Syllog. Havercampi.

sury, whose stores they were unable to use. Their literature was in the same degraded state as their arts, which, notwithstanding the advantage of consulting the noblest specimens of ancient skill, were impressed with the deepest traces of barbarity. The painting of the funeral of St. Ephraim, in that part of the Vatican libary called the Sacred Museum, is the wretched masterpiece of these bastard descendants of Zeuxis*.

But, in fact, the latter Greek grammarians have not only been refused all praise, but have been severely condemned by some writers, who have not hesitated to accuse them, either of ignorance or dishonesty; ignorance, in accounting the depraved pronunciation of their language to be correct, or dishonesty, in wilfully obscuring the study of the Greek tongue, to the end that they might obtain greater authority by seeming the sole masters of a most difficult attainment†. Our great countryman, Cheke, with the boldness of a Briton, and the confidence of a scholar, in his tract on the pronunciation of the Greek tongue, disdains to submit to the authority even of Chrysoloras himself; "who," says he, "as he either acquiesced in the depravity of the pronunciation of his countrymen, or was influenced by interested motives, or studiously endeavoured to obscure the language,

* Such is the strong expression of Tenhove, whose words (quoted also in Mr. Roscoe's Loren. de Med. cap. 9) are, "Venise et quelques villes de la Romagne ou de l'ancien exarchat de Ravenne montrent encore des traces de ces barbouillages Grecs. Le caractère d'une assez profonde barbarie s'y fait sentir. La peinture qui represente les obseques de St. Ephraim, qu'on voit dans le museo sacro, partie de la bibliotheque du Vatican, passe pour le triste chef-d'œuvre de ces fils bâtards de Zeuxis.—Mem. Gen. lib. vii.

† De Ling. Græc. vet. pronunt. Adolp. Mekerch. Libell. ap Syllog. Havercamp, p. 19.

should not have so much weight with us, as to induce us to fall into the same ignorance, avarice, and envy*."

It may appear almost superfluous to say much of the pronunciation of the modern Greeks, when we consider, that it was once that of all the civilized nations of Europe, and that the now prevailing mode of reciting this noble language, was formerly thought an innovation, strange, unfounded, and even sacrilegious.

From the first efforts made in the fourteenth century, to revive the study of Greek literature in the West, to the time of Erasmus, the scholars of Italy and France, Germany and England, intent upon the construction and explanation of the Greek authors, neglected to inquire into the pronunciation of the language, and, without examination, adopted that which was in use, and taught by their Byzantine masters. But the more diligent inquirers of the age of that great man, perceiving that a language so noble and copious in composition, was in discourse so languid and effeminate, and so destitute of all variety and grandeur of sound, suspected that they had in this matter been hitherto deceived; and in this notion they were confirmed by the precepts on this express subject, scattered up and down the works of the ancient rhetoricians and grammarians, and also by the many hints of other authors, which were irreconcileable with the adulterate pronunciation of the moderns.

The first who attempted to restore this ancient vigour and variety of sound, was Erasmus himself, who, however, is said to

* Nam ante Chrysoloram . . . . . qui sive depravatione patrii sermonis contentus, sive quæstu commotus, seu obscurandæ linguæ studio impulsus fuit, non movere nos debet, ut in eadem ignorantia, cupiditate, invidia versemur.—Joh. Chec. de pronunt. Græc. ap. Syllog. alteram Havercampi, p. 235.

have been induced only by a stratagem of his friends to write his famous dialogue on the true pronunciation of the Greek and Latin tongues, published first by Frobenius*. It is related also, that when he discovered his fraud, he never afterwards followed his own precepts; or, either in speaking or writing, showed that he differed from the rest of the world in his way of reciting those languages. Not only Erasmus himself, but many celebrated contemporary scholars, although convinced of the propriety of the new system (called the Erasmian, as the other was the Reuchlinian pronunciation), were not willing to appear innovators, and despairing of influencing others by their example, continued to comply with common custom. But Sir John Cheke, and his firm supporter and friend Sir Thomas Smith, the great ornaments of Cambridge, not only defended, but taught the new method, so different from that which had been introduced by Grocin and Linacre into the schools of England; and this they continued to do for four years, until the second of these learned men retired to France; at which time the sanguinary Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, and Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, interposed his power, and in a letter, partly

* Henricus Glareanus dining with Erasmus in the College at Louvaine, told him, that some Greeks had lately arrived at Paris, who pronounced their language quite differently from the common mode in use, calling (B) Vita, Beta; (H) not Ita, but Eta; (ai) not æ, but ai; (oi) not i, but oi; and so on. This induced Erasmus to compose his dialogue. The story is related in the Addenda of Joh. Mich. Langius, *prefixed* to the discourse of Erasmus Schmidt on the Greek pronunciation in the Sylloge; but the authority on which it is told is rather questionable, and the thing itself seems introduced to discredit the *new* pronunciation.

persuasive, partly official, but in which the decisions of the scholar are most powerfully backed by the authority of the Chancellor, commanded the Professor to desist from his attempts at innovation; an innovation which, says the alarmed and indignant Prelate, will, unless speedily stopped, terminate so fatally, that by a sort of lamentable metamorphosis, our Cambridge will be converted into a Babel, and be afflicted with a confusion of tongues as strange, or, if possible, worse than that recorded of that ancient city *.

The letter to Cheke was confirmed by an edict promulgated by the Chancellor and Senate of Cambridge, in which the pronunciation of the learned languages, according to common usage, is decisively fixed, and protected by penalties from all alterations. Whoever dared to adopt publicly the Erasmian method, was, if a graduate, to be expelled the senate; if a candidate for honours, to be refused his degree: scholars so offending were to be deprived of their exhibitions, and school-boys to be privately whipped at home. Yet notwithstanding these threats, the intrepid Cheke publicly vindicated his opinions in a letter to the Chancellor; to which Gardiner replied, and was again answered by his opponent, as well as by Smith, then lately returned from France; and Cheke being allowed to defend his system publicly, and at court, the new pronunciation began by degrees to prevail both in England and on the Continent, although many years elapsed before it was thoroughly established; and the controversy was carried on, as usual in literary disputes, with considerable animosity on both sides. To Erasmus, Cheke, and Smith, succeeded Ramus, Lam-

* Steph. Winton. Episcop. de pronunt. Ling. Græcæ, ap. Syll. alt. 200.

binus, Beza, Ceratinus, Mekerchus, and Hen. Stephanus*, who were opposed by Gregorius Martinus, in his address to Mekerchus†, and more violently by Erasmus Schmidt, in a discourse "Contra Νεοφυτον," in which, however, the modern Greeks are confessed to be in some particulars incorrect, and the strength of the argument rests on the inexpediency of innovation.

Since the period of the last writer, the opposition to the Erasmian method appears to have been given up; notwithstanding the efforts of Gregorio Piacentino and Stanislaus Velasti, two Greek monks of Frescati, in the beginning of the last century, whose dissertations in favour of the Romaïc plan, drew from the College della Sapienza at Rome, a decision, that the true pronunciation was, if any where, preserved amongst the said people *and monks*‡.

Thus the new pronunciation having obtained for two centuries, with some variety, in the different nations of Christendom, the Romaïc, or modern Greek method, is confined to the Levant, and is so little remembered to have been once prevalent, as, with a few exceptions, to be absolutely unknown in the universities of

* H. Stephani, Apolog. pro vet. Ling. Græc. pronunt. et Præf. ad Syllog. Sigisb. Havercampi. Samuel Gelhud, and Rodolph Wetstein, wrote on the same subject, but their works are not in the Sylloge.

† Mekerchus, or Adolphus a Metkerke, died at London in the year CIↃ.IↃ.XCI. in his fifty-fourth year.

‡ Giacchè se qualche vestigio è pur rimasto cosi sembra verisimile dell' antica pronuncia Græca, sembra insieme cosa probabile molto, che presso i succennati popoli e monachi siasi conservata.—But people, not only ignorantly, but (as Dr. Johnson observed, speaking of Swift's plan for settling the English language) proudly, disobey the decisions of learned bodies.

Europe. It is difficult, as Mr. Gibbon* observes, to paint sounds by words; and in their reference to modern use, they can be understood only by their respective countrymen: besides this, the decision of the controversy is attendant with difficulties apparently insuperable; and although the argument seems decidedly in favour of the new method, yet it must always appear most unaccountable, that an entire change should have taken place, amongst the Greeks themselves, in the pronunciation of their own tongue, even in so considerable a period of time as that which has elapsed since the ages of its ancient purity. It is easy to conceive how every other depravation and barbarism should have, by degrees, crept in upon the language, but that the ancient sound of its letters should be altogether lost, and now unknown in Greece itself alone of all the countries where it is recited, is not hastily to be believed.

Psallida, the schoolmaster of Ioannina, on my reading to him the first few lines of Homer, talked with much contempt of the presumption of those who, coming from a remote corner of the north, from regions absolutely unknown to their ancestors, pretend to teach, in *Greece*, the descendants of the *Greeks*, how to pronounce the *Greek*, their mother tongue. The strange diphthongal sound which the English give to the iota, and which, as it is not found in any other European nation, must have been introduced subsequently to the emendations of Cheke and Smith, may, indeed, have occasioned my friend the Greek to be more than usually astonished at a pronunciation so different from his own. After all, it may be confessed a hopeless endeavour, to arrive at any thing like accuracy in this point; for the contempo-

* Decline and Fall, note 107, cap. 66, p. 427, 4to. edit.

raries of the ancient Greeks were unable to attain to the nicety of sound which a Greek mouth alone could express; and Homer distinguishes some people by the epithet of Βαρβαροφώνους, not says Strabo, because they talked a foreign language, but because they pronounced the Greek with a foreign accent.

In considering the Romaïc pronunciation, of which, compared with the Erasmian method, a short view is given in the sequel*, it should be understood, that it differs in different parts of the Levant. The kappa and gamma are sounded strongly by the Greeks of Epirus, whilst at Athens, the first becomes softened into a *ch* (ἐκεῖνος is thus *echenos*), and the last is almost always converted into a *y*, and at Smyrna scarcely sounded at all. The people of the Morea drawl and speak through the nose; those of Constantinople give a portion of the sound of *s* to a *theta*, and make the *delta* even more soft than our *th*. The Athenians are, on the whole, the most difficult at first to be understood; but this does not arise from any greater mixture of barbarous words or idioms to be found in their dialect than in that of other districts, but from an affectation of speech: thus, instead of pronouncing οχι (no) as it is spelt, they say oëshki, making it three syllables.

It would be a task well worthy the labour of a scholar, to attempt to trace the Greek language from the period of its purity and perfection, through all the gradations of corruption, to its present state of debasement; and as it may be allowed to have been the first and most efficient cause of the superiority of the wonderful nation† by which it was spoken; so it might, perhaps, be found to have gradually lost its vigour, flexibility, and simplicity, in proportion as the power, genius, and moral character of the Greeks themselves declined.

* See the Appendix.

† See Preliminary Dissertation to the Engravings from the Antique, lately published by the Dilletanti.

The first corruption of the Greek may be traced from the Macedonian conquest, and the diffusion of the language by soldiers and merchants, not the most correct rhetoricians, over the conquered provinces of Europe, Asia, and Africa. It is the complaint of Ovid, that in the people amongst whom he was an exile, he found only a few traces of the Greek tongue, and those already made barbarous by a savage pronunciation*. But a more severe blow was given to the purity of the language under the power of the Romans, about which time all distinction of dialect appears to have been lost†. The introduction of such words as, σεδάριον, φραγέλλιον, κεστωδία, τίτλος, δηνάριος, κῆνσος, into the text of the New Testament, shows how soon it had begun to be infected with Latinisms; and, indeed, it was necessary for those who wrote to colonies and provinces, amongst which Roman governors and customs had rendered necessary the adoption of Roman words, to have recourse to a mixed language, in order to make themselves intelligible. The Emperor Julian confesses that, as to himself, it must be wonderful if he can speak Hellenic, so much had he been barbarised in the course of his travels‡. Those who are conversant with the writings of the Fathers, although the piety of some readers has so far predominated over their taste, as to make them compare St. Chrysostom to Demosthenes, observe

* In paucis extant Græcæ vestigia linguæ
Hæc quoque jam Getico barbara facta sono.
Trist. lib. v. c. 8.

† See the *Hellenistica* of Salmasius. Mons. Villoison, however, thinks that he has found an objection to this, by saying that Lucian's treatises on astrology and the Syrian goddess, are in the Ionic dialect, as well as many works of Areteus of Cappadocia, who wrote in the reign of Trajan.—L'Academie des Inscrip. tome 38, p. 73.

‡ Τὰ δὲ ἐμὰ εἰ καὶ φθεγγόιμην Ἑλληνιστὶ θαυμάζειν ἄξιον, οὕτως ἐσμὲν ἐκβεβαρωμένοι διὰ τὰ χωρία.—See Præfat. Glossar. Cang.

many unauthorized expressions, of which St. Basil seems to have been aware when writing to Libanius: he confesses, that the purity of his diction had been injured by his incessant study of the Scriptures*.

From the period of Constantine the Great, and perhaps somewhat before the transfer of the seat of government to Byzantium, it appears that the writings of the learned Greeks differed considerably from the speech commonly current in the provinces and at Constantinople, the use of which a new word (κοινολεκτεῖν) was invented to express. That this distinction might at all times, in some measure, have been observed, is exceedingly probable; for the case was similar at Rome, where, as Quintilian informs us, the whole people in the Circus would sometimes burst out with exclamations, not Latin, but altogether barbarous. In a later age, the Byzantine historians themselves were obliged to have recourse to new words, in order to express new inventions; and Constantine Porphyrogenitus, in his life of his grandfather Basil, describing the ornaments of the palace, says, "it is fit in these things to make use of the vulgar tongue†." The same necessity was felt by those who wrote on the Roman jurisprudence. Even whole words and sentences of foreign languages were made familiar to the ear of the Constantinopolitan court, as may be seen in the Formularies of the Imperial writer before mentioned. At the banquets in the palace, some of the attendants repeated, says the historian, the following words: Κωνσέρβετ Δέας ημπέριυμ Βεστρυμ—

* Ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς μὲν, ὦ θαυμάσιε, Μωσεῖ καὶ Ηλίᾳ, καὶ τοῖς οὕτω μακαρίοις ανδράσι συνέσμεν εκ τῆς βαρβάρᾳ φωνῆς διαλεγομένοις ἡμῖν τὰ ἑαυτῶν, καὶ τὰ παρ' ἐκείνων φθεγγόμεθα, νοῦν μὲν ἀληθῆ, λέξιν δὲ ἀμαθῆ, ὡς ἀυτὰ ταῦτα δηλοῖ.—Præfat. Glossar.

† Καλὸν γὰρ ἐπὶ τούτοις κοινολεκτεῖν.—Cap. liii.

Βήβητε, Δόμηνι ἠμπεράτωρες ἐν μαλτος ἄννος. Δέϑς ομνήποτενς πρέξεϑ.—'Ην γαυδίω πρανδεῖτε Δόμηνι. And the same compliment was uttered in all the languages of the nations supposed to be in subjection to the Roman power; for the Gothic, Persian, French, and even the English tongue, were heard on such occasions in the capital of the East*.

The worst of the latter Byzantine writers, such as Theophanes, the two Leos, Symeon Metaphrasta, and others, abound with a thousand barbarisms, and seem to have lost all Grecian taste and style. What was the language most commonly intelligible, at the period of the last conquest of Constantinople, may be judged by the commentaries of Ducas and John Cananus, which, in commemorating that event, offer an excuse for the barbarous solecisms of a book written, says Cananus, not to the wise and learned, but to the unskilful, and such as myself†. And yet during all these latter ages, the purest ancient models were not only in possession of, but, although to no great purpose, were likewise studied by, the Greeks. Michael Psellus, who lived in the eleventh century, commented on twenty-four comedies of Menander. The well known Eustathius wrote in the twelfth century; and Planudes translated portions of Cicero, Cæsar, Ovid, and Boœthius, and collected a Greek Anthology, so late as the fourteenth. The description of the sufferings of Constantinople, when sacked by Baldwin in 1205, by Nicetas, an eye-witness, has been adduced‡ as a proof, that not only the love of literature, but the taste of this people, still survived their misfortunes.

* Gibbon's Decline and Fall, note 54, p. 490, vol. v. 4to. edit. and Harris's Philological Inquiries, part iii. cap. 4.

† *Οὐδὲ διὰ σόφυς, ἢ λογίυς. . . . . ἀλλὰ διὰ ἰδιώτας, καὶ μόνον ὡς καὶ ἐγω ἰδιώτης.*—Præfat. Glossar.

‡ Philological Inquiries, p. 111, cap. v.—I know not whether it was from this favourable judgment of the latter Greek writers, or from the frequent re-

It is impossible to fix the precise period when the distinction between the vulgar and Hellenic Greek began to be generally acknowledged and distinguished by the invention of a new term. The transfer of the Empire to Byzantium, the irruptions of the Goths and other barbarians, and the settlement of the Sclavonians and Frank in Greece, introduced, as has been observed, a variety of new words; but a complete mixture must have taken place between the natives and the Barbarians, before the written, or even the colloquial language, underwent in its idiom and structure such a material change, as was necessary to form the Romaïc out of the original Greek.

Notwithstanding, that even after the times of Justinian, all the ancient grammatical rules were not observed, yet it is discovered by clear evidence (a diploma of Roger, Count of Calabria and Sicily), that the Greek used in Sicily at the end of the tenth century, although full of barbarisms, still partly preserved the ancient idiom, and differed altogether from the vulgar language of this day. The same may be observed of the speech of the Constantinopolitans, in the time of Alexius Commenus; for the daughter of that Prince has recorded two or three popular exclamations, to illustrate the annals of her father's reign* ; and the Political or city verses of Tzetzes, who wrote his Chiliads in the middle of the twelfth cen-

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spectful mention of the Christian church, that Mr. Gibbon calls this work of the Philosopher of Salisbury, opus senile.

* Τὸ σάββατον τῆς Τυρινῆς, χαιρεῖς, Αλέξιε, ἐνόησες τὸ, καὶ τὴν δευτέραν τὸ πρωὶ ἔιπα γεράκιν μου; and again, ἀπὸ τὴν Δίστραν εἰς Γολόην καλὸν ἄπληκτον, Κόμνηνε.

"Sabbato Tyrophagi, (seu quinquagesimæ), valeas, Alexie, rem percipisti, altera hebdomadis die, diluculo, ecce meus accipiter." Supple evolat. And "a Distrâ ad Goloen præclara castra, Comnene."—Præfat. Gloss.

tury, although deplorably vulgar, because evidently meant for the common people, would not be understood by the present Greeks, and besides the want of rhyme, are easily to be distinguished from the specimens now current of the same sort of composition, as an example of both will help to prove*.

* Ὅιδας δὲ πάντως ἀκριβῶς πῶς πᾶσαν ὶδα βίβλιον
Ἐκ στήθυς τε καὶ στώματος ὕυτως ετόιμως λέγειν
Ουδὲ γὰρ μνημονέστερον τᾧ Τζέτζε Θεὸς ἄλλον
Ἄνδρα τῶν πρίν τε καὶ τῶν νῦν ἐξέφηνεν ἐν βίῳ
Ὅθεν τὸ δῶρον εἰληφὼς εὐχωρισ-ῶ τῶ δόντι
Κἂν τρίβω βίον πενιχρὸν σειρᾶς ὢν γένυς πρώτυ.

Chiliad i. v. 275, Ap. Fabric. Bibl. Græc. vol. xi. p. 229, edit. Crist. Harles.

This, to be sure, independent of the ridiculous vanity of the writer, is not quite in the style of the ancients, and shows besides, that even in his time the neglect of the long vowels, and the observance of the accents only in versification, had begun to obtain; but it is very different from the following verses, extracted from an historical poem, the Exploits of Michael the Waiwode, printed at Venice in 1806, which I bought at Ioannina.

Καὶ ὁ Μιχάλης τάκουσε, πολλὰ τοῦ κακοφάνε
Καὶ πρόσταξε νὰ τοιμασθῆν, νὰ πᾶν νὰ βρῆν τὸν Χάνη
Καὶ τοὺς Ρωμάιους ἔστειλε, τριακόσια παλικάρια
Νὰ δῆσι πόθεν ἔρχονται, νὰ μάθεσι καθάρια
Νὰ δῆν ἂν εἶναι περισσοὶ, ἂν εἶν μαζὺ κὰι ὁ Χάνης
Νὰ τᾧ μηνύσαν γλήγορα, νὰ πάγη κὶ ὁ Μιχάλης.

"And Michael heard of these things, and they much displeased him,
And he ordered them to get themselves in readiness, and go and find the Chan.
And he sent the Greeks, three hundred brave lads,
To know whence they came, and learn clearly;
To know if there were many, and, if the Chan was with them,
That they should quickly announce it, that Michael himself might come."

The reader may observe the numerous and strange contractions in these verses. It would be unfair to quote a ballad as a specimen of the poetry of the modern Greeks, if they had any thing better than ballads.

Specimens of the same kind of verse, written in the year 1300, on the war of the Franks in the Morea, which are shown in Du Cange's Glossary, although not of quite the same *purity* as the Chiliads, are not Romaïc. Philelphus, who married the daughter of the second Chrysoloras, and was at Constantinople a little before the taking of the city by the Turks, talks of the depraved language of the Greeks, but does not decidedly note the distinction between the Romaïc and Hellenic, and besides, mentions that the ordinary talk of the nobles, and especially of the women, was such as might have come from the lips "of the comic Aristophanes, the tragic Euripides, all the Orators, from those of the Philosophers themselves, and even of Plato and Aristotle*."

This panegyric is not to be trusted, for, before that period, orthography had been entirely neglected†, and it is not probable that those who could not spell, should talk with any very great purity; but still, if there was the smallest foundation for the assertion of Philelphus, the Romaïc could not have been the common speech, or these noble ladies, when talking Hellenic, would never have been understood by the servants of their household.

Though the works of the Byzantine writers abounded with Græco-barbarous words, of which Meursius collected five thousand four hundred, and Du Cange a greater number, yet I find no notice, that previous to the Turkish conquest, the use of the auxiliary verbs, and the rejection of the simple infinitive mood,

* Philelphi Epist. in Hod. Græcis Illustribus, lib. i. p. 188.—Philological Enquiries, cap. v.

† Martin Crusius, talking of the confusion of the vowels and dipthongs, both in writing and speaking, says, nec hodie modo hæc orthographiæ neglectio apparet, postquam, ex libera Græcia facta est Turco-Græcia, sed in antiquis manuscriptis, quamdiu Imperium Græcum adhuc stabat, conspicitur.—Præfat. Glossar.

the characteristics of the Romaïc, were adopted in any book, or in common discourse.

The Oriental languages are, I understand, remarkable for the introduction of the auxiliary verb; and to the settlement of the Scythians amongst them, and their final subjugation by an Eastern people, the Greeks may perhaps owe this innovation in their language*. We know that a multitude of words were at an early period borrowed from the East, of which it may be sufficient to quote two, Chiaus†, and Dragoman, (from Tagerman the Arabic word), representing, according to the formularies of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, the introductor and interpreter of foreign Ambassadors. There are two officers still distinguished by the same names at the Turkish court.

After the fall of the Empire, the common speech, not having the standard of a court by which to direct itself, must by degrees have degenerated into the present vulgar dialect, and have begun at last to assume something like a consistency of corruption, and to be reducible to rule. The first notice, however, which I have seen of the Romaïc having become a written language, is in an account of Meletius Syrigus, a Cretan, who was born in 1585, and died in 1662, and who is said to have *translated* the four Apologies of John Catacuzenus into Romaïc, or the vulgar tongue‡. Previously, indeed, to the time of this person, the knowledge of the Hellenic had begun to be a rare acomplishment, as we find by

* It may be worthy of remark, that Herodotus has recourse to the verb θελω to form the future tense—εἰ δὲ θηλήσει συμβαῖνειν, "if it should happen," is one instance, and there are others, although I cannot immediately turn to them. Euripides, if I recollect right, has a similar example, or two.

† Du Cange's Glossary, at the word ΤΖΑΟΥΣΙΟΙ;—and Gibbon, cap. 75, Decline and Fall.

‡ Fab. Bib. Græc. vol. xi. p. 447, edit. Harles.

the panegyrics passed upon those who possessed it by Greeks themselves. We know, from the authority of Theodosius Zygomalas and Symeon Cabasilas, in their Letters to Martin Crusius*, that in the middle of the sixteenth century, those who lived in the great Mahometan towns spoke a language very much mixed with Turkish; and that those who were in territories possessed by the Venetians, had a greater share of Italian and Latin; whilst the inhabitants of the inland villages were not infected either by the one or the other, but spoke Greek; by which must, I suppose, be meant the purest Romaïc; for another person†, writing to Crusius, and talking of the same period, affirms, that a district containing fourteen villages, between Nauplia and Monebasia, in the Morea, is inhabited by a people, (called Zacones), "*who speak the ancient tongue, although not indeed grammatically, and understand those who talk to them grammatically, but the vulgar language not at all*‡." This clearly points at the distinction between the Romaïc and even the corrupted Hellenic. Cabasilas declares, that although all Greeks, generally speaking, mutually understood each other, every canton had a speech of its own, and that there were, in all, seventy discernible dialects, of which the best was that spoken in Constantinople, Salonica, and in parts of the Morea. The other correspondent of Crusius, mentions Athens as the place where Greek was the most corrupt; so much so, indeed, as to render her inhabitants unintelligible to those of the other parts of Greece, "and to make any one who heard them weep at

* Præf. Glossar.

† Gerlachius.—Præf. ut sup.

‡ There is a short account of these Zacones, or Lacones, at the word ΤΖΑΚΩΝΕΣ, in the Gloss. p. 1560.

finding that they are now as inferior as they had been formerly superior to others*." Such† inferiority will, however, not be wondered at, when we recollect that this city was long the seat of a Latin Prince, and that about the year 1300, the French was as much the common language of Athens as of Paris.

This diversity of dialects seems to me a sufficient proof that the Romaïc was not until a century after the Turkish conquest a settled and established tongue, at least not in the form in which we find it at this day, for when it began to be employed in books, the distinctions of dialect were not so apparent, and, in the time of Wheler, not a hundred years after Zygomalas, that of the Athenians seemed to him and his fellow-traveller not the worst, but the best of any in the Levant‡.

Since the time of Meletius Syrigus, (and perhaps it may be traced higher), the Romaïc has certainly been a written language, and the only one known to the generality of the Greeks. Many grammars of it have been written, the earliest and best of which is that of Portius, a Greek of Crete, dedicated to Armand, Cardinal Duke of Richelieu§. From this, an extracted

* Καὶ τὸ χείριστον, τοὺς πότε σοφωτάτους Αθηναίους ἐι ἤκουσας, δακρύων ἂν εγένεμεστὸς· ὅσον γὰρ ὑπερεπερίσσευσε ποτὲ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἡ καθαρὰ καὶ ἄδολος τῶν Ἑλλήνων φωνὴ, τόσον ἡ βάρβαρος ἐπληθύνθη καὶ ἀκούεται ἔξοχα πάντων.—Ap. Præf. sup. dict. p. vii.

† Testetur Raimundus Montanerius sua ætate, hoc est circa annum MCCC Gallicum sermonem perinde ac in ipsa Parisiorum urbe obtinuisse Athenis. —Ib. p. ix.

‡ Wheler, lib. v. p. 355.

§ Bernardin Pianzola wrote a grammar in Romaïc, Turkish, and Italian, and Father Thomas, a Capuchin of Paris, composed another. Spon the traveller likewise made an effort, in what he calls his Petite Dictionnaire.

abridgment is intended to be subjoined, together with other specimens, as the best means of giving a view of the language, and of showing how much, or how little, it deviates from its great original.

Lord Kaimes, after speaking of the present debasement of the Greek, concludes by saying, "and yet, after all, that beautiful tongue, far beyond a rival, has suffered less alteration than any other ever did in similar circumstances*." I know not of any language having ever been in similar circumstances; but if it had experienced the same fate as the Latin of Italy, there is no one who would have regretted that the change had been more entire and complete.

What has been the state of literature amongst the Greeks, since the establishment of the Romaïc, may be partly collected from the last edition of Fabricius' Greek Library. It appears, that in the course of about one hundred and fifty years, that is, from the age of Zygomalas, so frequently mentioned, to the year 1720, there were ninety-nine persons thought worthy of being commemorated as learned men, by a writer of their own nation, Demetrius Procopius, of Moschopolis in Macedonia, who transmitted from Bucharest, in the month of June of the year alluded to, "A concise Enumeration of the Learned Greeks up to that age, and of some then at his time flourishing†." An abstract of this catalogue, containing the outlines of each character, with a few notices, collected from other places of the same book, is here

* Book i. sketch 4. The same author says, that there are about three thousand Greek books extant, and only sixty Latin. The expression is too indefinite. If he means books of all kinds, there are more than sixty Latin; if books which may be called classical, there are not three thousand Greek.

† Ἐπιτετμημένη ἐπαρίθμησις, τῶν κατὰ τὸν παρελθόντα αἰῶνα Λογιων Γραικων καὶ περί τινων ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι ἀνθέντων.

given, as it may assist us in forming a judgment of what is likely to be the actual condition of learning in Greece.

Procopius begins with Jeremiah, Patriarch of Constantinople.

2. Theodosius Zygomalas, a Priest, in the time of the same Patriarch—δόκιμος ἀνὴρ καὶ σοφός—*the correspondent of Crusius.*

3. Gabriel Severus, Bishop of Philadelphia, a controversialist—ὀλιγων ἐπαίνων ἄξιος.

4. Meletius Piga, an Alexandrian priest, theologist and philosopher.

5. Maximus, a Peloponesian, wrote against the Pope. A priest.

6. Maximus Margunius, theologist, and author of Anacreontic hymns.—"Acquainted with foreign literature*."

7. George Corescius, a Chian, theologist—ἄνευ τάξεως, καὶ ὀρθῆς διακρίσεως

8. Cyrillus Lucaris, Cretan, Patriarch of Constantinople, a well known writer, and great controversialist, whose Life was written by Thomas Smith, and printed by Bowyer, in London, 1707. He was, as before mentioned, strangled in 1638. It was he who sent the famous Alexandrine Testament, now in the British Museum, to Charles the First.

9. Gerasimus, a Cretan, Patriarch of Alexandria, a theologist, philosopher, and profoundly skilled in the sacred writings, well acquainted with Greek, Hebrew, and Latin. He retired to Mount Athos, and there died. He wrote against the Jews.

10. Dionysius, a Constantinopolitan, Patriarch of Constantinople; skilled in Greek, and the sacred writings.

11. Callinicus, an Acarnanian, Patriarch of Constantinople, versed in Greek, and ἱκανὸς νοεῖν τάς τε τῶν λογογράφων, καὶ τάς τῶν φιλοσόφων βίβλους, but spending all his time in reading the Scriptures. A good preacher.

12. Gabriel of Smyrna, Patriarch of Constantinople, "a warm admirer of the Liturgy," and versed in Greek.

13. Athanasius, a Cretan, Patriarch of Constantinople; he knew the Greek and Arabic languages, but chiefly studied the Scriptures.

14. Alexander Maurocordatus, of Scio. He studied physic at Padua, and wrote a book on respiration and the circulation of the blood, frequently printed in Italy, Holland, and Germany; and also a Sacred History, in Hellenic, printed at Bucharest, in MDCCXVI. His other books were

* The inverted commas mark the passages translated verbatim from Procopius. The catalogue does not observe chronological order; and such dates as are here given, I have collected, not from Procopius, but other authorities.

Ρωμαϊκη Ἱςορία, τόμοι τρεῖς τῳ ὁντι πολυτελέστατον κειμήλιον.

Φιλοσοφικὰ ὑπομνήματα.

Ῥητορικά.

Ἐπιστολαὶ.

Πολιτικαὶ ὑποθῆκαι.

Ὁ πρὸς Γερμανους ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης λόγος.

He is called illustrious amongst the nobles of Constantinople, by the splendour of his birth, and the most precious ornaments of wit and learning—chief Dragoman and Privy Counsellor at the Porte, ἀνὴρ σοφώτατος πολιτικώτατος. He founded a school at Constantinople. His true character is given in Tourneforte, tom. ii. p. 12. He died in MDCCIX, full of wealth and honour, having been Minister from 1653 to 1699.

15. Theophilus Corydalleus, an Athenian Schoolmaster at Constantinople, skilled in Greek, Latin, and Italian. He translated Aristotle from the Latin, with the Commentary of Cæsar of Cremona, and rhetorical and epistolary formularies, printed at Leyden. He lived about 1630. The last book was printed in London, 1625, and again at Venice, so late as 1786.

16. Gregory, a Chian, a Constantinopolitan priest, wrote on the seven sacraments.

17. Meletius Syrigus, a Cretan, (born 1585, died 1662); he wrote ecclesiastical commentaries in Hellenic, and translated the Four Apologies of John Catacuzenus into Romaïc. He was a Sacred Monk.

18. Nectarius, a Cretan, Patriarch of Jerusalem. He wrote against the Pope; and a curious book, the History of the Egyptians and Saracens, from the records in the Monastery of Sinai.

19. Dositheus, a Peloponesian, Patriarch of Jerusalem, edited some works on the Greek Church, "but scarcely understood a word of Hellenic, and was altogether ignorant of Latin."

20. Athanasius Patelarius, Cretan, Patriarch of Constantinople; he knew Greek and Latin, but left nothing printed.

21. Germanus, an Ætolian, Archbishop of Nyssa; "versed in foreign literature, an Aristotelian philosopher, a hearer of Theophilus Corydalleus." He travelled into England.

22. Meletius Macres, a sacred Monk, versed in the Scriptures.

23. Gerasimus Vlachus, a Cretan, Bishop of Philadelphia, acquainted with Greek, Latin, and Italian. He wrote a book, printed at Venice, called, The Harmony of Things.

24. Nicholas Cerameus, of Ioannina; he knew Greek, Italian, and Latin, and was a physician.

25. John Cottuneus, from Berhœa, or Cara Veria, in Macedonia; a physician; wrote commentaries on Aris-

totle, in Latin, and many Greek books, printed at Padua, where he established a Greek school.

26. Dionysius, Metropolitan of Nauplia, a disciple of Theophilus Corydalleus; versed in foreign literature and theology.

27. John Cargophylles, a Constantinopolitan; a Logothete; a learned theologian, but fell into disgrace for favouring the Calvinists.

28. Theodoret, Bishop of Mistra, in the Morea; acquainted with foreign learning, and a good preacher.

29. Hilario Tzigalas, of Cyprus, Archbishop of Cyprus, a philosopher and poet. He wrote a grammatical essay in Greek.

30. Cyrill, Patriarch of Antioch; he knew Greek and Arabic.

31. Bessarion, a Monk of Ioannina; he wrote "A more full Confession of Faith," and a Grammar of the Greek language, (which is in my possession); the first was printed at Venice, the last at Bucharest.

32. Panayot, of Constantinople, chief Dragoman of the Porte; *before mentioned**; a most learned man. He wrote to Athanasius Kircher concerning the obelisk at Constantinople.

33. Sebastus Cymenites, of Trebezond, a schoolmaster, first at Constantinople, then at Bucharest.

34. Paisius Ligarides, a Chian, schoolmaster at Yassy; "skilled in every kind of learning and science; in his knowledge of sacred literature, second to none. His various writings never printed, are preserved."

35. Palases, a Constantinopolitan, (μέγας σκευοφύλαξ), *Great Keeper of the Vases* in the High Church of Constantinople. A man, says Procopius, who left no writings behind him, but whose very silence is better, and more precious, than many writings.

36. Stephaces, an Athenian sacred Monk, skilled in foreign philosophy.

37. Eugenius, an Acarnanian sacred Monk, a philosopher, theologist, and lover of the poor.

38. Gerasimus, an Acarnanian sacred Monk, a scholar and theologist; a doctor of the Constantinopolitan school.

39. Chrysanthus, a sacred Monk of Ioannina, educated in the school of that city; versed in foreign philosophy, and a schoolmaster, first in Moschopolis, and afterwards in Ithaca.

40. Antony Coraï, a Chian, a physician and philosopher, who learnt Latin and Greek in Rome, journeyed through England, France, and Italy, and wrote and printed Pindaric Odes in Greek; "which are excellent imitations of Pindar."

41. Clement of Chio, Metropolitan of Ioannina—εἰδήμων τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς γλώττης.

* Letter xxx.

42. Meletius, the Geographer,— ἀνὴρ σοφὸς, πολυμαθὴς, ῥήτωρ, ἀνιχνευτὴς τῆ βαθυς τῶν θείων γραφῶν, καὶ τῶν θύραθεν φιλοσόφων, ἱεροκήρυξ περιβόητος, καὶ τῶν τῆς ἰατρικῆς θεωρημάτων ἱκανῶς ἔμπειρος. This *extraordinary* man, in his account of Natolico in Ætolia, says, that a spring of pure blood gushed up a cubit from the earth near that town. From the praises given to Meletius, some judgment may be formed of the real merits of the other writers. Besides his Geography, he wrote a book of Ecclesiastical History, in the same middle Greek, between Romaïc and Hellenic, as his Geography.

43. Constantine Catacuzenus, a purveyor at Bucharest, lived in the beginning of the last century, wrote theological and philosophical commentaries. A scholar well read in the Fathers. He travelled over Europe.

44. Constantine Julian, of Constantinople, and of noble extraction; versed in Hellenic.

45. John Porphyrites, a Constantinopolitan; versed in Hellenic and the Fathers.

46. Hierotheus Commenus, a Constantinopolitan, Metropolitan of Drystra; versed in Greek, Latin, Italian, Hebrew, and Arabic; educated first at Constantinople, then in Italy. Wrote in Romaïc, the History of Mount Athos, which was printed. He died at Bucharest, MDCCXIX.

47. Gennadius, Metropolitan of Heraclea; versed in Greek.

48. Andronicus of Constantinople, and of noble extraction, (μέγας χαρτοφύλαξ), great librarian of the Church of Constantinople. Versed in Greek.

49. Marc of Cyprus, a schoolmaster at Bucharest; versed in Greek, and in foreign and domestic literature.

50. Antony, schoolmaster at Constantinople; versed in Greek, foreign philosophy, and theology, (τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἱερὰν θεολογίαν).

51. Churmusius, brother of Antony, and equally learned.

52. Dionysius Mantuca, Metropolitan of Castoria, from Moschopolis; acquainted with Greek and Latin, foreign philosophy, and theology.

53. Jeremiah Cacabella, a Cretan; versed in Greek, Latin, Hebrew, and Italian. He translated Platina's History of the Popes, into Romaïc, and added ten lives. The version is in the Imperial Library in Vienna.

54. Elias Meniates, a Cephalonian, Bishop of Cernica, in the Morea; versed in Greek and Latin, and above all, a skilful Rhetorician, as "his Ecclesiastical Homilies, in Romaïc, printed at Venice, evince."

55. Cæsarius, a sacred monk of the Morea, (πρωτοσύγκελλος), first Domestic of the Constantinopolitan Church—ἰδιώμων τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς διαλέκτου.

56. Abraham, a Cretan presbyter,

skilled in Greek, Latin, and Italian, who studied in Italy.

57. Meletius Gypaldus, of Cephalonia, Metropolitan of Philadelphia; versed in Greek, Latin, and Italian.

58. Nicolaus Calliaces, Professor of Rhetoric in the Academy at Padua, in 1687. Several learned dissertations written by this man were printed at Vienna and Padua, on the Gladiators, on the Punishment of Ancient Slaves, on Osiris, on the Eleusinian Mysteries, on the Games of the Circus.

59. John Patusas, an Athenian Presbyter. He was a professor in a college at Venice, and edited a Philological Encyclopædia in four volumes, printed at Venice in 1710.

60. Nicolaus, a Moldavian; first sword-bearer of the Waiwode of Moldavia (πρωτοσπαθάριος); versed in Greek, Latin, and the Illyrian language. He translated the Scriptures into the Wallachian language: he was sent by the Russians as Dragoman into China.

61. George Maiotas, a Cretan Presbyter; educated at Rome in Greek, Latin, and Italian.

62. John Thalassinus of the Morea; skilled in Greek and sacred learning.

Learned Men of the Age of Procopius.

63. Jeremias, from Patmos; a Greek scholar, an investigator by day and night of the Scriptures and the Fathers. He beautified the patriarchal church in MDCCXX.

64. Cyrill, a Lesbian, Patriarch of Constantinople, versed in Greek and the Scriptures.

65. Cosmas of Chalcedon, Patriarch of Constantinople, skilled in Greek. He passed the latter part of his life in the Monastery on Mount Sinai, preparing ecclesiastical commentaries.

66. Samuel of Chios, Patriarch of Alexandria, a most pious and learned man, "but not so learned as the Patriarch who preceded him, Gerasimus."

67. Athanasius of Antioch, Patriarch of that city. He flourished in the beginning of the last century, and left a book in Romaïc, preserved in the Imperial library at Vienna, called a "Synopsis of the History of the Patriarchs of Antioch, from St. Peter to the year 1702."

68. Chrysanthus Notaras, of the Morea; Patriarch of Jerusalem; skilled in Greek and Latin, but especially in theology and mathematics; educated at Constantinople and in Italy. "Besides in other things fortunate, be-

cause during his patriarchate the Holy Temple of Jerusalem, and the bed of the Holy Sepulchre, were repaired." He wrote an introduction to Geography, printed at Paris; and a book of Greek rituals, printed at Bucharest, both in Romaïc.

69. John Nicholas Maurocordatus, son of Alexander Maurocordatus, Waiwode of Wallachia; "intimately acquainted with philosophy, especially with that of Plato." A profound Greek scholar, and versed in the modern languages of Europe, as well as of the East: "if any one heard him talk Latin, he would suppose him to have been born in the country of Cicero, and those who flourished in the golden age." He published at Bucharest, in 1719, a book in Greek, "on Offices," of which a Latin version was edited by Stephen Bergler, at Leipsig, in 1739. He died in 1739. Other specimens of his erudition are to be found in the Bibliotheca Menckeniana.

70. Charles Maurocordatus, eldest son of the last-mentioned Prince, a studious and learned youth.

71. Callinicus of Naxos, Metropolitan of Heraclea, formerly schoolmaster of the great school at Constantinople.

72. Athanasius, a native and Metropolitan of Adrianople, versed in Greek and theology.

73. Dionysius of Lesbos, Metropolitan of Amasia, versed in Greek and theology.

74. Ignatius of Lesbos, Metropolitan of Rhodes, versed in Greek and theology. Κηρύττει καὶ ἀναπτύσσει τὸν εὐαγγελικὸν λόγον μετὰ πολλῆ ζήλε καὶ ἀγάπης.

75. Seraphim of Acarnania, Metropolitan of Drystra, versed in Greek and theology.

76. Gregory Soteras, an Athenian, Metropolitan of Ganos and Chora, acquainted not only with Greek, but Latin and Italian.

77. Neophytus Notarus of the Morea, Keeper of the Holy Sepulchre, and brother of Chrysanthus, Patriarch of Jerusalem; a philosopher, theologist, and mathematician, "who read the Fathers, and meditated on them."

78. Demetrius Julianus, a Constantinopolitan of noble family, great Logothete of the Constantinopolitan Church, versed in Greek and Latin.

79. Spantones, a Constantinopolitan librarian at Constantinople; versed in Greek, and in the rites and constitution of the church; formerly a schoolmaster.

80. Jacobus Manas of Argos, "first of the philosophers of the holy church of Constantinople," most perfectly skilled in the Greek, and an accurate imitator of the ancient style. "A peripatetic philosopher, a teacher, interpre-

ter, and defender of the Aristotelian doctrines, but a profound theologian." He lived with Alexander Maurocordatus, and spoke his funeral oration, on which he prided himself. He was at the head of the school at Constantinople, where he expounded the writings of Aristotle, and taught theology.

81. Nicholas Commenus Papodopolos, a Cretan Presbyter, versed in Greek, Latin, and Italian, and in ecclesiastical history. He was doctor in philosophy and law, and interpreter of the Sacred Canons in the University of Padua, where he published several learned dissertations, and was (says Harles) the most diligent in his examination of the unedited works of the latter Greeks, of any one since Allatius*. Commenus was born in 1656, and died in 1740.

82. Demetrius Notaras, a Moreote, first physician to the Waiwode of Wallachia, versed in Greek, Latin, and Italian.

83. Gregory Sugdures, of Ioannina, where he was chief schoolmaster; acquainted with Greek, Latin, and Italian; "skilful in the Aristotelian philosophy, but more so in theology." He wrote a Breviary of Logic, and a Concordance of the New and Old Testament.

84. Anastatius, a Presbyter of Ioannina, skilled in Greek and Latin, and the Aristotelian philosophy. He wrote an exposition of rhetoric.

85. Thomas Catanes, a Cretan, versed in Greek, Latin, and Italian, Professor of Philosophy in the University of Patavia. He died at Venice, 1725.

86. John Chalceus, a Moschopolite Presbyter, versed in Greek, Latin, and Italian; an Aristotelian philosopher, and theologist. He was Professor at Venice.

87. Ant. Cathephorus of Zante, a Presbyter. He knew Greek, Latin, Italian, the Aristotelian and latter philosophy, and was a teacher in the Flanginian College at Venice.

88. George Patusius, an Athenian; possessed the same accomplishments, and was a schoolmaster at Venice.

89. Antonius Strategus of Corfu, a teacher in Padua.

90. Macarius of Patmos, a Deacon, versed in Greek and Latin, and the Scriptures.

91. Methodius Anthoracites of Ioannina, a sacred Monk. He lived some years in Italy, and printed at Venice a work in Romaïc, called Βοσκὸς λογικῶν προβάτων —The Shepherd of Rational Sheep.

92. Metrophanes Gregoras of *Dodona*, a sacred Monk; versed in Greek, a poet, and a preacher, who meditated on the Scriptures and the Fathers of the Church.

* See vol. xi. Biblioth. Græc. p. 450.

93. Anastatius Gordius of Acarnania, a Monk, skilled in the Greek and Latin Languages, and who heard the learned in Italy.

94. Anastatius of Nausa, in Macedonia; "a wise man and learned philosopher, a theologist, and famous orator; knowing the Greek, Latin, and Hebrew languages. He travelled over almost all Europe."

95. John of Thessalonica, a schoolmaster of that city, "skilled in Greek, and not ignorant of Latin." Πεπαιδευμένος τήν τε θύραθεν φιλοσοφίαν, καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν θεολογίαν, the common eulogy.

96. George of Trebezond, schoolmaster at Bucharest, versed in Greek, and the Aristotelian philosophy.

97. Agapius of Ithaca, a sacred Monk, (ἱερομόναχος); versed in Greek, the Scriptures, and Fathers.

98. Philotheus, "a Monk of Parga, a friend of the said Agapius, and like him in every thing.

99. Gregory of Salonika, "a Monk. A famous man, skilled in Greek, instructed in foreign philosophy and our sacred theology: a sacred preacher." Written by Demetrius Procopius the Moschopolite, July MDCCXXI.

It may be supposed, that the learned Greeks of the middle and close of the last century, were much of the same sort as those mentioned by Procopius; that the greater number of them were theological writers, mostly educated in Italy: and that they were accounted prodigies by their countrymen, on account of being able to read the Hellenic. The names of some are detailed in modern publications; and although never heard of in England, have been for some time pretty well known in Italy and Germany, and latterly at Paris. Such are Marinus of Cephalonia, professor of chemistry at Padua, and Marcus his brother, a good mechanist, who removed the rock on which the statue of Peter is placed, to Petersburgh, and printed an essay at Paris in 1777.

The more intimate connection which has taken place of late

years between the more polished nations of Christendom and the Levant, has certainly improved very considerably the general literature of the Greeks. The number of those who seek for instruction in the universities of the Continent, increases daily: Leghorn, Venice, Vienna, and more especially at this time, Paris, abound with young men from Constantinople, Smyrna, and Albania, but chiefly from the Ionian Isles. Medicine is the study to which they usually apply, in order to qualify themselves for gaining a respectable subsistence in their own country; but there are not wanting instances of some who, having made a greater proficiency, and demonstrated more than ordinary genius, have settled in the countries which gave them their education. In fact, the greater advances which a modern Greek makes in knowledge, the more insupportable must he find a residence in the Levant. If he has devoted himself to the study of history, how can he contemplate the miserable condition of his country, and continually behold oppression in all its modes—the injuries of the master, and (what is more intolerable) the meanness of the slave? If he has imbibed any portion of the philosophical spirit, now so generally diffused throughout Christendom, how will he be able to associate with the priests of his church, the most literate but unenlightened of his countrymen? Must he not feel his genius pine within him, and decay like the exotic transplanted to a soil unfit for its encouragement and growth? A very reasonable despair of benefitting their country by their presence, has, indeed, naturalized the most illustrious of the modern Greeks at a distance from their homes; but they have been by no means forgetful of their native soil, and have directed their labours to the improvement of their countrymen.

A variety of Hellenic grammars, in Romaïc, with Italian and French translations; and dictionaries, some in four, some in three languages, are in use in all the principal towns, although they are not very common. I was shown at Athens a lexicon, in ancient and modern Greek, Latin, and Italian; and my fellow-traveller has in his possession one in Romaïc, French, and Italian, in three volumes, printed at Vienna in 1798, by George Ventote, of Ioannina, to which is prefixed, a well-contrived grammar of the two latter languages.

It is no disgrace for the Greeks, who have returned to a second childhood, to receive the instructions suited to infancy. It was the peculiar advantage of their ancestors, and one which greatly contributed to form those mighty masters, that the study of mere words made comparatively but a very small portion of their education, that they had not to acquire the knowledge of any language but their own, and directed at once the whole force of their rising genius to those useful studies which are now not to be commenced without many previous years of philological initiation. At present, almost the whole ingenuity of the modern Greeks is exercised in the acquisition of many languages, and in this, it must be confessed, they display a wonderful proficiency. A quick and delicate ear, a flexibility of speech, and a tenacious memory, enable their youths of a tender age to speak five or six, and sometimes a greater number of languages, especially at Constantinople, where many even of those of the lowest orders can make themselves understood in French, Italian, Russian, Turkish, Sclavonian, and even Latin, some of them being capable of also comprehending the Hellenic. But, unfortunately they have but little opportunity of showing their natural ability in any of the more useful attainments of literature; and their want of a

press open to liberal writers, has thrown an insuperable bar in the way of their improvement.

So early as the middle of the seventeenth century, one Nicholas Mataxo, a Cephalonian Monk, came from London, with a press and Greek types, to Constantinople; but his endeavour was stopped at once by the Turkish Government. One was indeed established at Bucharest, but only theological works, and vulgar romances and song books, proceeded from an office, liable to be denounced, both by the civil and ecclesiastical authority. A Greek press has been long established at Venice, but subject to the supervision and censures of a licenser; and transmitting therefore no ray of light calculated to pierce and dispel the gloom of inveterate ignorance. Grammars and dictionaries, with translations of such books as are not judged dangerous, either by the Italian or Greek clergy, were, it is true, a valuable, though a very inadequate addition to the homilies and catechisms which formed the scanty library of the Greeks; but no original work of any importance has ever been dispersed in Greece.

Pogozi, an Armenian, had a press at Constantinople in 1798, which has not of late been worked, so that books of all kinds must come from abroad—from Paris, from Venice, or Vienna; and even at the last place, there is no security for those who undertake the task. Riga, a well-known name, who, after the failure of the last insurrection of the Greeks, endeavoured to reorganize the confederacy, and again to rouse his countrymen, having retired to the capital of Austria, prepared for the press a translation (not composed by himself), of Anacharsis; but just as it was about to be printed, the unfortunate patriot was delivered by the Emperor Joseph to the Turks. He failed in an attempt to destroy himself, and was thrown into the Danube.

Some years afterwards, a Romaïc journal was established in the same city, conducted by one Pouli, who, besides the sheets of this paper, issued a violent pamphlet against the Emperor Paul, called, "Considerations of a Greek Patriot, printed in Vienna, in Austria, at the new press of the Greek Journal*." The Sultan made a requisition for the conductor, and eight other Greeks, living at Vienna, and Pouli was arrested by the Emperor, although not delivered to the Turks, which was the fate of the other eight persons, who were instantly beheaded. The Greek types were destroyed, but have, I believe, been since replaced.

What then is the actual state of knowledge amongst the Greeks? Mr. Corai, of Scio, has rendered himself well known, by his French translation of Theophrastus's Characters, and of Hippocrates, περὶ ὑδάτων, καὶ ἀέρων, καὶ τόπων, by an edition of the Æthiopics of Heliodorus, with a Romaïc preface, by his commentaries on Herodotus, and more particularly by a version of Beccaria in modern Greek, with a preliminary exhortation to his countrymen. He has been lately concerned in an edition of Strabo, of which the English reader has already had some information†. He is a member of the French Institute, which has given him a prize for his Hippocrates, and he resides at Paris, in the enjoyment of a reputation fairly acquired by his literary labours. "Offspring of a country once the most fortunate of Greece, for him is it reserved to associate his own with the immortal name of the Oracle of Cos‡."

* Στοχασμοὶ ἑνος φιλέλληνος .... ἐν Βιέννη τῆς Αὐστριας, ἐκ τῆς πρώην τυπογραφίας τῶν Ῥωμαικῶν ἐφημερίδων.

† Edinburgh Review, No. xxxi. art. iii.

‡ Pouqueville en Morée, p. 338.

Paris has also to boast of Panayotes Kodrikas, an Athenian, who has translated the Plurality of Worlds into Romaïc, and keeps a school for students in Greek and Arabic; and of Polyzois, a poet, who has composed several patriotic songs, the most celebrated of which is an address to those who served under the French in Egypt: extracts of it are subjoined in the next Letter.

To these must be added Phillipides, author of a geographical work, very decidedly superior to that of Meletius; John Camasares, a Constantinopolitan, who has translated into French Ocellus Lucanus; Athanasius of Paros, who has written on rhetoric, and, not inferior to any except Coraï, Psallida, the schoolmaster of Ioannina. Marmaratouri, an Athenian merchant, should be mentioned in this list. He has published a Life of Suvaroff, in Romaïc, not a translation, but what is very uncommon, an original work. His scheme for publishing a modern Greek version of Anacharsis, undertaken by three Greeks, is already given to the public*.

At the same time that I enumerate these men, it will be necessary to add, that only the last mentioned resides in Greece. It should be remembered also, that but a very few copies of their books are to be met with. I only saw one of Psallida's on True Felicity, and one of Coraï's Beccaria. There is not in the Levant a library where books are sold. It is possible, in the shops of those who sell other articles, sometimes to pick up a collection of homilies and romances, and, although very rarely, an Hellenic grammar. Psallida, at Ioannina, was the only person I ever saw who had what might be called a library, and that a very small one. It consisted of such books as he found serviceable in instructing his scholars. Amongst them were a Thucydides, with a Romaïc

* In the Appendix to Childe Harold.

translation, and Goldsmith's Grecian History, in Romaïc. The school at Athens had also a few classics; and I remember to have seen a torn copy of Xenophon's Hellenics, which the owner said he would have been very willing to give to me, had he not kept it for the use of the English Resident. Some of the Greek palaces of the Fanal*, and the patriarchal house, contain sets of books, chiefly theological, and written by those who have been enumerated by Procopius; but neither the owners themselves, nor any portion of the public, are benefitted by these volumes.

A Romaïc translation of Locke's Essay may be found in Greece; but I never saw it. I must say the same of Montesquieu on the Rise and Fall of the Roman Empire, and of Tissot's Avis au Peuple sur sa Santé. One copy of Telemachus, and of Rollin's Ancient History, both in Romaïc, I did see, and only one; as also one volume of the Arabian Nights. The Plurality of Worlds, which, (on account of a note where the invention of balloons is mentioned, and something said about animal magnetism), has been denounced by the Patriarchal Synod, never fell in my way; nor did I, until my return to England, meet with the Romaïc Robinson Crusoe, for some reason or other, also a condemned book.

Thus it is evident, that there is no dissemination of knowledge in Greece. That there are clever, enlightened, and well-informed

* More correctly, but not so frequently, called and written Phanàr, as the gate in that quarter, near the head of the port of Constantinople, is called Fener-Capoussi, the Fener-Gate, yet the φανάρι, or light-house, is now on the side of the sea of Marmora, between the two quarters called Thatladi and Achour Capoussi.

Greeks to be found out of the Levant, and that a few books, truly excellent, are sparingly scattered about in the country, can hardly be taken into account in estimating the general condition of the people.

It is true, that schools where the Hellenic is taught, have been established in all the great towns. Constantinople has two very large academies. At Haivali, or Kidognis, opposite Mytelene, there is a sort of university, for a hundred students and three professors, now superintended by a Greek of Mytelene, who teaches not only the Hellenic, but Latin, French, and Italian. At Athens, there are two public schools, and many private instructors: but neither Latin, nor any of the Frank languages, are there known, except by a few of the Roman Catholic children who frequent the Capuchin Convent.

The schools of Ioannina have been before mentioned; that of Psallida, who has a hundred pupils, gives instruction in French, Latin, Italian, and Hellenic: and the literal Greek, together with writing and reading, is taught in another school, containing three hundred boys, who pay nothing for their instruction. All the larger islands of both seas have establishments of the same kind. Thus the generality of the Greeks can write and read, and have a smattering, at least, of Hellenic, but without books, these accomplishments are of no use to them; and accordingly they have not made any progress in any science, nor have advanced a step towards the attainment of the useful arts. They are only enabled to read the church service, and their foolish romances, or are qualified for employments in the service of their Pashas, and the transaction of the business attendant upon their petty traffic.

It will not therefore appear strange, that the Greek, I mean the colloquial language, should, under such circumstances, become daily more corrupt. In some parts of the Levant, the very basis of the old tongue seems to have been subverted. Although, in the days of Theodora Chrysolorina, the wife of Philelphus, the ladies of Constantinople may have been noted for the purity of their speech, nothing can be more mixed and barbarous than the common dialect of the wives and daughters of those principal Greeks of the capital with whom strangers consort. Their language is indeed materially injured, even by the superior education which these ladies receive in order to qualify themselves for the Frank society of Pera, and which they take every opportunity of displaying, by the introduction of words and phrases wholly French and Italian. But the priests and princes of the Fanal, amongst whom young Ipsilanti, the son of the late Waiwode of Moldavia, is distinguished as a most elegant and accomplished scholar, affect a greater accuracy, by the choice of ancient words, and a few of them might, if so addressed by a stranger, be able to keep up a conversation in pure Hellenic.

The Greek of Smyrna is much infected by the Franks. That of Salonica is more pure. The Athenian language is not, in my opinion, so corrupted, nor has admitted so many Latin and Italian words, as that of the Morea; but it has not preserved so much of the ancient elegance as the dialect of Ioannina, which the inhabitants of that city boast to be superior to any, except that of Constantinople.

Some villages near Triccala in Thessaly, speak at this day, not the Romaïc, but a corrupt Hellenic, as pure, perhaps, as the Zaconian language before mentioned. Of the traces of the four

dialects, Doric, Ionic, Attic, and Æolic, which Cabasilas asserts to have been preserved in his time, I neither found, nor heard any evidence.

The substantives most commonly in use, have undergone the most complete change; such as represent *bread*, *water*, *clothes*, would surprise the ear of a Hellenist, and yet neither ψωμὴ, νερὸ, nor ῥοῦχα, are of a very late date*. But the names of plants are nearly all Hellenic, and a botanical treatise would scarcely want a glossary of Romaïc terms. The old names of places are, as might be expected†, not altogether lost in the modern appellations of the Greeks, although the Turks have, in many instances, given names of their own.

With respect to the written tongue, it must be observed, that the composition at this day current, is of three kinds: the first, is the language of the mass, and some other parts of the rituals, which are grammatically Hellenic; the ancient Greek has also been lately used by Coraï, and one or two others, but is not adopted in any common books. The next may be called the Ecclesiastical Greek; which is the kind employed by the majority of the church writers in their pastoral letters, and which, besides other characteristics, does not have recourse to the modern vul-

* The first is found in the history of Apollonius Tyrius—

Ἐπίασαν δίχως τὸ ψωμὴ καὶ φάραν τὸ ψάραχι;

νερὸν, is in Constant. Porphryo. Gen. de Adm. Imp. cap. 9. Σκλαβινιστι Βερόντζη, ὅ ἔστι βράσμα νερῦ—ῥοῦχον and ῥοῦχα, recur repeatedly in Nicetas.—Du Cange Gloss.

† Monboddo on Language, vol. i. The contracted preposition and the accusative article, (σ'την), have helped to form some of the new names. Thus, Dium in Thessaly, is Standia; Cos, Stancho; and the capital, (Πολις), Stamboul.

garism of always recurring to the auxiliary verbs. This is the style of many of those cited by Procopius, and even of earlier authors, of Meletius, in his Geography, and several other later works, and does not seem to be formed by any certain rule, but by an attempt of the writers to come as near as possible to the Hellenic. The Romaïc is the third species of composition; but even in this vulgar idiom, there is necessarily some distinction made by the nature of the various subjects, and the talents of the respective authors. The philosophical treatises of Coraï and Psallida, are as good, in point of style, as the dedication of Cimon Portius' grammar to Cardinal Richelieu, and although, perhaps, their subjects contribute much to their apparent superiority, are not so entirely vulgar, as the downright common dialect, of which some specimens are added to these Letters from the translation of the Arabian Nights, and some original romances.

The modern Greeks delight in poetry, and many amongst them evince a great facility in versification. There is an infinite variety of love and drinking songs; some of which are common in every part of Greece, whilst other pieces of poetry are known only in the town or village of their author. A young man of any spirit, who has been ill-treated by his mistress, anathematised by his priest, or beaten by a Turk, seldom fails to revenge himself by a lampoon.

I am not aware that there are any verses which the poet did not write to be sung, or, as the expression is, εἰς τραγέδι, "for a song." Let me observe in passing, that the Greek music* is plaintive, but monotonous. The specimens given by Dr. Crotch, possess the

* Two specimens of Greek music are in the Appendix.

character of all which I happened to hear. The first part of some airs borrowed from Italian sailors, of Malbruc, and even of God save the King, are well-known tunes. It is said, that they cannot arrive at a second part. The men and women all sing, and all sing through the nose. The fiddle and three stringed guitar are the usual instruments, and on these most of the young men, particularly the sailors, are able to perform: for all ranks are no less attached to singing and playing than to dancing, and, at some seasons, appear to do nothing else. The accentual quantity, which seems to have superseded the syllabic so early at least as the eleventh century, is alone observed in all the metres. Of these there is a variety, but the most common is the fifteen-syllabled verse, of the kind before quoted. Some lively expressions and agreeable turns of thought, may be discovered in many of these effusions, which, however, have more of the Oriental profusion of images, than of the Greek simplicity, and although by no means deficient in the tender and pathetic style, have nothing of the vigorous and sublime of ancient poetry. There may be persons willing to except from this criticism two or three patriotic songs of a late date.

Their amatory pieces, in which they chiefly delight, speak that which some critics would call the very language of love. These are exceedingly extravagant, abounding in metaphors, similes, personifications, abrupt exclamations, and not unfrequently with the conceits rather than the licensed figures of poetical rhetoric; ardent, wild, and unconnected, with more poetry than sense, and more passion than poetry. Acrostics, and even those echo verses, which an inimitable author of our own nation has parodied and ridiculed, are much employed in their

romances; in short, there is hardly a single evidence of what is generally supposed a vitiated and paltry taste, which is not discoverable in the poetical compositions of the modern Greeks. Their Cotsakias, or alternate verses, which are composed and sung apparently extemporaneously, but are in fact traditional, display a singular talent for versification, and are of the same cast.

Their prose writings can hardly be subject to any critical decision, for these are, as has been said, almost all translations, and leave therefore no room for any display of ingenuity, or depth of thought. Their homilies, as well as their tales, are insipid and affected, but evincing a copiousness of words, no less surprising than tedious. I shall content myself with annexing some specimens, the verbal criticism of which may be undertaken by more competent judges.

It may appear hardly worth while to inquire into the merits of a corrupted tongue, and, with respect to the best means of restoring it to its purity, the condition of the people is to be taken into consideration, rather than the state of their language. It seems to me, perhaps erroneously, that the Romaïc will never receive any Hellenic improvements whilst the Turks remain masters of Greece; and even should any event drive the Mahometans into Asia, any material alteration in the language of a people who can never be independent, may be very problematical. There are but few, very few indeed, of the Greeks themselves, who have any conception of the benefits to be derived from such an amelioration; and, indeed, from a document now before me, it should seem that there is, generally speaking, an indifference, and even unwillingness, observable amongst them, to attain any

extraordinary advantages, by departing from the common course of education.

In 1808, a year after the establishment of the French at Corfu, an institution, calling itself the Ionian Academy, held its first sitting. This event took place on the 15th of August, "by a happy synchronism, on the same day of the same month which had brought the troops of the great nation within view of its shores, and in the year when, if empires did not perish like man himself a short time after the period of their glory, the Greeks would have celebrated their Olympic Games for the six hundred and forty-seventh time*. Its first attention was directed towards Napoleon, Benefactor and Protector; it then proceeded to declare, that courses of gratuitous and public lectures would be given by competent professors, in physic and chemistry, natural history, physiology, and medicine. This in effect was performed, if I may trust the paper before me, for the first year, and an additional lecture was read to the students, on anatomy and surgical operations, by Dr. Razis, at that time, says the secretary Dupin who signs the prospectus, not one of our colleagues. But, "*notwithstanding these efforts*, and the attendance of some respectable persons matured by age and experience (meritorious officers and men skilful in the different branches of the art of healing), upon these courses, the Academy saw with grief, that it had made a vain appeal to the Corcyrean youth; and had found no fathers eager for the instruction of their sons, and no sons who had felt that this instruction might be a benefit to themselves."

The prospectus, which bears the date of June 1809, or, in the

* See the Paper in the Appendix.

language of the Academy, "Corcyra, the first year of the six hundred and forty-seventh Olympiad," pronounces in a strain proceeding professedly from an Ionian, but rather Gallic than Greek, that to the former lectures will be added a course on Belles Lettres and Hellenic by Dr. Mavromati, which, together with prizes distributed at each quaternal celebration of the Olympian games, to the authors of the best original Romaïc composition, and of the best translation from the standard works of the modern nations, *especially the French*, will, "in a few Olympiads, cause the corrupted language of the modern Greeks to become one of the most perfect dialects of the ancient Hellenic." The first prize is to be allotted on the 15th of next August, (1812). It is to be a medal of iron, "*the money of Lacedemon.*" On one side is to be a resemblance of the Emperor, with this inscription—"Napoleon, Bienfaiteur et Protecteur;" on the reverse a star, with these words—"Au Genie, l'Academie reconnaissante;" on the rim will be written the name of the author and of his work, with the number of the Olympiad.

"In the hall appointed for the public sittings, will be suspended the crown of wild olive which shall have been bound on the forehead of the victor, with suitable inscriptions underneath*: these crowns shall constitute the trophies of the Academy." To this first adjudication any living author may transmit his work whenever published, to contend for the prize. The olive wreath appears already to encircle the brows of Coraï.

It is not difficult to foresee, that the success of Dr. Mavromati will not be much more satisfactory than that of Dr. Razis, particularly as the Ionian dominions of Napoleon are now confined to Corfu, and the Olympic games of the ensuing August may be disturbed by the cannon of a hostile fleet. Perhaps the

* See the Paper in the Appendix.

Academy has, ere this, ceased to exist*. Under every favourable circumstance, the project of improving and settling the common discourse of a people by any similar institution, is altogether hopeless; and although the number of Hellenic scholars in the Levant may be somewhat increased by late events, the revival of the ancient Greek language, even according to a modified meaning of that phrase, appears an event too unparalleled in all history to take place in our days, or at any future period.

But whatever may be the fate of the Romaïc, the scholar may expect that inquisitive travellers will add to his library, by the discovery of many valuable manuscripts which may throw a fresh light on the history of past times, and increase the number of those treasures which the philosophers of antiquity with justice hoped might be transmitted as "possessions in perpetuity" to all future ages. Such sanguine expectations have, however, hitherto been disappointed, and, with the exception of Dr. Clarke's manuscripts, of which the public may soon expect a detailed account, the search of the learned has as yet been very inadequately rewarded. After many an eager wish directed towards the Seraglio library, and a thousand conjectures as to its supposed contents, all doubt appears to be lost in the certainty, that as far back as the year 1688, there was not a single Greek manuscript in that repository. The partial dispersion of the Sera-

* There was in our time a Corfiote Journal in Romaïc, which detailed some of the principal events of Europe to the Greeks: one of them reached Athens with an account of transactions in the English Parliament, and of a speech from Κύριος Βίνταμ—Mr. Windham. The dispersion of a well-written newspaper would be of infinitely greater service to the Greeks than that of any other publication, and, as the whole people are most eager to hear news, would soon be very general. Yet some preliminary knowledge seems necessary to make even this reading intelligible and useful to them; for the Bishop of Chrysso, under Mount Parnassus, *who lent us a Meletius's Geography*, asked me—if Spain, where the English were fighting, was in the Baltic?

glio library took place at the deposition of Mahomet the Fourth, and shortly after that period M. Girardin, ambassador from France to the Porte*, by the assistance of an Italian renegado and the Jesuit Besnier, purchased fifteen manuscripts in Greek and one in Latin, which he transmitted to France in the year 1688, and which are now in the Imperial library at Paris. The selection was made by Besnier out of two hundred books which composed the collection, and which, as they were all sold, should be now in the libraries either of Western Europe or of Greece. They would be easily recognizable by the Sultan's seal attached to each volume, and some might be discovered by their Turkish binding. The remaining 185 manuscripts were in bad condition, and had before appeared in print; but it is with some reason that the learned Villoison reprehends the scrupulous nicety of the Jesuit, which confined him to his very partial selection. It may then be almost unnecessary to add, that Prince Italinsky, late ambassador from Russia to the Porte, having by permission visited the winter harem of the Seraglio, in one of the apartments of which was the library of the Eastern Emperors, told a gentleman who gave me the report, that he could not see a manuscript of any kind in the place. But the dispersed volumes cannot have entirely disappeared, and the monasteries have reasonably been supposed the receptacles of these hidden treasures. Yet the Abbé Fourmont, in 1730, in vain explored Nea Moni in Chios, and Mega Spelion in Arcadia; and no greater success attended the researches of Mons. Biornstapol in the libraries of Meteora. Mr. Villoison in 1785† visited the Monks of Amorgos and Patmos, and his report will scarcely justify the eager expectations at present entertained respecting the literary wealth of the latter community.

* See the Ambassador's letters of 10th March and 15th Sept. 1687, to the Marquis de Louvois. Notice des MSS. de la Bibliotheque Imperial, tom. viii. pp. 12, 13, &c. 1810.

† Ibid. See the Appendix.

LETTER XXXIV.

Patriotism of the Greeks—Their ardent desire of Emancipation —War-Song—The object of their Wishes—Attachment to Russia—Views directed towards France—Their Notions of England—Chance of Emancipation—Importance of their Marine—Short Remarks on the Political Conduct of the English in the Levant.

MR. DE GUYS's long thirty-seventh Letter, entitled Patriotism of the Greeks, is much such an essay as Montaigne's on a custom in the island of Cea; or, like that chapter on Snakes which Dr. Johnson could repeat entire, it leaves us only to conclude that there is no patriotism worth speaking of to be found amongst the modern Greeks, or indeed amongst any of the moderns; for the whole of his remarks and examples are adduced from the two great nations of antiquity. But notwithstanding such a deficiency in an express panegyric of this people, it is most true, that the generality of the Greeks are devotedly attached to their country and nation, and, even to a degree which may appear foolish and incautious, continually express their hatred of their masters, and their confidence in themselves. This latter feeling is, however, tempered by a complete sense of their own degradation; for, whatever may be their discourse to one another, they never fail to enlarge upon this subject to a stranger. A common commence-

ment of a conversation with them is, "Your Excellency will find but poor fare in our country; but you are not in Christendom. What can be done amongst these beasts the Turks?" The detestation of their master breaks out on every occasion; and when the chanter from the Minaret is announcing the death of a Mahometan, each Greek that meets his friend in the street salutes him thus,—"A dog is dead," (ἀπέθανε σκυλὶ *). The Archons,

* This expression σκυλὶ, a dog, is the favourite term of reproach with the Greeks, whose convitiatory language is most violent and abusive. The vulgar phrases, which are too indecent to be translated, are some of them borrowed from, or are similar to, the Turkish. The γαμῆτε μάνα σε, the most common, is the "anassinny sictim" of the Mahometans. Most of the assertions of the Greeks, are confirmed by an oath; the ancient form being preserved; the most usual are, Μὰ τὸ Θεὸ, "By God;"—Μὰ τὸ κεφάλι με, "By my head;—Μὰ τὸ γένι με, or Μὰ τὸ γένι τῆ πατρὸς με, "By my beard," or "By my father's beard;"—Μὰ τὸ ψωμὴ, "By my bread;"—Μα τῆ ψυχὴ τῶν παιδιῶν με, "By the life of my children."—The women in common conversation say, Μα τὰ μάτια με, or, Μὰ τὰ ψυχὴ με, or Νὰ ζίω, "By my eyes;" "By my soul;" or "Let me live."—The strongest expression of anger, is the extension of the five fingers, with the exclamation Νὰ τὰ πέντε, "There are five for ye." Nearly all, if not all of these phrases, are of a high antiquity. The spreading of the five fingers is, Dr. Pouqueville says, alluded to in the words "ecce dono tibi quinque," in the Andria; but neither in Terence nor in Plautus have I been able to find such an expression. One of the most singular instances of a transmitted habit is, that the Greeks of Tino universally carry their long sticks, or guns, across their shoulders, with their arms over them on each side, something like the picture here given of the Albanian. Now an ancient coin of that island represents a man carrying a staff exactly in the same position.—A very usual expression of anger is Κερατα, "Horns." The Athenian oath mentioned by Spon, Διὰ τὸν αυθέντι τῦ κοσμῦ, "By the Master of the world," I do not remember to have heard; but my fellow-traveller recollects two or three instances of it. The words of tenderness, ὑιε, με, "My son," have an odd sound in the mouths of the young girls, by whom they are frequently used.

who enjoy the confidence of the Turks, are infected with the same spirit, and, in proportion as they are more powerful, feel a stronger desire of revenge. Signor Londo, of Vostizza, the son of the person who, under Veli Pasha, may be said to govern the Morea, on hearing the name of Riga, when he was playing with me a party of chess, jumped suddenly from the sofa, threw over the board, and clasping his hands, repeated the name of the patriot with a thousand passionate exclamations, the tears streaming down his cheeks. The same person recited with ecstacy the war-song of that unfortunate Greek. The strain is of a higher mood, and I have endeavoured to preserve the metre of it*, and, with a little variation, the position of its rhymes, in the following version of the four first stanzas.

1.

Δεῦτε παῖδες τῶν Ελλήνων
Ὁ καῖρος τῆς δόξης ἦλθεν
Ἀ᾽ς φανῶμεν ἄξιοι ἐκείνων
Ποῦ μᾶς δῶσαν τὴν ἀρχὴν
Ἀ᾽ς πατὴσομεν ἀνδρείως
Τὸν ζυγὸν τῆς τυραννίδος
Εκδικήσωμεν πατρίδος
Κάθε ὄνειδος αἰσχρὸν.

1.

Greeks arise! the day of glory
Comes at last, triumphant dawning;
Let us all in future story
Rival our forefathers' fame.
Under foot the yoke of tyrants
Let us now indignant trample,
Mindful of the great example,
And avenge our country's shame.

Τὰ ὅπλα ἂς λάβωμεν,
Παῖδες Ἑλλήνων ἄγωμεν,
Ποταμιδὼν ποταμιδὼν
Τῶν ἐχθρῶν τὸ αἷμα
Ἀ᾽ς τρέζη ὑπὸ ποδῶν.

To arms then, our country cries,
Sons of the Greeks, arise, arise;
Until the blood in purple flood
From the hated foe
Beneath our feet shall flow.

* A mixed trochaïc, except the chorus, the fourth line of which, for the sake of rhyming with the fifth, is shorter by one foot in the translation than in the original.

2.

Οθεν ἔισθε τῶν Ἑλλήνων
Κόκκαλα ἀνδρειομένα;
Πνεύματα ἐσκορπισμένα
Τώρα λάβετε πνοὴν.
Στὴν φωνὴν τῆς σαλπιγκός μα
συναχθήτε ὅλα ὅμου,
Τὴν ἑπτάλοφον ζητεῖτε
καὶ νικάτε πρὸ παντοῦ.
Τὰ ὅπλα, κ. τ. λ.

2.

Whither now, alas! retreating
Limbs where Grecian blood is beating?
Breathe again ye spirits fleeting,
Now your scattered force recall.
At my trumpet's voice resounding,
Each his country's flag surrounding,
Towards the seven-hill'd city bounding,
Fly, and conquer for your all.
To arms then, &c.

3.

Σπάρτα, Σπάρτα, τί κοιμᾶσθε
ὕπνον λήθαργον βαθὺν;
Ξύπνησον, κράξε Ἀθήνας,
σύμμαχον παντοτεινὴν.
Ἐνθυμείθητε Λεονίδου
Ἥρωος τοῦ ξακοστοὺ,
Τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐπαινεμένου,
Φοβεροῦ καὶ τρομεροῦ.
Τὰ ὅπλα, κ. τ. λ.

3.

Sparta! Sparta! why in slumber;
Why in lethargy so deep?
Rouse thyself, thy friend awaken,
Glorious Athens, from her sleep.
Call to mind thy ancient warrior,
Great Leonidas of old,
Mighty man of fame immortal,
The tremendous and the bold.
To arms then, &c.

4.

Ὅπου ἐις τὰς Θερμοπύλας
Πόλεμον ἀυτὸς κροτεῖ,
Καὶ τοὺς Πέρσας ἀφανίζει,
Καὶ ἀυτῶν κατὰ κρατεῖ.
Μέτριακοσίους ἄνδρας
Εἰς τὸ κέντρον πρόχωρει,
Καὶ ὡς λέων θυμωμένος
Εἰς τὸ ἅιμα τῶν βουτεῖ.
Τὰ ὅπλα, κ. τ. λ.

4.

See him, where the noble patriot
All th' invading war withstands,
At Thermopylæ victorious
O'er the flying Persian bands.
With his brave three hundred heroes,
Forwards now the Lion goes,
Plunging through the blood of battle
To the centre of his foes.
To arms then, &c.

The difference between the two languages, has prevented me from filling up all the

There may appear a triteness in reminding the Greeks of Leonidas; but the truth is, that of him, and of the other heroes of antiquity, the generality of the people have but a very confused notion, and that very few of them trace the period of their former glory farther back than the days of the Greek Emperors. Such as are most fond of recurring to past times, dwell on the power and merits of those Princes, and begin their history with the great Constantine, the Emperor of the Greeks, (Ὁ Μεγας Κωνσταντινος ὁ Βασιλευς των Ρωμαιων). All their hopes are directed towards the restoration of the Byzantine kingdom, in the person of any Christian, but more particularly a Christian of their own church, and I believe they have never for an instant entertained the project of establishing an independent confederacy on the model of their ancient republics. Their views have naturally been turned towards Russia for more than half a century, and every one is acquainted with their two desperate attempts to create a diversion in favour of that power in the heart of European Turkey.

Notwithstanding the failure of their efforts, in the Russian war concluded at Kainargi in 1774, the Greeks prepared to take up

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syllables in the translation without some trifling amplification of the original sense, a circumstance which, if it does not bespeak want of pains on my part, may serve to contrast the ancient and modern Greek. This song, the chorus particularly, is sung to a tune very nearly the same as the Marseillois Hymn. It may be necessary to offer an excuse for giving in this place a specimen before published in a book so universally circulated as Childe Harold; but on this head I shall only say, that the chance of multiplying the copies of what is in itself a curiosity, and has some merit, may plead a sufficient apology for the insertion of the Romaïc text; and, that as to a competition with any portion of the admired work in question, all circumstances, whether of inclination or capacity, are, in the case of the writer of these Letters, such as to render a disavowal of such an attempt altogether superfluous.

arms in 1790, and Sulli, then in open rebellion, was the centre of their operations. Three Greeks from that town arrived at Petersburgh, and hailed the Archduke Constantine with the new and august title of Emperor of the Hellenes, (Βασιλευς των Ελληνων)*. A plan was agreed upon, according to which the Greek army was to set out from Sulli to Livadia and Athens, in two divisions, to be joined by the Moreotes and Negropontines. Crossing the plains of Thessaly, it was then to march to Salonica, and after collecting the Greeks of Macedonia, proceed with the whole force, which would amount, they supposed, to three hundred thousand, to Adrianople. Constantinople was to be the immediate prey of the confederate forces, even without the combined attack of the Russians, who, however, were expected to sail from the Crimea to the Bosporus, and decide the fate of the Turkish empire. Lambro Canziani, the celebrated Greek, was to cruise with his squadron in the Archipelago; and this was the only part of the project which was accomplished; for Lambro, although not supported after the peace between Russia and the Porte, in 1791, and declared a pirate, kept the sea, until his ships were destroyed by a French squadron. The Sulliotes did not stir, but defended their mountains, as they had before done, against the Pasha of Ioannina. The result of their struggles is already known.

Mr. Eton, who has detailed this account†, conceives the plans

* The word Βασιλευς answers to Imperator. The Greeks called Charlemagne "Vasileus," but the petty princes "Reges," (Ρηγες). Lieutprand says, "Petrus Bulgarorum Vasileus."—Decline and Fall, cap. 55, note 16. This proves that the Greek B was decidedly the Latin V, so early, at least, as the twelfth century.

† Survey, p. 37, et seq.

of Pano-Kiri, Christo Lazzotti, and Nicoló Pangalo, the Sulliote Ambassadors, to have been wise, and every way calculated for the attainment of the great object in view, and condemns the policy of those who differed from them in opinion, namely, the British, Prussian, and Russian cabinets.

Wherever the fault lay, the Russians ceased to be the favourites of the Greeks, who, however, did not on that account lose sight of their darling object; for, at the news of the French revolution, they began to form other projects, or at least to indulge fresh hopes. The friends of universal freedom were, of course, the friends of the Greeks, and long before the cession of the Seven Islands to the tri-coloured flag, the Carmagnole was danced on the shores of the Ionian sea*.

During the expedition to Egypt, the health of Bonaparte was the daily toast at Athens; and the Greeks of Crete were so far assured of their approaching independence, that, until the victories of the English over the French destroyed their hopes, they had, in a manner, taken the island into their own hands, and had come to an agreement with the Turks, each of whom they undertook, upon certain conditions, to protect. A small mountainous district in this island contains, indeed, the only Greeks in the whole empire who have never been subdued either by the Venetians or Turks. It is called Sphakia, (Σφαχία), and has one town and twenty villages, each governed by its own primates. It can send about four thousand men into the field. The person, himself

* Μὰ ὁι Φραντζέζοι λέγεσι — Tis true the French would have it known
Πὲ τὲς Κορφὲς τὲς θέλεσι — Corfù shall shortly be their own,
Κεφαλοῖνια καὶ Τζάντε — Cefalonia too, and Zante
Πὲ ἶναι τὸ φιόρα τῦ Λευάντε. — The fairest flower of the Levant.

a Sphakiote, who furnished a late author* with an account of these Cretans, makes rather a favourable report of them; but others have represented them to be a horde of blood-thirsty savages.

In fact, in the French army in Egypt there were some Greek soldiers whose patriotism was roused and kept alive by the muse of Polyzoïs, the new Tyrtæus. His song of nine stanzas in trochaics is called, Ἆσμα πολεμιςήριον τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτω περὶ ἐλευθερίας μαχομένων Γραικῶν, "War Song of the Greeks in Egypt, fighting in the cause of Freedom;" and it opens with the following exclamation:

Φίλοι μϐ συμπατριῶται
Δεῦλοι νὰ "μεθα ὡς πότε
Τῶν ἀρχειων Μϐσελμάνων
Τῆς Ἑλλάδος τῶν τυράννων;
Ἐκδικήσεως ἡ ὥρα
Ἔφθασιν, ὦ φίλοι, τώρα.

Gallant Countrymen! for ever
Shall we dread the vile enslaver?
Shall the Mussulman victorious
Reign in Greece, the great, the glorious?
Friends! the tyranny is past,
Vengeance is our own at last.

The concluding verses are in the same strain.

Ἀφανισθῆτω
Κ' ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἐξαλειφθήτω
Ἡ κατάρατος δουλέια—
Ζήτω ἡ ἐλευθερία.

Fading from the face of day,
Banish'd from the world away,
Cursed slavery expire—
Freedom is my fond desire.

The last of these four lines is the burthen of the song, of which one more specimen, part of the fifth stanza, may suffice.

* Leckie on Foreign Affairs, Tract xiii. p. 211.

Εἰς τυράννων τὴν θυσίαν
Ἅπαντες μὲ προθυμίαν
Ἔχοντ', ἄλλος ἀλλαχόθεν
Τῆς Ἑλλάδος πανταχόθεν.
Ὡς εἰς ἑορτὴν συντρέχων,
Ὡς πανηγύριν τὴν ἔχων.
Καὶ δὲν στέργεται κανένας
Απ' αὐτοὺς, μικρὸς ἢ μέγας.
Ἐξοπίσω νὰ ὑπομείνῃ
Εἶναι, λέγει, καταισχύνη.
Τὰς υἱὲς τῶν οἱ πατέρες
Ἐγκαρδιώνεν, καὶ αἱ μητέρες.
Εὖγε! τεκνᾶ μου, τὰς λέγων
Κ' εἰς τὸν πόλεμον τὰς στέλλων
Ἕως πότε ἡ δουλεία
Πίπτει, καὶ ἡ τυραννία.

To the sacrifice of tyrants,
All with eagerness combining,
Rush from every Grecian region,
Each his country's standard joining.
To the festival they fly,
To the feast of victory.
No one from the danger shrinking
Hesitates, or small or great,
Forward each advances, thinking
Nothing shameful but retreat.
Hark, their valiant sons inflaming,
Fathers, mothers, all exclaiming,
'Children brave! well done,' they cry,
'To the glorious combat fly,
'Till the fall of slavery,
'Till the fall of tyranny*.'

At the same time another Greek, in a small work printed at Paris, but written at Rome, makes this decisive declaration—"Since this city, (meaning Rome), has, contrary to all expectation, been delivered from the tyranny of the Popes, it must be averred, in the face of all the world, that the hatred of tyrants is rooted in our hearts, and that what has as yet prevented us from being delivered from their yoke, is not our own want of courage—it is the jealousy of the greater part of the Princes of Europe†." The sentiments of all the nation were not, however, in unison, for the Patriarch

* These extracts are part of a communication made by M. Villoison to Harles, and are contained in vol. xi. p. 563, of his Bibliotheca Græca.

† See Letter from Villoison to Harles, in the page before cited.

of Constantinople, in his circular letter of the year 1798, informs the Greeks, that "the wicked serpent, the origin of all evil, had designed the nation of the Gauls to be the damnation of the human race*;" a phrase which is cited, and indignantly refuted by a writer, apparently the same quoted above, in a pamphlet of eight pages, printed at the press of Pogozi, in October 1798, and addressed "to the Romans of Greece, by a Patriot and Friend to Freedom†."

If Bonaparte had marched an army from Vallona, across Macedonia to Constantinople, which he is said to have been prevented from doing only by his war with Russia, there can be no doubt that every Greek would have joined his standard.

The events of the last ten years have turned the attention of the Greeks to the English nation, and, by degrees, their former misconceptions as to the extent of our power and resources, have begun to be dissipated. Hopes were entertained, during our short war with the Porte, that we were to be the liberators of Greece, or, at least, of her islands. In June 1807, a body of fifteen hundred Macedonian Greeks seized upon the isles of Skiathus and Chilidronia, not far from the mouth of the Gulf of Salonica, and offered to co-operate with the English squadron off the Dardanelles with a force of ten thousand men, but were advised by their intended allies to lay down their arms. The islanders of Hydra, which maintained three thousand seamen and one hundred and fifty ships, actually fitted out privateers against the Turks,

* Ὁ ἀρχέκακος καὶ πονηρὸς ὄφις ἐπενόησε τὸ ἔθνος τῶν Γάλλων, διὰ νὰ κολάσῃ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον γένος.

† Πρὸς τὲς Ῥωμάιες τῆς Ἑλλάδος—Φιλόπατρις ἐλευθεριάδης.—See as above.

and were disarmed, not by the Capudan Pasha, but by the British Admiral*.

This conduct, and the subsequent peace, checked any expectations which the Greek patriots might have entertained of being assisted by the English; and even now that the Mediterranean is in our possession, and even since we have occupied the Six Islands, they do not, as far as I could judge, hope to receive at our hands any decisive measures in their favour. They think of the vicinity of the Russians and French, whom, notwithstanding our prowess in Egypt, and our unrivalled naval superiority, they still consider the most formidable soldiers in the world, (πολὺ φοβερὸι στρατιώται, is their eulogy of them) and they believe us placed at the extremity of the world—at too great a distance to afford them any material support.

Even so late as the time of our travels, the notions prevalent amongst the generality of the Continental Greeks, and other people of the Levant, respecting our nation and country, were altogether laughable. I was informed that England was an island, a little bigger than Cefalonia, the chief town of which is called London; of this, however, all are not certain, for one person asked me whether England was in London, or London in England? In this town, all the English who are not employed at sea are supposed to live, except a few peasants, who inhabit the villages. But the far greater part of the nation exist upon the water, either in merchant-vessels or ships of war, the management of which is the sole purpose and occupation of their lives; and in which, together with manufacturing cloth, hardware, and trinkets, the English

* Leckie, Tract xxxiv. p. 34, 40, 41, 42, 43.

excel all the world. An Albanian directed a letter to his son, who was in our service, with this address:

To
Dervish Tacheere,
In the English Ships,
at Constantinople.

He supposed that my fellow-traveller and myself belonged, of course, to the English fleet, and after looking at the country by land, would join our vessels at the port of the great city. Some of the higher orders are doubtless better informed, and know as much about England, as the majority of our countrymen know about the present state of Greece: and thus, although they are far from being acquainted with the actual extent of our resources, they still believe us to be extremely powerful, and richer than any people in the world. They frequently advert to the great subject of their independence in their conversations with English travellers, and protest to them, as they do to French, Russians, Danes, Swedes, Dutch, and to every Frank, that with money, arms, and ten thousand foreign troops, they would expel the Turks from Europe.

It is easy then to see, that the Greeks consider their country to belong to them as much as it ever did, and look upon their right to the soil as not at all affected by an ejection of three centuries and a half. Their patriotism is a flame that has never been utterly smothered, although it has so long glimmered in obscurity, and has narrowly escaped from being, like the lamp of Rosicrucius, for ever extinguished by a heedless discovery.

It cannot perhaps be justly determined that the Ottoman empire in the Levant is now to be called an usurpation, and that the

Greeks, when in revolt, are therefore to be regarded, not as rebels, but as patriots fighting for the recovery of their birthright. If the Grand Signor cannot establish a claim to the throne of Constantinople, I know not of any sovereign in Europe whose title will bear an examination. The singularity of two nations living on the same spot, and of the conquered having been kept so entirely distinct from the conquerors, preserves the original injustice of the subjection fresh before our eyes. Were it not for this circumstance, neither the importance nor the character of the Greeks is such as to awaken the political or moral sympathies of the nations of Christendom. The country called Turkey in Europe has received such a perpetual succession of invaders and settlers, that it would be impossible to fix upon those in whom the right of possession might be justly vested. A great proportion of those who are comprehended under the term Romaioi (Ρωμαιοι), or Christians of the Greek Church, and amongst whom would be found the chief supporters of an insurrection, are certainly of a mixed origin, sprung from Scythian colonists. Such are the Albanians, the Maniotes, the Macedonian, Bulgarian, and Wallachian Greeks. And yet the whole nation, including, I presume, these Christians, has been computed only at two millions and a half, of all ages and sexes, and consequently there is no part of Continental Greece to which a body of Turks might not be instantly brought, sufficient to quell any revolt: the Mahometans of Albania are alone equal to the task, and on a rising of the *Giaours*, the Infidels, would leave all private dissension, to accomplish such a work. The Greeks taken collectively, cannot, in fact, be so properly called an individual people, as a religious sect dissenting from the established church of the Ottoman Empire.

Any general revolution of the Greeks, independent of foreign aid, is quite impracticable; for, although the great mass of the people, as is the case in all insurrections, has feeling and spirit enough to make the attempt, yet most of the higher classes, and all the clergy, except as far as expressions of discontent may be taken into account, are apparently willing to acquiesce in their present condition.

The Patriarch and Princes of the Fanal are at the devotion of the Porte. The primates of the towns and the richer merchants would be cautious not to move, unless they were certain of benefiting by the change; and of this backwardness in the chiefs of their nation, the Greeks are by no means insensible. They talk of it publicly, and make it the subject of their satire, revenging themselves, as is their constant practice, by a song. My fellow-traveller received as a present a long paper of verses to this import, which, in a dramatic colloquy between a Greek patriot, an Englishman, Frenchman, and Russian, a Metropolitan, a Waiwode of Wallachia, a Merchant and a Primate, and by the introduction of Greece, personified as a desolate female in tears, displays the apathy of the privileged classes, and concludes with this assertion of the Frank strangers: "We have found a Metropolitan, and a Bey of Wallachia, and a Merchant and a Primate, all friends to tyranny*."

This prudence, or timidity, of the chief men amongst them, not only diminishes the probability of an actual insurrection,

* Μετροπολίτην ἔυρομεν
Καὶ Μπὲι τῆς Βλαχίας,
Πραγμετευτὴν, καὶ πρόεστὸν
Φιλὸν τῆς τυραννίας.

Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München

but takes away from the zeal with which we might otherwise embark in their cause; and when we begin to examine the moral power, if I may use the expression, of the nation at large, we shall not be inclined to indulge in any very sanguine expectation of their future success.

The Greeks have in many instances shown a desperate frenzy in distress, and a sanguinary ferocity in prosperity, but are certainly not at all notorious for that cool, determined courage, which is necessary for the accomplishment of any great action. They are light, inconstant, and treacherous, exceedingly subtle in all their dealings, and remarkable for a total ignorance of the propriety of adhering to truth*. Their situation may account for these defects. I do not state them as objects of accusation; I merely state the fact. When Mahomet the Great overran the whole of Greece, he said he had found a great many *slaves*, but only one *man*†; and, according to the notions entertained of men by that conqueror, it is probable he would not, were he now alive, make a more favourable report of the present race.

The Christian powers, however, must naturally look with anxiety towards this people, or rather, towards their country; and, although sure of their co-operation, cannot but endeavour to cultivate such an acquaintance with them as might secure the immediate success of any future project. In this the English are more peculiarly interested; for the most important portion of the Greek nation is the islanders; and their marine, if any thing,

* It seems an odd sort of praise, but it has been bestowed upon the Greeks by Mr. Eton, p. 349 of his Survey, that they cannot tell the same story twice, *without varying the embellishments of circumstance and diction.*

† This was Thomas, a petty Prince, who defended the castle of Salenencia for a year against the Ottoman army.

promises to rescue their character from contempt, and give them that weight in Europe which they have lost for so many hundred years.

An attachment to commerce, one of the principal characteristics of the nation, arising from the topography of their country, as well as from its various productions, makes almost all the Greeks of the islands, and many of the inhabitants of the continent, acquainted at some time of their lives with the sea. There is a petty trade carried on in innumerable boats amongst the islands of the Archipelago, and thence, as also from the port of Smyrna, to Constantinople. These boats, called *volik*, are half-decked, and high at stem and stern, with one thick short mast, and a long yard. I have seen them as if in squadrons, with a strong breeze and rapid current, shooting out of the mouth of the Hellespont, their white cotton sails glittering in the sunshine, and pleasingly contrasted with the dark hue of the subjacent waters. This navigation is performed without the assistance of either chart or compass, and, as of old, only by the observation of the coasts and headlands.

But the Greeks are acquainted with the management of vessels of the largest size, and of the common European construction. They navigate the Ottoman navy, the warlike part of the duty alone being entrusted to the Turks, and they have also large merchant-ships of their own which trade as far as America and the West-Indies, making a voyage now and then to England. The natives of the island of Hydra, whose ships are built generally at Fiume, are reckoned the most expert and the boldest of their sailors.

Hydra, the Aristera of the Ancients, is a rock, about a league

from the main-land of cape Skyllo, almost bare, having only one town, which, however, contains inhabitants sufficient to man eighty ships of about three hundred tons burthen. The Hydriotes, by the carrying trade, have accumulated considerable wealth, and have purchased of the Porte the independent election of their magistrates; which privilege they exercised, for the first time since the fall of the Greek empire, in 1810. The building of the government-house in the island cost ten thousand pounds sterling. Their ships are usually armed with ten or twelve short cannons, and musquetry for the crew. In the common Greek songs, the burthen of which is Liberty, the Hydriotes are spoken of as being no less formidable by sea than the Sulliotes are by land. Spechia, of old the island Tiparenus, only six miles in length, and a little more than two in breadth, and off the same coast, maintains also at least sixty large vessels, chiefly occupied in the transportation of corn from the Morea to Constantinople, or to the south of France and Italy. It is the next to Hydra in the scale of the Greek marine.

The number of Greek mariners actually employed at sea, is supposed to be at least fifty thousand, and although the nautical skill of this people is not very considerable, (for they are totally unacquainted with the principles of navigation, and knowing not how to take a common observation, direct themselves by the compass only) a little practice under experienced seamen would render them capable of any naval service, and there is no doubt that their employment by an European power would soon supply many of the deficiencies of their present character.

The occupation of the islands of the Archipelago by some Christian power, has long been a favourite topic of speculation:

and many years ago, the traveller Sonnini settled Naxos to be the point which the French Government should fix upon for the centre of an insular dominion in these seas. A similar project has been very lately discussed, and proposed as a necessary step to be taken by the English Government, by a writer of our own nation, to whose work, dictated, if I may presume to offer such a judgment, by a generous and well-directed enthusiasm, I have before had occasion to refer. Any one who pronounces decisively on a variety of future events, must run the risk, in case of the non-accomplishment of his prophecies, of losing some little political reputation, and this Gentleman cannot but find a great many critics ready to turn to those of his pages * which first foretell the return of Mr. Adair from an ineffectual attempt to make peace with Turkey; and afterwards, (when the treaty, contrary to prediction, had been concluded), insist on the folly of supposing that the peace can continue inviolate †, or that we can recover our influence with the subjects of the Porte. Yet no one who has been in the country can fail to be struck with the general importance of his remarks, and with the truth of the fact upon which he most particularly dwells—the extreme neglect of the British interests in the Levant; a neglect arising, not from the incapacity of the Ministers employed abroad, but from a want of information in our Cabinet at home.

* Leckie, p. 484, Tract iv.

† Tract ii. of the Historical Survey of the Foreign Affairs of Great Britain for the Year 1810. Mr. Leckie's foresight with respect to Sicilian politics, may be balanced against these passages. Bayle, in his Dictionary, (Artic. Mahomet, note G. G.) relates, that a famous Minister in Amsterdam preached, during the siege of Vienna in 1683, that the city would be taken by the Turks; and on its being saved by John Sobieski, died of grief.

The justice of seizing upon the islands, or any other appanage of the Turkish Empire, may be fairly questioned; and the policy of the measure, at this, or any former juncture, is not hastily to be decided, nor without a knowledge of official details: but no doubt can be entertained of the propriety of strengthening our influence, and raising our character with the inhabitants of Turkey in Europe, and of providing by every precautionary scheme for such an emergency as the ambition of our great enemy is likely to produce. The certain co-operation of the Greeks, of the islands at least, in our favour, in case the expulsion of the Turks from Europe should be decided upon and undertaken by Bonaparte, should of course be secured by every means consistent with the good faith which we owe to the Turkish Government. It would indeed be a lamentable stroke, if the whole of the Christian population of Turkey should at once join a French invader, to the prejudice of the British, and in opposition to their efforts: and yet the nicest management is necessary to counteract those prejudices to our disadvantage, which even the most honourable conduct may awaken in the bosoms of the Greeks, who cannot easily separate the two ideas of a faithful ally of the Turks and of a determined enemy of their own nation. Unfortunately, an acquaintance with the national character of this people makes us inclined to dislike them so much, as to prevent us from wishing to examine the cause of their debasement, and from duly appreciating the improvement and important services which might be expected from them under a change of circumstances.

Although the least observation must show, that the situation of the two nations will not admit of their being compared; yet it is very true, that the Greeks and Turks are by most writers, and by late ones especially, put in the opposite scales of the same

balance, and so weighed that the character of the one cannot preponderate without that of the other kicking the beam. Thus a partiality for one nation seems to involve a necessary dislike of the other. An English traveller passes into Greece prepossessed in favour either of the Greeks or Turks, in proportion as he gives the preference to Mr. Eton or to Mr. Thornton. But there is surely no necessity for him to ask himself which he likes best, or to decide whether he likes either of them. He does not come into the country to acquire an affection or aversion for either one or the other, but to see as much as possible of the manners and characters of both. In all communications with other nations, we cannot be too sensible of the justice of a maxim, recorded by a lively person of the last century*—that we are not to despise the world, but to live in it.

Besides the mission at Constantinople, we have only one Minister in the Levant who is an Englishman by birth. Every other agent, whether under the denomination of Minister, Consul, or Vice-Consul, is a Greek, except at one or two places, where Jews are employed. The salaries of these agents, who are all petty traders, are not such as to enable them to support themselves with any respectability as representatives of the British Nation. The English Vice-Consul at Scio has about twelve pounds sterling a-year; the French Vice-Consul at the same place, eleven hundred zequins, between five and six hundred pounds. The conduct of some of the Vice-Consuls is exceedingly disgraceful. The person

* Colley Cibber.—See note to verse 167 of the Dunciad. Our countrymen are not sufficiently aware of the necessity of showing a disgust to none, and of making use of all. And this seems to be the case in the conduct of their concerns in Turkey.

settled in that capacity at Prevesa, who has many concerns with our Adriatic squadron, on receiving information that an English Midshipman had made a present of the wreck of a prize to some Albanians, near whose village (Volondorako, opposite to Sulli) he was thrown ashore, and who had received him very hospitably, applied to the Governor of Prevesa for an order to seize the vessel himself, pretending that all such casualties should turn to his advantage, as British Agent. He obtained the order, and was employed in making himself master of the hull and some damaged corn which it contained, whilst we were on the spot, and heard all the bitter complaints of the indignant Albanians, who did not think the English, they said, ever made a present in order to take it back again.

The French seldom employ any but French agents, and these are settled with adequate salaries in every sea-port town, and in many inland places. The unwearied activity of these persons, not only in commercial, but political concerns, although beneath the dignified state of a British Resident, is very serviceable to the cause which they intend to promote. It may be alleged, perhaps, that no Englishman would condescend to take these small places; they would not banish themselves, nor can they readily associate, as is the case with our enemies, with people of all kinds, stations, and capacities, from the most civilized to the most barbarous of mankind. And yet it would be well worth while to incur the expence of supporting some creditable commercial agents, who might, doubtless, be found amongst the mercantile establishments at Malta, and who, acting with vigilance and vigour under the British Minister at the Porte, without dealing out threats to the Turks and promises to the Greeks with the libe-

rality of a Frenchman, or having recourse to any low intrigue, might not only support the dignity of the national character, but put their Government in possession of very valuable information.

This leads me farther to remark, that considering how long we have been in possession of the Mediterranean, it is truly astonishing that the importance of the Seven Islands to us has been but lately acknowledged, and that Malta, instead of being made a grand dépôt for the support of a disposable force to be employed as occasion might require on the shores of the Levant, or even on the Italian coast, has been converted into little else than a large warehouse. The merchant-houses in the island in ten years, since the arrival of the English, have increased from two to fifty-six, several of which, during our stay in Turkey, became bankrupts.

Corfu, as far as relates to European Turkey, may be considered as more important even than Malta, and the possession of the Six Islands without their capital, can neither be tranquil nor very serviceable. The French have now rendered the town as strong as Malta, and the distance of the mainland of Italy from the island is so small, and the garrison is so continually supplied from the contiguous shores of Albania, as to give very little hope of the success of a mere naval blockade. The siege of the town by land would require a much larger force than we are likely to be able to spare. Our enemies are now prepared for an attack; yet little doubt is entertained by many in the Levant, that this strong post might have been occupied, with very little opposition, a year previously to the taking of Zante, when Lord Collingwood's squadron was in the Ionian Seas. The peculiar situation of the

British Ambassador at the Porte must prevent our being able to take advantage of any fortuitous circumstances, and the utmost vigour and ability in that Minister will often fail to be of any service, for want of prompt and immediate measures to second his advice.

From the first establishment of the embassy at Constantinople, in the time of Queen Elizabeth*, until within these fifteen years, the British Minister has been sent to the Porte merely with a reference to our commercial interests, and to give respectability to the Levant Company. The place was given as a favour to Noblemen, and other considerable persons, curious of observing the manners and customs of the Turks; and the Corps Diplomatique had little other business or object in view, than penetrating the walls of the far-famed Seraglio. It is not very generally known, that one of the prices set upon his patriotism by Mr. Wilkes, was the embassy to Constantinople.

But of late years, our relations with Turkey have become political and important in the highest degree, and the responsibility of the Ambassador has increased in a greater proportion, perhaps, than his discretionary power. His influence is divided with, and is, in a great measure, dependent on, the Commander in Chief in the Mediterranean. This officer now holds not only a great naval, but a diplomatic situation, and yet it is more than probable that he may know nothing at all of Turkish politics, and think

* The first English Ambassador in Turkey was, if I mistake not, William Hareborne, whom letters patent dated at Windsor Castle, the 26th of November, 1582, appointed *Oratorem, Nuntium, Procuratorem, Agentem, certum et indubitatum.* See Hakluyt's Navigations, Voyages, &c. 2d vol. fol. p. 157, edit. London, 1599.

only of protecting the trade from Smyrna to Malta, which is now become a secondary consideration. Of seventy-nine English pendants in the Mediterranean, there were, in 1809, only two, a frigate and sloop, on the Levant station. Now, unless those who are officially acquainted with our naval resources, have known it to be impracticable, it must, since the peace with Turkey, have been by no means an useless disposition of our force, to have had a small squadron always at hand, to act in conformity to the advice of the Minister at the Porte, who alone can be a judge of the measures which any emergency may require. By the time that arrangements can be made with the Commander in Chief off Toulon, who may himself choose to wait for instructions from home, the occasion may be gone by and lost. The Cabinet of London cannot lay down any unvarying line of conduct with regard to the Turks, who are not to be dealt with by rule or precedent, or to be managed, except by a sort of extemporaneous policy, which it must require an actual personal knowledge of them to arrange and conduct. This consideration might induce the Government to entrust their Ministers in Turkey, (where, if Napoleon succeeds by peace or war against Russia, we may soon have to play for our last stake), with an extended authority, which, even if not exerted, would give a considerable and requisite addition to his influence with the Porte, and with the subjects of the Ottoman empire.

What is here said, is *concio ad populum, non ad clerum.* The official gentlemen may know better: it shall only be added, that these hints might be followed up by a variety of details, (not sufficiently connected with the subject to be here inserted), which every traveller in the Levant has it in his power to collect

LETTER XXXV.

Departure from Athens—Passage to Smyrna—Entrance into the Gulf of Smyrna—The Promontory Melæna—The South Side of the Gulf—Clazomene—Sangiak-Bornou—The Shoals in the Gulf caused by the Hermus—Arrival at Smyrna—Description of the City—The Frank Quarter—The Frank Society—The Consuls in the Levant—The Greeks of Smyrna—The Armenians and Jews—The Buildings—The Burying-Grounds—The Castle—The Shut Port—The Hospital—Description of an Idiot—The English Hospital.

AFTER so long a digression from our own proceedings, it may be time to return to our tour, and give an account of our departure from Athens.—We were surprised on Sunday the 4th of March, by a visit from the Captain of an English sloop of war, who offered us a passage in his ship to Smyrna, which we accepted; and accordingly made every arrangement for taking leave of the place where we had so long and so agreeably resided. Having sent off our baggage before us on the Monday morning, we bid adieu to Athens at a little after one o'clock, and passing through the gate leading to the Piræus, we struck into the olive-wood on the road going to Salamis, galloping at a quick pace, in order to rid ourselves, by the hurry, of the pain of parting; for true it was, that

we were not a little melancholy at quitting the country; and that although there was certainly not a single existing tie to bind us to the spot, we felt that uneasy sensation which arises on beholding probably for the last time, objects rendered familiar by long use and habit. We could not refrain from looking back, as we passed rapidly to the shore, and we continued to direct our eyes towards the spot, where we had caught the last glimpse of the Theséum and the ruins of the Parthenon through the vistas in the woods, for many minutes after the city and the Acropolis had been totally hidden from our view. It was no affectation which drew from the philosophic Julian a tear at quitting his beloved Athens.

After riding round the shore of Port Phoron, and leaving the ruined tower on the crag of land which stretches from Corydallus, on our left hand, we arrived at the spot where the ship's boat was waiting for us, and embarking, soon found ourselves on board the Pylades, which was lying at anchor in seventeen fathoms water, between Salamis and the little island Psyttalia.

An English traveller has an advantage which no one of any other nation can enjoy, as, by the hospitable accommodation which he receives from the Naval Officers of his own country, he is not only most agreeably assisted in the progress of his journey, but has the opportunity of indulging in that honest national pride, which must necessarily arise from a personal acquaintance with the condition of the British marine, and with a character, whose existence and absolute predominance,

"above all Greek, above all Roman fame,"

must be for ever remarkable in the history of mankind.

At sun-set, contrary to the advice of four Greek pilots on board, who were not acquainted with the customary decision of the service, we got under weigh, but made very little progress during the night. The next morning we had a strong breeze from the south, and by twelve o'clock were off Cape Colonni. Doubling the southern cape of Macronesi, or Long Island, we passed, at four o'clock, the north of Andros, a mass of rocks, as barren as in the days of Themistocles, when Poverty and Despair were the tutelary deities of the island. From this point we bore north-west, looking out for the small rocks called Caloyero di Andro, which were discovered at six, and varied our course a little, to the north. The rocks seemed a small peaked cluster, about the size and height of our ship. They must be dangerous in a dark night, especially as in the charts of the Archipelago, which are all singularly incorrect, they are placed too far to the south.

During the evening and night, we had the same strong favourable breeze, and when we rose the next morning, found ourselves in the mouth of the Gulf of Smyrna. The wind was now adverse, and we were obliged to beat up the Gulf: this brought us close to the land on the south, part of the promontory anciently called Melæna, and now Kara-Bornou, a stupendous ridge of woody precipices. We saw a village near the summit of one of the crags, named, from the appearance of the surrounding soil, Kokkino Chorio—the Red Town. Sudden blasts from the hills, to which the gulf is very subject, rendered it difficult to carry much sail, and we did not get within sight of Smyrna during the day.

At three o'clock, a boat with a Midshipman came alongside, and informed us that the English frigate, the Frederickstein, had struck on a rock on the north side of the gulf. This accident

happened on a long neck of land, which runs out from a promontory, supposed to have been formerly the island Leuce.

The Captain of the Pylades, left us in his gig at six in the evening, being anxious to learn the fate of the frigate, and we continued beating up the gulf until twelve at night, when we dropped anchor in a bay under the hills to the south, near some islets, not far from the spot where Chandler found (but not discovered, as he says, Pococke* having before mentioned it) the mole of the ancient Clazomene, the work of Alexander, connecting the little island of St. John† with the mainland. A town on two small hills, three miles inland, distinguished by its numerous windmills, and called Vourla, overlooks the bay. To this

* Observations on Asia Minor, book ii. cap. ii. p. 40, edit. London, 1745. The mole is about thirty paces wide, and a quarter of a mile long. The first Clazomene, before the inhabitants fled from the Persians into the island, was on the mainland, not as Meletius says, at a place still called Κλαζομεννιὸ, on the east side of the bay, but nearly opposite the Island of St. John.

Strabo says the islets before Clazomene, were eight; Chandler saw but six. His words are, "Three of them were called Marathusa, Pele, Drymusa: it is probable the names of all of them are contained in a passage of Pliny, book v. cap. xxxvii."—Pliny's six names, in the thirty-first chapter, are, Pela, Drymusa, Anydros, Scopelos, Sycusa, Marathusa. Drymusa is called Kiuslim by the Turks, and Long Island by the Europeans. Marathusa was, according to Meletius, the island of St. John.

It may be worth while to insert all the biographical notice which Meletius takes of Clazomene, Κλαζομεννίος ἐστάθη Ἀναξαγόρας ὁ φιλόσοφος, ὅστις ἀπέδειχνε τὴν χιόνα νὰ ἔιναι μέλαινα—"amongst the natives of Clazomene was Anaxagoras, the philosopher, who discovered that snow is black." One might have expected that the Archbishop would have added another discovery of the same sage, namely, that the sun is bigger than Peloponesus.

† Travels in Asia Minor, cap. xxiv.

place the Clazomenians retired from the peninsula, to free themselves from the perpetual incursions of the pirates of Tino.

We weighed again at seven in the morning, and still kept near the south land, which, although very high, began to wear an appearance of cultivation that announced the vicinity of some large city. The vineyards running up the sides of the mountains, and the extensive tracts of corn-land spread out on the vallies beneath, the olive-groves, and gardens of fig, almond, and pomegranate trees, all contributed to give a tint of the liveliest green to the face of a landscape, whose beauties seemed to be on a much larger scale than those of any scene which we had witnessed in European Greece. We conceived, perhaps fancifully, that it was easy to distinguish, by its comparative magnitude, the other quarter of the world to which we were approaching, from that which we had lately left.

The whole of that projecting part of the continent of Asia, which has been distinguished by the name of the peninsula of Erythræ*, is composed of two ranges of gigantic hills, the first of which, running north-west to the promontory Melæna, is the mountain anciently called Mimas; and the second, stretching westward from the continent, that formerly called Corycus. Two peaks rising from a range more inland, once the hill Corax, are now named the Brothers. The whole of this vast mountainous tract is interspersed with thick forests, abounding with every descrip-

* The once famous town in a bay of the promontory Melæna, called now Rytre. Some bronze medals, several of which, in great preservation, are in my possession, were lately discovered on its site, having a head of Hercules on one side, and on the reverse the three initial letters of the town, and the names of the magistrates.

tion of game, and also with wild boars. The Franks of Smyrna frequently make parties, and encamp in the hills for several days, to enjoy the diversion afforded by the chace of these latter animals. The woods are driven, and the boars roused by peasants of the villages, assisted by their dogs, and the sportsmen, armed with guns, destroy the game in the passes, after the manner observed in shooting the Scotch roe. The isthmus, once called Chalcidis, connecting the peninsula with the main, having Teos* on the south, and Clazomene on the north, which is laid down at seven miles and a half in breadth†, is a tract of level well-cultivated land; we visited it in a shooting excursion from Smyrna.

The morning was spent in tacking backwards and forwards, and it was half past twelve o'clock before we came to a low fort on a tongue of land to the south, called Sangiak Bornou by the Turks, and Agia Souli by the Greeks, which forms the defence of the bay of Smyrna. We were obliged to steer near the castle, in order to avoid the shallows to the north: and we passed close to the mouths of enormous cannons, whose balls of granite were scattered about on the outside of the embrasures, so as to afford another ostentatious specimen of the calibre of these immense pieces of ordnance. The fort was built in 1656, and has been very lately repaired: I believe, during our war with Turkey. As it is defended on the land side by nothing but a low

* The ruins of Teos are seen at a place now called Bodrun; its port, Geræ, is now Segieck, three miles and a quarter from Bodrun, and reckoned eight hours from Smyrna.

† Plin. lib. v. cap. xxix. Strabo makes the distance fifty stadia, but does not allude, perhaps, to the whole breadth of the isthmus, but to the distance between the spot where the Alexandreia were celebrated, and the high ground of Clazomene. Alexander the Great endeavoured, by cutting through this isthmus, to turn the peninsula of Erythræ into an island.

wall and shallow ditch, not having a single gun mounted except towards the sea, all resistance from Sangiak castle would be effectually prevented by landing a company of marines.—The shoals (some of which, at certain periods of the year, are visible above the water) have been formed by the sand and mud deposited by the river Hermus, the mouth of which is a little to the north of the point opposite to Sangiak castle, and about seven miles and a half from Smyrna.

We took an opportunity, during our stay at Smyrna, of visiting the plain on the north side of the gulf, and found it to have every appearance of newly-created land. It was intersected by dykes to drain off the water, which, however, was ancle deep in many places, and rendered some portion of this new territory utterly inaccessible. A fishery constructed with fences, like that of Messalonge, projected to a considerable distance into the gulf. Farther inland, at the foot of the mountains, we had a view of a tract of garden land, and passed through some acres covered with the water-melon (the χειμονικὸν of the Greeks), with which the markets of Smyrna are supplied. The principal village, Menomen, was distinguishable at a distance by several ruined towers, the remains of fortresses erected at an early period by the first Turkish invaders.

We were told that several shoals had appeared during the memory of inhabitants still living at Smyrna, and our informants seemed to entertain serious apprehensions that the gulf would in time be entirely filled up. Yet notwithstanding the changes which the Hermus has, in the course of many ages, been supposed to have effected in this part of the coast*, there appears to

* Pliny talks of the plains made by the Hermus: "a Smyrna Hermus amnis campos facit."—Lib. v. cap. xxix. p. 77, edit. Paris, M.D.XXXII.

be some counteracting power, which has a tendency to prevent any such catastrophe; for the channel between the shoals and Sangiak castle, seems to have been as small in the time of Wheler*, as at the present moment. The event now apprehended was predicted fifty years ago, by another celebrated traveller, who, at the same time, however, recorded a circumstance, the possible recurrence of which, in some degree serves to render doubtful the accomplishment of the prophecy; namely, the disappearance of the shoal opposite to Sangiak castle, from the convulsion of an earthquake in 1739†. The continual incursion of the waters of the open sea, impelled by a strong breeze from the westward, called the Inbat, which blows almost daily during the summer months into the gulf, may contribute to dislodge the shoals from the mouth of the bay, and thus prevent the ingress into the harbour from being choaked up, until the whole of the inner bay shall be entirely filled with sand.

Soon after our passing the fort, we had a view of the city,

* See a Voyage through the Lesser Asia, book iii. p. 240, London, 1682.

† "The river Hermus, by its influence on the gulf, has already effected great changes, and will gradually accomplish some signal alterations, of which the progress deserves accurately to be marked. The flats before Smyrna will mutually approach, and leaving only a narrow ingress, the city will be on a lake. This will be fed by the Meles, and by torrents, and in time become fresh. The plague of gnats will then, if possible, be multiplied at Smyrna. The land will continue to increase until it is in a line with the mouth of the gulf, when the site of Clazomene, and the islets within Cara-Bornou, will be encompassed with soil: and if no current intervene, Phocea will be deprived of its harbour. The sea within the gulf will by degrees give place to a noble plain created and watered by the Hermus. Commerce will then have removed to some more commodious mart, and Smyrna be, if not utterly destroyed, desolate and forlorn."—Chandler, cap xxi. p. 77, London, 1776, sec. edit.

and being carried gently along by the breeze, which now began to rise, came to an anchor in the port at three in the afternoon, having been more than thirty hours in passing up the gulf, the depth of which is at the utmost not more than thirty miles*. The Frederickstein, so damaged that she was obliged to be heaved down, and the Salsette frigate, were in the port, and after dining on board the latter, we removed to the house of the Consul-General, to whose hospitality (with the exception of a few days spent in a short tour to Ephesus) we were indebted for a most agreeable residence until the 11th of April.

Smyrna, called by the Turks Ismeer (a corruption probably of ἡ Σμυρνα), as far as regards commerce, is without doubt the most considerable city of the Turkish empire; and notwithstanding the frequent calamities of plagues and earthquakes, continues to increase rather than to diminish in size, and is said to contain nearly a hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants. Previously to the year 1675, it had been partially destroyed six several times by earthquakes, and it was predicted that a seventh convulsion would be fatal to the whole city. Such a calamity, attended with a dreadful fire, and the swallowing up of multitudes by the incursion of the sea, recurred in 1688†, and did, indeed, very nearly fulfil the prophecy. Repeated shocks, and almost annual pestilences, have since that period laid waste this devoted city; and yet the convenience of a most spacious and secure harbour‡, to-

* Wheler makes it only twenty miles; Pococke states the width, at the western extremity, to be three leagues.—Observations on Asia Minor, book ii. p. 34.

† Meletius, article Ἰωνια, p. 465.

‡ Smyrna is eight days by land from Constantinople, four hundred miles by water, and twenty-five days, as the caravans travel, from Aleppo.—Tournefort, letter xxii. p. 496.

gether with the luxuriant fertility of the surrounding country, and the prescriptive excellence allowed during two thousand years to this port, in preference to the other maritime stations of Asia Minor, still operate to collect and keep together a vast mass of inhabitants from every quarter of the globe.—How much the population has increased in the last century and a half, may be seen by a reference to Tournefort *.

The narrow streets of this town, especially the Bazar and Bezestein, which are large and well-built, are on some days so crowded as to be almost impassable, and the press is increased by the camels, which, in strings of two or three hundred, preceded by an ass, pace slowly along, or lying down in the middle of the way, effectually prevent the crossing of passengers. The city is built partly on a hill, once called Pagus, the summit of which is crowned by a castle, and partly on a plain extending to the north of the eminence. The mercantile establishments have for more than two centuries drawn together so many Franks to Smyrna †, that the part of the town which runs along the edge of the water

* Tournefort reckoned the inhabitants of Smyrna at only 15,000 Turks, 10,000 Greeks, 1800 Jews, 200 Armenians, and as many Franks. Letter xxii. p. 495. Pococke makes the whole number nearly 100,000, of which 7000 or 8000 were Greeks, 2000 Armenians, and 5000 or 6000 Jews. Observations on Asia Minor, book ii. p. 37, edit. London, 1745.

† In 1702 there were thirty French merchants, nearly as many English, and eighteen or twenty Dutch. Tournefort, letter xxii. p. 496, Paris, edit. 4to. 1717. A list of the precious commodities exported by the European merchants, is given in Tournefort, (letter xxii. p. 498, Paris, edit. 4to. 1717); and in Pococke (Observat. on Asia Minor, book ii. cap. i. p. 38, edit. fol. London, 1745); their nature and quality are too well known to many of our London merchants, to require a statement in this place.

to the northern extremity, has been long allotted to them, and distinguished by the name of Frank Street. The houses of the Consuls and the principal merchants, are built altogether in a very commodious fashion, enclosing on three sides a court or small garden, but are only one story in height, and composed of unburnt brick in frames of plaistered laths. The warehouses, stables, and offices, are below, the family apartments above; open galleries or terraces, on the top of the unraised part of the lower buildings, serve for communication, or as a place of promenade. The best houses are at the edge of the water, and, as there is a stone pier for the whole length of the Frank town, are thus very conveniently situated for the loading and unloading of the boats from the ships. The mansion of the English Consul-General, as far as respects the interior of the building, is such as might do credit to any of the capital streets of London.—There is in the Frank quarter a very good hotel, besides several taverns and lodging-houses for the accommodation of travellers.

The many English, French, Dutch, German, and Italian families, which are settled in the place, and some of them having intermarried with the principal Greeks, formed, before the revolutionary war, a very large and amicable society, and the Frank quarter at Smyrna deserved and was flattered by the name of *Petit Paris.* Since that period, although the good understanding between those who are protected by the English, and those who are protected by the French Consul (to whom all not British, except a few Americans, and those under the Austrian Minister, are now subject), has been interrupted by the manners of the new regime, yet there still subsists an institution which renders a residence in Smyrna agreeable to strangers as well as to settlers. This is a club, which sup-

ports a set of public rooms, fitted up in a very comfortable and splendid style, called, as in Italy, the Casino. Here there is a reading-room furnished with all the papers and gazettes of Europe, except the English, and there are two other apartments with billiard tables: refreshments of every kind can be procured in the house, for those who choose to form parties for supper.—The rooms open at eight o'clock every evening; and during the Carnival, the subscribers give a ball once a week, to which all the respectable Greeks and the ladies of their families are invited. The annual subscription is five guineas, and all strangers, not residents of Smyrna, are permitted to attend the rooms without any payment. Unfortunately the wars of monarchs have become the wars of the merchants of Smyrna, and the Casino, during our visit, was threatened to be overturned by the national feuds of the two belligerents.

Nothing attracts the attention of a traveller in the Levant, more than the consular establishments*, which the Turks, so haughty and despotic, so averse to every thing Christian, have long suffered, and still suffer, to exist in almost all the principal towns of their empire. At Smyrna, the Frank town, no inconsiderable place of itself, may be said to be under the complete jurisdiction of the foreign powers. The Consuls display the standards of their respective nations; they have their prisons, and their soldiers, who wait at their gates and precede them when they walk or ride; and their houses are sanctuaries which not even the Turk attempts to penetrate.—On the night of the 10th of March, a Greek was murdered by an assassin, who took refuge

* The first residents of this name, were I believe appointed by the republic of Florence, in the time of the first Cosmo de Medicis, under the name of Consules Maritimi.

in the house of the French Consul. The next day the gate of the palace, as it is called, was besieged by Janissaries, and a crowd of the relations of the deceased. The man was not given up; and in consequence a whole host of complainants surrounded the Governor of the city as he was riding; but, as I myself saw, could get from him no other answer, than that he would speak to the French Minister.

This foreign interference, which the Turks originally admitted, strange as it may seem, solely from a contempt of the Christian dogs, and from a persuasion that these Infidel merchants were fitly employed in administering to the luxuries of the true believers, has not contributed to increase the good liking between the Mussulmans and the Franks at Smyrna, and dreadful disturbances have been sometimes excited, either by the presumption of the colonists, or the jealousy of the natives.

About nine years ago, a Venetian killed a Janissary, and fled to a vessel in the harbour. The Turks, after various attempts to get at the murderer, set fire to the Frank town; and finding the merchants had escaped to the ships, wreaked their vengeance on the Greeks and Armenians, three hundred of whom they slew in the streets. The crews of some Sclavonian vessels landing in boats, completed the distress, by plundering the warehouse of every Frank, except that of the English Consul-General, who, with the assistance of two faithful Janissaries, resolutely and successfully defended his house and property, and was the principal means of allaying the disturbance.

When the war between France and Turkey was declared, the lives of the French in Smyrna were saved only by a scheme, according to which the merchants were made prisoners by a body

of soldiers sent into the town by Cara Osman Oglou, the celebrated independent Pasha of Magnesia. It may be supposed that the Governor of Smyrna has a difficult task to perform, in keeping his city in tranquillity, and even in retaining possession of an office from which he may be removed, not only by the revolt of the citizens, but even (as has happened more than once) by the intrigues of the Foreign Consuls with the Ministers at the Porte. The present Governor purchased the renewal of his place in the time of the last Sultan Mustapha: Mahmoud Sultan sent another person to supersede him; but he prepared to resist with two thousand armed men, and by having recourse to the intercession of a Foreign Minister at the Porte, re-established himself in his post.

The Greeks of Smyrna, some of them, live near the Frank town, and others interspersed amongst the Turks. They are all in trade, differing in nothing from their countrymen in other parts of the Levant, and they are next in point of number to the Turks: they have an Archbishop and three churches. Since the increase of strangers, and the removal of the factories once settled at Aleppo, to Smyrna, the intermarriage between the Greeks and Franks has not taken place so frequently as in former times.

Dr. Chandler* mentions the ladies of the merchants as dressed in the Oriental fashion, and having the manners of natives. At present that singularity is not to be observed, except in one or two instances, and the tendour alone is now left, of all the particularities remarked by that traveller in the houses of the factors. This utensil, similar to a contrivance employed in Holland, is a

* Travels in Asia Minor, cap. xix.

brazier placed under a table covered with a green cloth or carpet, under which the assembled females of the family hide their feet.

Harps and piano-fortes, and many articles of ornamental furniture, from London and Paris, are to be seen in the drawing-rooms of Smyrna. When abroad, the ladies generally wear a veil; and I observed also, that in a large assembly of them at the Roman Catholic chapel, they had all scarfs over the left shoulder, tied in a large loose knot behind. A girl at Smyrna, even when she is an only daughter, is considered possessed of a handsome fortune if she is heiress to ten thousand piasters.

The clerks in the merchant-houses are most of them Greeks; but the domestics employed in the families are Armenians; and the lower servants, or porters of the factories, Jews, who, notwithstanding their laborious employments, live chiefly on bread and dried olives, and can support themselves for about three paras a day, although their daily pay, as well as that of other labourers in the country, is from thirty to forty paras. The principal brokers in the place are also of that nation, which is sufficiently numerous to maintain five or six synagogues.

The Armenians live in a quarter of the town to the north-east of the Franks, and between the Greeks and Turks, called the Three Corners*, and have a large well-built church of their own, although many of them, being of the Roman Catholic persuasion, frequent the Frank chapel.

What may be called the principal buildings of the town, are the Bazar and Bezestein, and a han called Vizir Han, built nearly

* Near the Three Corners, was the ruin seen by Wheler, which Chandler supposed part of the ancient Gymnasium. Travels in Asia Minor, cap. xviii. p. 6, 2d edit.

a century and a half ago, and chiefly constructed out of the marble ruins from the site of the ancient theatre in the north side of the Castle-hill. The mountain Pagus itself contained veins of fine marble, and some vestiges of the quarries are now to be seen under the spot once occupied by the theatre, which, from a pedestal found by Mr. Spon on the spot, has been supposed the work of the Emperor Claudius. The site of this building, as well as that of the *S*tadium, is still visible to those accustomed to the position usually chosen for such places in the Grecian cities, whose architects assisted themselves in forming these structures, by raising only a part of the circular range of seats on arches, and excavating the remainder of the amphitheatre out of the slope of a hill. Every part of the buildings themselves has disappeared.

There is a considerable space unoccupied by any houses between the suburbs and the summit of the hill, and this is allotted for a burying-ground to the Jews, who have nearly covered it with their tomb-stones, lying flat on the ground, and not raised in the manner usual in our church-yards.

A little to the north-east of the Jews' burying-ground, and also on the side of the Castle-hill, is a Turkish cemetery, the most populous I ever saw, walled in and shaded by a thick forest of cypresses. This fine tree has with its gloomy green, long overshadowed the memorials of mortality; and its thick foliage, as well as the grateful odour of its wood, must serve to counteract the effects which would otherwise be produced, if graves, only a foot or two in depth, and containing corpses without coffins, were exposed to the burning summer sun. The hardness and lightness of the cypress wood render it very serviceable for the construction of

chests, or of any furniture which requires durable materials. The Romans, as we learn from a line in Horace*, preserved their manuscripts in boxes, or between layers cut from this tree, believing it, according to Pliny†, to be capable of resisting decay, and keeping out the moth.

The walls of the castle are extensive, and the lower stones, like those of the citadel of Arta, are too massive to be confounded with the superstructure which was erected at the beginning of the thirteenth century, by John Angelus Commenus. The cisterns in the fort are also of a date coeval with the first foundation of the new city of Smyrna by Antigonus and Lysimachus‡.

* "..... linenda cedro, et lævi servanda cupresso."—De Arte Poet. lin. 332,

† Plin. lib. xvi. cap. xlii. The folding doors of the Temple of Ephesus were of cypress, and after four hundred years looked like new ones, cap. xl.

‡ The ancient Smyrnéans came from the neighbourhood of Ephesus, and dispossessed the people called Leleges, then living on the site of the ancient Smyrna, about twenty stadia, two Roman miles and a half, from the new city. The Smyrnéans were afterwards expelled by the Æolians, and retired to Colophon, but returning with an auxiliary force, recovered their town (Strabon. Geog. lib. xiv. p. 634, edit. Xyland, Parisiis, M.DCXX). The Æolian Smyrna is that which contended for the birth of Homer. The Lydians under Gyges, in a war which was the subject of a poem in elegiac verse by Mimnermus, (Paus. Bœotic. p. 884, edit. Xyland), destroyed the place, and the Smyrnéans lived dispersed in villages for four hundred years (Strab. lib. xiv. p. 646, edit. qu. sup). Alexander the Great sleeping after the chase on Mount Pagus, was warned by the goddesses Nemeses in a dream, to build a city on the hill where he slept, and people it with the Smyrnéans, who on consulting the Oracle at Claros, were told, that those would be thrice and four times happy who should till the lands on the *farther bank of the sacred Meles*. (Paus. Achaic. p. 404 and 405, edit. qu. sup. Hanov. M.DC.XIII). The task was begun by Antigonus, and finished by Lysimachus. Smyrna was the most

The castle can now hardly be said to be fortified, although a few cannon are still mounted on the tottering walls. A low eminence to the south-west of the Castle-hill, and separated from it only

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beautiful of the Asiatic cities; part of it was built on the hill, but the larger portion of it on the plain towards the port, and the Temple of Cybele and the Gymnasium. The streets were large, and constructed at right angles to each other, and well paved. There were large square porticoes both in the higher and lower part of the city; besides a library and a Homerium, which was a square portico containing a temple and an image of Homer. The Meles flowed by the walls, and besides the other structures, there was a port which might be shut, (Strab. lib. xiv. p. 646, edit. qu. sup). It was the first city in Asia Minor which, even during the existence of Carthage, erected a temple to "Rome the Goddess," (Tacit. Annal. lib. iv. sect. 56). Part of the city was destroyed by Dolabella, when he slew Trebonius, one of the conspirators against Cæsar. But it flourished under the early Emperors, and under Caracalla took the name of the First City of Asia.

Meletius in his Geography, (article Ιωνία), mentions that Smyrna was in possession of the Venetians from the year 1056 to 1343; but the more accurate sketch of its modern history is given in Tournefort (letter xxii. p. 508, Paris, edit. 1717), and in Chandler, (p. 59). In 1084 it was taken by a Turkish insurgent called Tzachas, and in 1097 by John Ducas. In the thirteenth century it was in ruins, except the Acropolis on Mount Pagus, which was beautified and restored by John Angelus Commenus, who died in 1224. In 1313 it was conquered by Atin, the Sultan of Lydia, and was subjected in 1332 to Homur, his son and successor; but in 1345 some Knights of Rhodes surprised, and made themselves master of a fort called the Castle of St. Peter near the port, the ancient shut port, which they retained, in spite of the efforts of Sultan Amurath the First, and Bajazet, together with a new town attached to it, until they were expelled by Tamerlane in 1402. The Acropolis and the Latin City, commanded by an independent Turk, Cineis, or Cineites, son of Carasupasi, governor of Ephesus, was taken, with the assistance of the Grand Master of Rhodes, by Mahomet the First, who destroyed fort St. Peter, and retired; but returning in 1424, finally subdued the city, which has continued from that period in the hands of the Ottoman Sultans.

by a narrow valley, through which runs the road to the Ephesus, has been called the Windmill-hill. On its summit are seen large foundation stones, and it appears to have been included within the wall of the ancient city. In the south-western quarter is a recess, where there are vestiges of the shut port mentioned by Strabo, which was choked up by Tamerlane*; and here the small armed boats belonging to the Governor, or other Turks of the town, are laid up in dock. An old fort (built perhaps out of the Castle of St. Peter†, which was constructed by the Latins, whom Lord Sandwich, in his Voyage round the Mediterranean‡, apparently on the authority of Tournefort§, calls Genoese) stands at the mouth of this artificial basin, and contains a few cannon, which the Turks discharge on days of rejoicing.

The building which most attracted our attention at Smyrna, was a large public hospital at the north-east side of the Frank quarter. It is supported by, and is under the controul of the Christians, being superintended by Greek physicians, who have formed a sort of college, or faculty, and are in more repute at Smyrna than in other parts of Turkey. The building is an open square divided into a laboratory and three sets of wards surrounding a court-yard, which is pleasantly shaded by rows of trees. One of the wards is appropriated to patients of every description; another is for the reception of infirm and bed-ridden

* See the foregoing note.

† See the foregoing note.

‡ Page 307, London 1749.

§ The Genoese historians fix the expedition against Smyrna at the year 1346. The city itself was taken by Morbassan, a general of Sultan Orcan the Second, about that period, so that these Genoese may perhaps be identified with the Knights of Rhodes.—See Tournefort, letter xxii. p. 509.

old women; and a third for idiots and maniacs. Of this last class there were, when we saw the place, several most distressing objects; but the one which alone was deserving of particular notice, was a female, distinguished by the appellation of the Wild Woman, quite dumb, nearly deaf, and possessed of no one consciousness belonging to humanity. She was sitting, rolled up, as it were, upon a truss of straw in the corner of her cell. Her legs were crooked under her, but upon the name, "Athoula," to which she would sometimes attend, being loudly called, she hopped slowly towards us, pushing herself along principally by the use of her hands. Her length (for height she had none), if extended, would have been about three feet and a half. Her head was sunk on her chest; not a muscle of her face moved, and the keeper who attended us, passed his hand over every feature, in order to point out its conformation, without her seeming sensible of his touch. Her head was entirely bald, her eyes small, sunk in her head and fixed, and her ears were of a disproportionate magnitude. An idiotic smile was settled on her mouth, and every line of her countenance indicated an entire absence of reason. Her skin was yellow and shrivelled, but smooth, and neither body nor limbs, although distorted, were at all monstrous in any particular, except that her fingers'-ends had the appearance rather of claws than nails.

The keeper, and other persons whose authority I understood might be depended upon, informed me, that Athoula, who was thought, although upon no certain grounds, to be near sixty years old, had been nine years in the hospital, to which she had been brought by a person who had found her in a wood near Smyrna, and had nourished her for many years at his own expence. When found, she was without any clothes; she had not the use of her

feet, but appeared young and active. In other respects, she was the same creature as when seen by us. That a being so idiotic could procure itself food, seems impossible; and this unfortunate creature cannot be supposed to have continued any length of time in the forest, but rather to have been left behind by some of the wandering tribes of Turcomans, or of the Zinganies or Gypsies, which often advance to the vicinity of the city. My Lord Monboddo's theory will, I fear, receive no additional support from this singular fact, nor Athoula be thought a fit match for Mons. Condamine's Wild Girl*.



ATHOULA,
Smyrna, March 28, 1810.

Besides this asylum, there is a small hospital belonging to the British Factory, pleasantly situated in the outskirts of the town to the north, which is as neat and comfortable as any similar establishment in England. But the merchants in our time were provided neither with a resident physician nor a chaplain, so that, were it not for the occasional attendance of the surgeons from the ships on the Levant station, the hospital would be not more serviceable than the elegant chapel attached to the house of the Consul-General.

* Mr. H. Tooke, however, has, from good authority, furnished his Lordship with a tail of a foot long, and a tail like the tail of a horse, at least of such a horse as Archbishop Becket used to ride. See ΕΠΕΑ ΠΤΕΡΟΕΝΤΑ, Part I. cap. ix. p. 397, sec. edit. London, 1798.

LETTER XXXVI.

The Musselim's Summer Residence—Fruits—Sherbets—Fish—Meats—The Inner Bay—The Flat near Smyrna—Game of the Djerid—Horses of the Turks—The Meles—Caravan Bridge—Homer's Cave—The Site of the Æolian Smyrna—The Road to Bournabat: that Village described—The Storks—The Village of Boudjah—The Plague—The Climate—Cranes—Chameleons—Lizards.

BEYOND the Frank street to the north, and close to the edge of the water, is the summer residence of the Musselim, or Governor of Smyrna. This title is given to the commanders of some large cities in Turkey. The house is in the midst of a spacious garden, and many acres of the adjoining grounds, belonging to the principal Franks, are laid out in the same manner, and abound with almost every species of fruit of the finest quality*. Their figs, which are eaten when green, and their grapes, so

* Les orangers y sont si communs qu'on ne daigne pas en cueillir le fruit, de maniere qu'il reste sur l'arbre toute l'année jusqu'à ce que les fleurs poussent. Le figuier, l'olivier et le grenadier croissent pêle-mêle dans les champs. —Hasselquist, Voyages dans le Levant, premiere partie, p. 38, edit. Paris, 1769. The ground-ivy (the χαμαικισσος of the Greeks) is found in great quantities in the gardens.

much prized in Europe, are not more delicious than their citrons, lemons, oranges, pomegranates, and melons.

In the city there are several shops in almost every street, where sherbets, made from these fruits, are sold. The sherbets are sweetened with honey and pomegranate seeds, and are exposed in the open windows in coloured glass jars, or in small tin fountains, in which, by means of a little wheel turning round after the manner of an overshot-mill, the liquor plays through several slender tubes into the basin below. The heat of the climate renders these cooling draughts, although they are extremely insipid, not only grateful, but exceedingly salubrious. Whey, sour thick milk, called yaourt, or ὀξύγαλα, and caimac, or ἀφρόγαλα, something like our clotted cream, and no bad substitute for butter, are also consumed in great quantities, not only in Smyrna, but in every large town in Turkey. The wines, particularly the muscat and dry white wine, made in the neighbouring plains and on the sides of the hills, are much esteemed, and they receive an additional flavour by having the dry and powdered blossom of the vine steeped in them during their fermentation.

The tables of the Franks of Smyrna are supplied with every delicacy. Fish abound in the bay, particularly the red mullet: in March and April, oysters and sea-urchins, and other shell-fish, amounting, according to Hasselquist, to more than ten different sorts*, are dragged up from the beds in the inner part of the harbour, and innumerable fishing-boats, covered with a black-tented sail, are at that season moored at a little distance from the shore.

* Nous ne connoissons que les huitres, et ils ont dix sortes de coquillages, sans compter les ecrevisses de mer, les cancres, les chevrettes, les langoustins, &c. &c.—Voyage dans le Levant, edit. Paris, 1769, seconde partie, page 134.

Hares, red-legged partridges*, woodcocks, and snipes in abundance, are found in the vicinity of the city.

The butchers'-meat cannot be kept long enough in the hot months, to become tender and palatable; but the mutton of the broad-tailed sheep, the common breed of Asia Minor, is of an excellent quality. It is between eleven and twelve paras a pound. One of the most disgusting sights in Turkey, is a meat-market. The limbs of the slaughtered animals have the appearance of being torn, rather than cut into portions, and lie in mangled heaps together, exposed to the dirt and heat. Beef is very little esteemed, but I have found it fat and well-flavoured at the tables of the Franks.

Beyond the Musselim's country-house to the north, is a flat marshy piece of land, round which the sea winds, and forms a bay to the east. This is a sort of inner harbour.

About half a mile down the harbour, there is a long wooden pier projecting from the land, near which the large merchant vessels are laid up to refit. This inner port was, when we saw it, full of Dutch and other ships, under the French flag, unwilling to run the risk of being captured by the English cruisers. Nevertheless, a very considerable trade was carrying on in American, Greek, and Barbary vessels, with the French ports. American ships have also lately furnished Smyrna with many articles from the other hemisphere, which were once supplied by France and England†.

* The red-legged partridges are reared in broods, like domestic fowls, by the peasants of Scio.—See Busbeck's Letters, translated, London edit. 1744, p. 129.

† The whole system and policy of our Levant trade have undergone a change by our possession of Malta and the Mediterranean, and by the circumstances

The Frederickstein frigate was heaved down at the point of the wooden pier, which being covered with her guns and stores, was protected by a guard, much to the surprise of the

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of the present war. The monopoly of the Turkey Company, against which Dean Tucker exclaimed many years ago, seems not at all favourable to the British interests in the Levant. During our stay at Smyrna and Constantinople, I took the opportunity of making several inquiries respecting the British Turkey trade; but a mercantile gentleman, Mr. Galt, who was in the Levant at the same time with myself, having published his travels, and given the result of his observations, I refer to his work (page 372, 4to.), and content myself with hinting at these general prominent facts which fell within my own notice. First, that English cloths, the former staple export, being undersold by the German, scarcely find a market in the Levant, and are, therefore, seldom to be met with; but that cottons of our manufacture are in great demand; secondly, that the direct trade in English bottoms from London to Smyrna has nearly ceased, the goods being conveyed from Malta in Greek vessels; and thirdly, that as a channel for supplying the European continent with our manufactures and colonial produce, has now been opened at Salonica, whence our exports are now conveyed over land into Germany, the necessity of opening the trade, or at least of forming other establishments in addition to those at Smyrna and Constantinople, becomes every day more apparent. To this may be added, that our resident Levant merchants are not sufficiently interested in the English trade, as they are able to engage with the merchants of other countries. Some of them having been long settled, have married and become otherwise connected with French, Dutch, and other Frank families, and have a share in their concerns. The success of a British cruiser has more than once been nearly fatal to the fortunes of some of these British merchants; and I remember, that not a little address was employed at Smyrna, to learn the destination of the sloop Pylades, after she had brought us from Athens. As then these gentlemen have found a means of carrying on their speculations, even in the event of a war between Great Britain and the Turks, any English Negotiator with the Porte, must not be surprised at finding his endeavours but poorly seconded by the resident members of the Levant Company.

inquisitive Turks, who did not know what to think of being turned off from their accustomed walking-place. The flat piece of land has increased considerably in half a century; for Hasselquist, who travelled in 1750, describes it as about an acre of ground. There are certain evidences, as that naturalist has observed, that not only the flat, but the garden ground more inland, have been gained from the sea; for marine plants, and such grasses as will not grow without sea-salt, besides shells of every sort, are still found upon this new soil*. This is the spot on which the Turks amuse themselves at their favourite pastime of throwing the djerid. They generally chuse a Sunday for this sport, when all the Greeks and Franks are enjoying the sea-breezes on the beach.

On the 11th of March, the spot was crowded with them mounted on horses superbly caparisoned, the Musselim himself, with the chief Agas of the city, being amongst the number. Several slaves, chiefly blacks, were attending on foot. Each of the riders was furnished with one or two djerids (straight white sticks, a little thinner than an umbrella stick, less at one end than at the other, and about an ell in length), together with a thin cane, crooked at the head. The sport soon began.

The horsemen, perhaps a hundred in number, galloped about in as narrow a space as possible, throwing the djerids at each other, and shouting: each man, selecting an opponent who had darted his djerid, and was for the moment without a weapon, rushed furiously towards him, screaming "Ollóh! Ollóh!" The

* Voyages dans le Levant, premiere partie, p. 40 and 52, edit. Paris, 1799, "le brin de buissons, le jonc marin (arundo phragmites et donax)," and more particularly "le Triglochin palustre de Suede."

other fled, looking behind him, and the instant the dart was launched, either stooped downwards, almost touching the ground with his head, or wheeled his horse with an inconceivable rapidity, and picking up a djerid with his cane, or taking one from a running slave, in his turn pursued the enemy, who wheeled instantly on throwing his djerid. The greatest dexterity was requisite and practised, in order to avoid the concurrence of the different parties, and to escape the random blows of the djerids, which were flying in every direction.

The chief performer was a Mameluke slave, mounted on an Arabian courser, whom I observed generally engaged with the Musselim, who was himself a very expert player. His djerid flew with a celerity almost sightless, perhaps for a hundred yards, and when it struck against the high back of the flying horseman's saddle, sounded through all the field. He would wheel in as small a space as would suffice for an expert skaiter; and not unfrequently he caught the flying djerids in the air, and returned them at his pursuer, before the other could have time to turn his horse.

The sport is not a little hazardous: a blow on the temple might be fatal; and several accidents have occurred, which might reasonably deter any one from exposing himself on such occasions. The late Capudan Pasha, Kutchuc Hussein Pasha, cut off the head of one of his officers who wounded him on the shoulder with a djerid. The conduct of Jussuff Pasha, twice Grand Vizier, was indeed very different. When he was Musselim of Erzeroum, a slave deprived him of his right eye by a similar accident: Jussuff, on recovering from the first stupefaction of the blow, ordered the man a purse of money, with an injunction to quit the city immediately; "for," added he, "though I am not angry now,

I know not what I may be when I come to feel the consequences of this accident."

The Mahometan had arrived at a more humane and practical wisdom by the generosity of his nature, than a sage of antiquity taught himself by the prudential maxims of his own philosophical sect—"I am not enraged at present," said Diogenes the stoic, to a man who spit in his face, "but I doubt whether or not I ought to be angry*."

The Turks engaged in this amusement with a childish eagerness, and however manly the exercise may be, a foreigner cannot help thinking, that it would be very laughable to see the Mayor and Magistrates belonging to a town in his own country, galloping about in a circle, and flinging sticks at each other for an hour together. The custom, however, seems as old as the empire of the Parthians, whose method of fighting it must have been meant to represent, and it is practised by all the inhabitants of the East who excel in horsemanship.

Niehbuhr the traveller has given in his work, a representation of the Governor and chief Arabs of Loheia, in Yemen, playing in parties of four; and the Moors left the same game, called *juego de canas*, behind them in Spain, where it was revived at the marriage of King Charles the Fourth, when prince of the Asturias. There, as in Arabia, it was not performed promiscuously, but in quadrilles composed of the grandees, and headed by a prince of the blood†.

The great men of Turkey, like those of most countries, are all

* Seneca de Ira. lib. iii. cap. 38.

† See Carter's Journey from Gibraltar to Malaga.

expert horsemen, and exemplify the saying of Carneades, who averred, that rich men, and sons of kings, are generally good riders; because a horse is not like other instructors, a flatterer, but will throw down any person of any rank who has not learnt to keep his seat well*.

Every one knows what care and attention are paid by the Orientals to their horses. The Turk thinks it beneath his dignity, and indeed has no notion how any one can feel inclined, to walk for amusement, and if he has only ten steps to go, always mounts his charger. The numbers and condition of his stud, are the true criterion of his wealth and importance; and the Pashas, when they would show any distinguished honour to a guest, fail not to present him with a horse. It is said of the Sultan Saladin, that he never mounted a courser which he had not either given away or promised. The horses of the Turks bear no marks of ill-treatment, but are in general sleek, plump, and spirited, and the kind usage they receive from their grooms, renders them exceedingly tractable and free from vice. They are neither so fast, nor capable of bearing such a continued quick pace as those of our own breed. Their best paces are a walk and gallop, although the first is often interrupted by a curvetting amble, and the last is constrained by the custom of frequently stopping them short at full speed. This is effected by means of the long bit. The inner-corner of the stirrup, which is like the head of a fire-shovel, serves the purpose of a spur, except that the Tartars or couriers generally have a kind of short goad fixed to the heel of their boots. Entire horses are alone in use, for the Orientals are, in this par-

* Menag. Observat. in Diog. Laert. lib. iv. seg. 66, p. 185, edit. Wetsten.

ticular, less cruel to the brute creation than to their own species, and have never adopted a custom which is universal amongst the Franks, and bespeaks their origin from the barbarian nations of the north*. They live to a very advanced period of life, although I cannot say I was ever shown any which were said to be fifty years old, the age of the horses seen by Busbeck in the stables of Sultan Solyman†.

In the spring of the year the Turkish horses are tethered in the downs, and amongst the young corn. They are fed, when in the stable, upon barley and chopped straw; the use of oats never having been, from the earliest times to the present day, introduced amongst the Oriental nations. There are no separate stalls in their stables, but their fore legs are shackled, and one of their hinder legs confined by a rope, to prevent them from doing each other any mischief by kicking. Dried horse-dung is used instead of straw, for litter.

It cannot be thought that a people, who have no physicians that can cure the diseases of men, should understand the treatment of maladies in horses; yet the Turks are successful in some cases which might puzzle an European practitioner. Total blindness is not unfrequently removed in the following manner:—They run a needle and thread round the back part of the eye; then, by means of the thread, they draw the eye almost out of the socket, so as to reach the back of it, and with a razor or knife cut off the horny excrescence which is the cause of the disease: washing the wound with a little salt, they afterwards return the part to its

* Ἰδίον δὲ τῆ Σκυθικῆ καὶ τῆ Σαρματικῆ παντὸς ἔθνους, τὸ τοὺς ἵππους ἐκτέμνειν, εὐπειθείας χάριν.—Strab. lib. vii. p. 312, edit. Xyland.

† Busbeck's Letters, translated, London edit. 1744, p. 133.

position, and consider the horse as sufficiently recovered to be used the next day.

Below the djerid ground and the pier, the land is marshy, and intersected with dykes near the water. Amongst their gardens, the stream of the Meles is lost during the summer, but in the winter, and even in the spring of the year, flows through a shallow pebbly channel into the lower bay. The river has its source in a ravin, about a mile and a half on the south-east side of the Castle-hill; it runs in a deep valley, crossed by two aqueducts; the one is in ruins, the other still serving to furnish the town with water supplied by torrents from the mountains. Immediately at the back (the east of the suburbs), the Meles flows in a broad placid stream through a green meadow; at this point it is crossed by a one-arched bridge, and two or three large weeping willows hang over its margin. Under the shade of these trees, the Turks collect in parties to smoke; and the meadow of Caravan Bridge, for so the place is called, is the Mall of Smyrna. Beyond the bridge the river becomes more wide, and no longer confined between its banks, overflows the road at the back of the suburbs, and spreads into the olive-groves, and fields and gardens.

The Meles, in its short progress, is equally serviceable to the modern as it was to the ancient Smyrnéans, but it has lost the name by which it was once so famous, and goes by the usual appellation of "*the Water*." The pleasing fiction which conferred so much celebrity upon this *sacred stream*, after being for ages forgotten, was revived by a traveller of our own nation*; for a cave

* See Chandler, chap. xx. Travels in Asia Minor.

in the bank above the aqueduct, near the source of the river, is shown, on the authority of that learned person, as the solitary retreat in which the divine poet was accustomed to compose his verse. No other memorial of Homer now remains. The Homerium, called by some the Temple of Janus, and seen by Wheler, had disappeared before Chandler travelled, as well as the tomb of St. Polycarp, who is said to have been burnt or torn to pieces in the amphitheatre of the ancient city. But the worship of the Saint has survived that of the Poet; for the 23rd of February is set apart as the festival of the first Christian Bishop of Smyrna, "the Lieutenant-general of the great army of Martyrs*."

To the east of the Meles, lower down in the inner bay, amongst the marshes and under a low hill, some vestiges of what has been supposed ancient Smyrna, the original city, were discovered by Pococke †. They are near some springs of water mentioned in all books of travels, and still well known at Smyrna under the name of the Baths of Diana. Wheler thought the Æolian Smyrna had been on a hill, south of the present city; but the Clarian Oracle seems to show, that, with a reference to the ancient settlement, the position of Mount Pagus was *beyond* the sacred Meles. Now Mount Pagus, the Castle-hill, is to the south-west of the Meles; therefore the ancient Smyrnéans lived to the north of that river.

At the extremity of the inner bay there is a sort of scale or landing-place, near which is a solitary hut kept by a Turk, who supplies you with coffee and a pipe, and a mat—the usual accom-

* Wheler. A Voyage in the Lesser Asia, book iii. p. 245.

† Observations on Asia Minor, book ii. p. 39, London, fol. edit. 1765.

modations of these resting-places. At this place there is a number of jack-asses kept ready saddled, for the use of those going to the large village of Bonavre, or Bournabat, which is about four miles up the country, in a direction north-east from the city. The jack-asses are attended by boys; and the hire of the beast is thirty paras for going to the village, and the same sum for returning from it. The whole road from the shore to Bournabat is between hedge-rows.

When riding to the village, we found ourselves in a beautiful green lane, which, as we had seen nothing like it since the commencement of our tour, made us forget we were in Turkey. Trees thickly dispersed in the hedges, gave the whole country the woody appearance of one of our most cultivated English counties. They were chiefly of the sort producing *amygdalon*, or wild almond, which was then (March the 21st) green, and eaten by the peasants. The grounds on each side the road (which are of a chalky soil mixed with a portion of sand, and covered with a light black earth) were laid out in corn-fields, or cultivated with the cotton and tobacco plant, interspersed with many large gardens and olive-groves. The anemone, tulip, and ranunculus, were blooming in wild profusion under the hedges and beside the path. A little way from the village we passed a very large burying-ground, shaded by an extensive forest of cypresses. From the magnitude of this cemetery, Bournabat is supposed to have been once a town of some note, and, indeed, the first patents granted to our Levant Consuls, gave them jurisdiction at *Smyrna* and *Bonavre:* at present, the village is chiefly composed of very elegant country-houses, built in the European fashion, belonging to the merchants of Smyrna. It contains one

open space, surrounded by a few neat shops, and shaded by several large and aged cedar trees, the branches of which are hung with storks' nests. These birds had arrived from their winter quarters nearly at the time when we passed into Asia. They were stalking about on the flat roofs of the houses, and even in the streets of Bournabat, perfectly unmolested. Such, indeed, is the attachment of the storks to the habitation of man, that I do not recollect to have ever seen their nests in a tree at any distance from some human dwelling, and they build even in the tops of moscks and inhabited houses: I have observed many in the suburbs of Constantinople.—The traveller, in his walks amidst the ruins of ancient cities, is often awakened from his reverie by the loud chatterings of one of these domestic birds, perched on the fragment of a column, or on the shed of the solitary shepherd. The clapping of their long bills produces a sound similar to, and full as loud as, that of a watchman's rattle when turned round slowly, or of the wheel put in a garden to scare the birds. The kind and salutary superstition, which grants to the storks the protection of the Mahometans, is justified by the real utility of these animals. They feed principally on the serpents, frogs, and other reptiles, with which the marshes, during the summer months, are almost choked up.

A pillar in the mosck of Bournabat, contains an inscription relative to the Meles, which was copied by Mons. de Villoison.

The country-house of the English Consul-General is in a village between four and five miles to the south-east of Smyrna, called Boudjah, which is less frequented than Bournabat, and is distinguished at a distance by a large grove of cypresses. The man-

sion, fitted up altogether in the English taste, has an excellent garden and vineyard attached to it, and is constantly inhabited by the family of the owner from June to the end of September.

Houses belonging to Frank merchants may be found in Narlecui, Hadjelar, and other small villages, scattered up and down in the fine plain, of about four or five miles in breadth, extending from the feet of the mountain at the back (the east and south-east) of Smyrna to the suburbs of the city. During the hot season, and the visits of the plague, the town is deserted, and the richer part of the population passes into the villages.

Smyrna, which has been so long considered as the very hotbed of the plague, has of late years suffered less than formerly by the ravages of that dreadful calamity. The Turks have become more cautious to prevent infection, and the sale of clothes taken from the bodies of those who have died of the disease, which was formerly encouraged, has been punished with death. The Frank settlers, by frequent experience, know how to secure themselves from danger, and talk of the plague with much more indifference than those separated by a thousand leagues from the usual scene of its ravages. All the numerous theories advanced on the subject, agree in attributing the diffusion, in a great measure, to the terror of the calamity, and some very pointed instances corroborative of the fact, were related to me. If, however, as has been supposed*, the use of coffee, tobacco, and other narcotic and alkaline substances, predisposes the body for the reception of

* See some Reflections on Shrieber's "Dissertatio de Pestilentia Odzachovii," in Baron Reidsel's Voyage en Levant, chap. xi. p. 369, edit. Paris, 1802.

the venom of this pestilence, the hope of ever exterminating the disease from amongst the Turks cannot be entertained. The plague powder of the famous renegade, Count Bonneval, which cured ninety out of a hundred persons, is either forgotten, or has lost all its credit.

The heat was never intolerable during our stay in this part of Asia; the thermometer continued at about sixty-eight until the 27th of March, when it sunk ten degrees, and the weather was rainy and cold for several days. The spring had commenced early, as was manifested by the arrival of the storks, and the flight of the cranes northwards about ten days sooner than the usual period. We observed the movements of the latter birds on entering the Gulf of Smyrna. Numerous squadrons of them, in the shape of a wedge, or the legs of an unequal-sided triangle, might then be seen flying over the high mountains to the north of the gulf, which they did not surmount by a direct upward flight, but by repeatedly wheeling diagonally, similar to the frequent tackings of a ship beating against the wind, or to the patient march of an army winding up the paths, rather than climbing over the precipices, of a hill. Some advanced columns were disappearing over the summit just as others were beginning their progress at the foot of the rocks. Their ceaseless clamour might be distinctly heard during the stillness of the evening, many miles from the shore, in the mouth of the gulf. The marshalled order preserved by the cranes in their flight, and during their migration, has been painted by the hand of a master, in the Ambra of Lorenzo de Medicis*.

* See Appendix to Roscoe's Lorenzo de Medicis, vol. iii.

Stridendo in ciel e gru veggonsi a lunge
L'Aere stampar di varie, e belle forme;
E l'ultima col collo steso aggiunge
Ov'è quella dinanzi alle vane orme.
E poichè negli aprichi lochi giunge,
Vigile un guarda, e l'altra schiera dorme.

The migration of these birds continued for three weeks.

A fortnight after our arrival, chameleons were found amongst the old stone walls of the gardens; and an English gentleman, resident at the Consul-General's house, kept one of these singular animals on a fresh bough of the *rhamnus*, or white-thorn (its favourite shrub), suspended in his room, for the sake of observing the frequent variation of its colour. Its usual hue was green, of the same shade as the bough on which it was placed, marked with a few white spots. When provoked, by being slightly touched with a twig or feather, it became suddenly, first of a bright yellow; then large black spots broke out on every part of its body, and it appeared by degrees to be of a dark grey. It did certainly assimilate itself pretty nearly to the colour of that substance on which it was laid, except that (as Sir George Wheler observed) it never turned to a red or blue.

The unsightly form, the tail, the long tongue, and above all, the curious conformation of the eye, which is fixed in a moveable convex socket of an oval shape projecting from the head, would direct the attention of naturalists to the chameleon, even if it were not distinguished by its more characteristic peculiarity*. It was thought necessary by the traveller† mentioned

* See Paley's Natural Theology, cap. xvi. p. 281.

† Wheler, a Voyage into the Lesser Asia, book iii. p. 248 and 249.

above, to give a most minute description of this animal; and the very first object which Dr. Chandler notices, next to his reception at Smyrna, is his having seen a chameleon*. The swift lizard (stellio) is seen perpetually crossing the walks in the gardens, and the smaller kind (lacerta Chalcidica) is found also in the court-yards of the houses, under the loose stones. The excrement of the former is said by Belon to be sold in Egypt as an excellent cosmetic†.

* Chandler's Travels in Asia Minor, cap. xvii. p. 56 and 57.

† Cited in cap. vi. tome ii. p. 91, of Ray's Collection of curious Travels and Voyages.

LETTER XXXVII.

A Journey to Ephesus—The Route—The Han at Tourbali—A Dervish—Metropolis—The Coffee Shed near Osebanár—Turcomans' Tents—The Plain of the Cayster—The Ferry—Arrival at Aiasaluk—The Han—The Ruins—Desolation of this Spot—The Site and Remains of Ephesus—The Temple of Diana—Return to Smyrna.

AT two o'clock on the 13th of March, we set out from Smyrna, accompanied by a Janissary belonging to the Consul-General, and our usual number of postmen and baggage-horses: our Albanians did not attend us. Indeed, from the moment we left Greece, we found but little occasion for their services, and they rather incommoded us than otherwise; for their nation is held in great horror amongst the Turks of Asia, and the Janissaries, who by prescriptive usage attend all travellers, do not suffer them to interfere with their charge. Dervish and Vasilly being richly dressed, were at Smyrna taken for our slaves, and our Dragoman Andreas was one day in the streets asked if he would sell them.

Passing through the whole length of the Turkish town, we ascended the side of the Castle-hill near the Jews' burying-ground, and came to a paved road in a state of dilapidation, the remains

of the ancient military way to Ephesus. The paved road lasted, with intervals, for about a mile; we then went between hedges on a hard well-beaten road, and in an hour had a view of the village of Boudjah, and of Sedicui, a larger country town nearer the hills to the east of Smyrna: our route was south-south-west. Farther on was another village. The country appeared every where well cultivated, and the abode of a people more civilized than the inhabitants of European Greece. Large plots of green sward, cotton grounds, and ploughed lands, extended on both sides of the road, as far as the eye could reach, over the level country to the foot of the mountains, which seemed themselves partially cultivated, and crowned with trees to their summits. Farther on we passed over some open down country, covered in parts with prickly shrubs, on which a large drove of camels was feeding dispersed over the plain.

In four hours from Smyrna we passed through a neat village, Jemourasi, in which was a mosck shaded by cypress, surrounded with a green. The country to the right (the west) was a succession of fine pasture lands, enclosed with low hedges and trees, partly in tufts and partly disposed in rows: the route was south-south-east and south. In an hour more, still travelling on a very good road, and between pasture lands, we passed another village, Terrenda, and in a short time crossed a stream, the same which Wheler calls the Halys, and Chishull the Halesus. From this place we went through a marshy extensive flat, directing ourselves towards the woody hills to the south. It was nearly dark. The whole country resounded with the croaking of the frogs, which was so loud, and in so different a tone from any we had ever heard before, that we were at first inclined to believe it proceeded from the packs

of jackalls with which the mountains abound, and whose howling we had been told we should hear upon our journey. Beyond the marsh the road was bad and stony. At half after eight we arrived at a small mud coffee-house, near which was a large well-built stable: this was the han or caravan-serai. Not choosing to take up our abode with several other travellers in the hut, we put up our beds in the stable.

The traveller in Asia does not find himself accommodated as in Greece, with lodgings in private houses, belonging to persons who are obliged to give him entertainment, but either must procure introductions to the Agas, or squires of the villages, whose hospitality, although very kind and liberal, is troublesome, from the necessity of conforming to their customs, or must content himself with the hans.

We spent an hour before we went to bed in the coffee-hut. The floor was covered with a promiscuous company, sitting cross-legged on their mats, round a little fire made between four bricks, over which the master of the hut was warming his coffee-pot. Every man in the room was furnished with a pipe, and upon our entering, they asked only a question or two of our Dragoman, as to who we were, and whither we were going, beckoned us to a place amongst them, and resumed their smoking. The silence was interrupted by no one but a strange-looking fellow, who had established himself in the best corner of the cabin. This man, without addressing himself to any person present, frequently ejaculated the name of God very loudly, exclaiming "Ollóh! Ollóh!" with a strong and peculiar emphasis, and now and then screaming out part of a song. He seemed half in jest, and a smile curled upon the grave lips of the other travellers, who, however, said nothing,

nor attempted to interrupt him. We were soon given to understand, that the strange person was a Dervish, of that sect which leave their habitations in the spring and autumn, and wander about the country singly, supported by the alms of the believers, or by less honest means. He addressed himself now and then to us, and in the midst of his pious ejaculations not only laughed very obstreperously, but both by words and actions gave us several most indecent intimations. The other guests, when his back was turned, spoke but slightingly of him, but showed him no disrespect to his face; and gave a conspicuous proof of that characteristic piety of the Mahometan discipline, which respects even the semblance of religion, and will not run the chance of degrading the sanctity of the profession for the sake of reproving the depravity of the man. These Dervishes abound in Anatolia, where they have several monasteries; one of which, near the tomb of a saint of their order, contains five hundred brothers, superintended by the chief of the sect, called Assambaba, or Father of Fathers. From the specimen we saw, I could bring myself to believe any thing bad of them, although I never heard quite enough to justify the character given of them by a late writer, and inserted below*.

We were up the next morning at sun-rise, and found that our han was in the neighbourhood of a village inhabited by Turks only, called Tourbali. The stable in which we slept, is built

* "If they meet on the road a passenger whom they think in easy circumstances, they ask alms of him in honour of Ali, son-in-law of Mahomet; if he refuses, they cut his throat, or butcher him with a little axe which they carry at their girdles. Ils violent les femmes qu'ils trouvent à l'écart, et se livrent entr'eux aux excès les plus monstrueux."—Notice sur la cour du Grand Seigneur, &c. par T. E. Beauvoisins, Paris, 1809.

partly on the broken columns mentioned by Chandler*. The land round the village was all enclosed, but at a distance, to the north and east, seemed wild and marshy, and was enveloped, until the sun was fairly risen, in a thick white fog. To the south, and close to the village, was a range of low hills, running east and west, and covered with wild olive and turpentine trees. I consider them to be a part of the ancient Gallesus, now called Aleman by the Turks. Leaving Tourbali, we directed our steps to the east, towards a lake of no great extent. The path was paved in some places, and leading near plane trees, under which, here and there, were a few Turkish tomb-stones. Arriving at the head of the small lake, we turned south-south-east, and travelled by the side of it, under the hills to the right, for an hour and a half. The lake was reedy, and flocks of wild-fowl, by our rustling through the bushes near the banks, were startled from the sedge, and sailed into the middle of the water. The path was in places very narrow, and we were now and then stopped in our progress by a camel browsing amongst the shrubs at the side of the road. Beyond the lake we crossed a shrubby plain, called by Tournefort the Plain Tcherpicui, enclosed on all sides by mountains.

Near the southern entrance of the plain we passed by a large collection of sepulchral stones, carved as usual into the form of Turkish turbans, under some trees. This was the spot called Cabagea, near which some vestiges of Metropolis, the city of Ionia, nearly half way between Smyrna and Ephesus, were discovered by Wheler, and seen afterwards by Chishull†. We afterwards ascended low

* Travels in Asia Minor, cap. xxxii. p. 109, sec. edit. London, 1776.

† Wheler, a Journey through the Lesser Assia, book iii. p. 25, edit. London, 1682; and Chishull's Diary in Chandler, cap. xxxii. p. 1, 2d edit. London, 1776.

hills, over a rough stony path, for an hour, and then riding for a short time in a kind of pass along a dry water-course, came to a forest of low thickets and brushwood; passing through which, we arrived by twelve o'clock at a fountain and a solitary coffee-shed, with a green before the door. Here we stopped half an hour, for the refreshment of the horses, the surgees, and our Janissary Suliman. Tracing Chandler's route, I find this spot to be the one to which he alludes as near the Turkish village on the mountain side, called Osebanár.

Leaving the coffee-shed, we turned a little to the east. An extensive marsh was on our right, as far as we could see; the heads of camels were seen peeping above the tall reeds. We came to where a few black tents were dispersed in different parts of the plain; and on the brow of a low stony hill on our left, belonging to the Turcomans, a wandering tribe, who have no other habitation, but change their abode whenever it becomes expedient to drive their cattle to fresh pastures. Their similarity to the ancient Scythian shepherds has been recognised by travellers*, but their character is not so harmless as that of the Nomades; for the Turcomans of Anatolia have been decried as being greater thieves than the Curds of higher Asia, inasmuch as the latter sleep during the night, but the former rob both by day and by night†. They are not, however, all equally dangerous, although it is generally acknowledged, that those amongst them who do not

* Chandler, cap. xxxii. p. 110.

† Passè Tocat on n'entend plus parler de Curdes; mais bien de Turcmans, c'est a dire d'une autre espece de voleurs encore plus dangereux, en ce que les Curdes dorment la nuit, et que les Turcmans volent jour et nuit.—Tournefort, letter xxi. p. 439, edit. Paris, 1717.

plunder by violence, support themselves partly by private theft. Those whom we saw were black-looking half-naked wretches. A few goats, sheep, and small cattle, together with some camels and two or three lean horses, were feeding near their tents.

A little farther we crossed, perhaps for a mile, a stone causeway over the marsh, which was in places entirely under water. Before us to the south-south-east, we saw a castle on an eminence under the hills. This was the castle of Aiasaluk, one of the supposed sites of Ephesus; we had now and then a view of the Cayster winding through the plain to the east and south of the marsh.—The route to Aiasaluk seems to have taken former travellers by a different way from that which we followed. A little distance beyond the coffee-hut, near Osebanár, there was a road more to the north, which must be that described by Wheler, Tournefort, and Chandler; for they did not cross the marsh, but going to the head of the plain, passed the Cayster over a bridge above Aiasaluk, which is now in ruins. Our path was that which leads directly to Scala Nuova, the ancient Neapolis, belonging first to the Ephesians, and afterwards to the Samians *. After crossing the causeway, we turned to the west, instead of directing our course to Aiasaluk, and continued for more than a mile over a sandy flat by the side of a shallow reedy lake. We arrived at the banks of the Cayster, called by the Turks, Kutchuk Meinder, the Little Mæander, and crossed it on a raft of a triangular form, with sides a foot high, which was ferried over by a rope slung across the stream.—The Cayster is in this place about the size of the Cam near Cambridge, but more rapid, as its waters

* Strab. lib. xiv. 641, edit. Xyland.

are raised by a fisherman's weir: in its course, however, down the plain from the north-east, it winds with a stream not less sluggish than that of the English river. It empties itself into the sea a little more than a mile below the ferry to the west.

After passing the river, we turned again eastward towards the castle on the hill, and crossing some marshy land, and a small stream running from the south into the Cayster, which I take to be the Cenchrius of Pausanias and Strabo*, arrived in an hour (by three o'clock) at Aiasaluk. We did not notice the vestiges of Ephesus, which, since our passing the ferry, had been under the hills on our right.

At Aiasaluk we put up our beds in a most miserable han, but we partook of some cold provisions which we had brought with us, on a stone seat by the side of a fountain, in an open green opposite to a mosck shaded with high cypresses. During our repast a young Turk, after washing his feet and hands at the fountain, got on the wall surrounding the mosck, and there, on a flat stone apparently designed for the purpose, went through his prayers most devoutly, totally inattentive to our appearance and operations, although we were within two paces of him.

The whole evening, and part of the next morning, were spent in rambling about the ruins at Aiasaluk, and those under the hills to the west. We passed but a bad night in the coffee-hut. Only two other travellers, besides ourselves and our attendants, slept

* Tournefort puts that river in the hills above Aiasaluk, but Pausanias (lib. vii. p. 406) says the Cenchrius runs through the Ephesian territory; and Strabo (lib. xiv. p. 639) lays it down on the coast near Ephesus, a little distance from the sea, flowing through the Ortygian grove under Mount Solmissus, where Latona was delivered of Diana and Apollo.

in the room, but some Turks of the village continued loitering there, smoking and drinking coffee, until a late hour. Our wooden bedsteads and our bed-clothes were the principal objects of their curiosity; but when we went to bed, they watched the progress of our undressing with a smile of astonishment; and seeing us divest ourselves of one article after another, looked as if they waited until we should strip off our skins, for they continued staring to the last, even after we were in bed, and then burst into a laugh. It is probable, that no former travellers had ever gone regularly to bed in the Frank fashion at Aiasaluk; and as for the Turks of the place, even the Aga himself can have but one change of garments, and when once habited, is dressed for half a year.

The morning had hardly dawned when we were awakened, and found the same Turks taking their dish of coffee, and smoking, at our bed-sides, waiting, although with nothing rude or uncivil in their manner, to witness our rising from, as they had before done our going to, our beds.—It may not appear worth mentioning, that I observed in this house the customers' debts scored up on a board over my bed, as in our own pot-houses; and that, on inquiring, they told me, that in this, as well as in other similar places in Asiatic Turkey, a cup of coffee costs one para; that the attendant never receives any thing; that nothing but coffee is sold; and that consequently each person brings his own pipe and tobacco.

Aisaluk, or Aiasaluk, until the time of Chandler, was considered to stand upon the site of Ephesus; but that traveller has, with his usual learning and perspicuity, decided that the remains at this place must be referred to a comparatively modern town,

established, perhaps, by the Mahometan potentate Mantakhia, who conquered Ephesus and all Caria in the year 1313. The name of the town, by a derivation at first sight fanciful, but most probably correct, has been deduced from the circumstance of a famous church of St. John the Theologian having once stood near the spot*.—Aiasaluk is now a miserable village, and a scene of complete desolation. It is situated in a tangly flat, overrun with low shrubs and enclosed by a semicircular theatre of hills, from the middle of which projects a narrow tongue of high rocky land, which Tournefort mistook for Mount Pion, and which is perversely still so called by the compiler of M. de Choiseul's Voyage Pittoresque. On the northern extremity of this ridge, where it rises into a circular mount, are the ruins of the castle. In the front (the north) of the castle, is the head of the large marshy plain through which the Cayster flows from a dell between the opposite range of Gallesus. The flat to the east of the castle-hill, is about a quarter of a mile in breadth, and bounded by a rocky mountain, the ancient Pactyas, which, taking a sweep to the north, and joining Gallesus, closes up the eastern extremity of the great plain. From Mount Pactyas to the castle-hill are the remains of a considerable aqueduct: the piers are high and square, chiefly composed of marbles, many of which contain inscriptions placed sideways and upside down, and showing that the structure has been formed from ruins of ancient buildings: Chandler calls them pedestals. Their inscriptions, as far as the eye can reach them, have all been repeatedly copied. The

* The original words Agios-Theologos, being pronounced shortly, and the Θ, as usual in Asia Minor, changed into an Σ, become Agio-Sologos, or Ayio-Sologos, thence Aiosolog, and, through two or three unimportant changes, Aiasaluk.—Tournefort, letter xxii. tom. ii. p. 514.

arches are of brick-work. From Pactyas there is a chain of thirty-two piers; a long interval ensues, and then one is seen standing by itself; after a second gap, there are seventeen others, extending to the foot of the castle-hill.

The entrance to the outwork of the ruined castle, to which it is somewhat difficult to ascend amongst heaps of shattered stones and rubbish, is through an arch, supported by two side walls or buttresses of marble, long distinguished by the name of the Gate of Persecution. The famous reliefs copied by Tournefort, and by Dr. Chandler's associate, Mr. Pars, are still seen over the arch; but cracked in half, and otherwise so loosened from their bases, as to threaten a speedy fall. It is to be lamented, that this fine piece of sculpture has not been secured in the cabinet of some European antiquary. There might be some difficulty in conveying the fragments from the spot: the least of the pieces is five feet long, and two feet and a half high; the second is ten feet long, and three feet and a half high; and the third somewhat less in height, and four feet long*. The smaller marble represents boys in a vineyard, the two others seem to relate to one subject, which was first thought to be the persecution of the Christians, and then the revenge of Achilles on the body of Hector, but has, by a late author, been called the bringing the corpse of Patroclus to Achilles†. If that be the case, very little ceremony is observed towards either the living or the dead hero, for a soldier is dragging Patroclus on the ground by the left leg. The part of the castle which is of the most ancient construction, appears to be

* See Tournefort, letter xxii. tom. ii. p. 514.

† Constant. Ancient and Modern, p. 225, London, 1797.

that to the south, and near this gate. Between this outwork and the castle itself, the hill is choked up in parts with large masses of brick and stone. The castle, with its walls and low towers of a barbarous construction, is in many parts in ruins, and now entirely deserted. The sides of the hill are steep and rough, and scattered with fragments of marble and carved stones.

Under the western side of the castle-hill is the mosck, which has usually gone by the name of the church of St. John*, and which, although nearly entire when Wheler travelled, and called by Pococke a stately building, partakes now of the general decay and wretchedness of Aiasaluk. The part of the building to the west, which is raised on a flight of steps, is of marble, but the pieces composing it are of a size too small to be of any ancient date. On this side there are several casements, with latticed window-frames of wood, and Saracenic mouldings, which give this front the appearance of a modern mansion in decay: the side next to the hill is of stone. The mosck is composed of two buildings. There is an uncovered court on the north side, the three walls of which have each a door-way entered by a flight of three steps. This is overrun with weeds, and contains also a few wild shrubs shooting from the broken walls, and from a dry fountain in the middle of the area. A minaret, which has been built over the west door, is now in ruins, and a stork has built her nest in it. In this court there are some broken columns, the remains, says Chandler, of a por-

* Tournefort speaks decisively as to its being the church of St. John, although perhaps not that church which Justinian built at Ephesus. Wheler has the same notion, (p. 256, book iii.) but Pococke says, "the large mosck of St. John at the village is falsely stated to have been a church," (Observ. on Asia Minor, book i. p. 52), and Chandler seems to acquiesce in this opinion.

tico. The other portion of the structure is the body of the mosck, which is vaulted on five arches (the middle one being the largest), supported by stately columns. Three of these are of polished granite, two of which have stone capitals rudely carved in the worst style of modern Greek architecture: the third has a marble capital of the composite order. This last is twelve feet eleven inches in compass*.

The interior of the mosck is divided into three compartments, the middle one of which contains the kibleh (the recess directed towards Mecca), and is covered in with two small cupolas, that immediately over the kibleh being the least of the two. The two other compartments are unroofed, and are overgrown with weeds. On the west side of the altar-place is a sort of elevated pulpit for the Imaum, or reader, to which the ascent is by a long flight of marble steps. The mosck is now no longer used. The marble of which it is partly composed is either of a creamy white, or streaked with veins of rose colour, and must have been brought from the ruins of Ephesus.

Besides this building, there are several other ruined moscks at Aiasaluk, the minarets of which at a distance may easily be taken for the naked columns of some Grecian temple.

There is no monument of undoubted antiquity at this village, except a marble sarcophagus†, very large and thick, serving for a water-trough, with a bas-relief on one side of it, now not dis-

* Wheler, p. 52, &c.

† Of this sarcophagus Chandler says, "some figures, holding Roman ensigns, have been carved upon it; and, as we learn from the inscription, it once contained the body of a captain of a trireme, named the Griffin, together with his wife."—Cap. xxxiii. p. 113, Travels in Asia Minor.

tinguishable, and the high marble mouth of a well at the open spot near the fountain where we dined.—The desolate walls of the mosck of St. John, and the whole scene at Aiasaluk, cannot but suggest a train of melancholy reflections. The decay of three religions is there presented at one view to the eye of the traveller! The marble spoils of the Grecian temple adorn the mouldering edifice, once, perhaps, dedicated to the service of Christ, over which the tower of the Mussulman, the emblem of another triumphant worship, is itself seen to totter, and sink into the surrounding ruins.

The site of Ephesus itself is to be sought for in the way from Aiasaluk, a little to the south-west, to a square tower of white marble which stands on a ridge (probably the hill Solmissus*), projecting northwards from the chain of Corissus, the southern boundary of the plain of the Cayster. This tower, commonly called the Prison of St. Paul, is about two miles and a half from the castle of Aiasaluk: from the point on which it stands, the city-wall built by Lysimachus may be traced along the side of Corissus towards Mount Pion. For about half a mile from the village the route is over a flat, interspersed with thickets of tamarisk, agnus castus, and other shrubs; it then arrives at a low round hill, which extends to the north-east from the high range of Corissus. The principal part of the ruins is on the side of this hill, and in a flat recess between the west side of it and the high mountains. The hill is Prion or Pion*, and was once also called Lepre Acte, the name by which it is distinguished in Pococke. On the slope of it, to the north-west, is a fragment of wall of common stone, and near it, but standing by itself, a large

* Strab. lib. xiv. p. 639.

arch of white marble, built, like the aqueduct at Aiasaluk, from ancient ruins: flat stones, like those of a pavement, occur farther to the south, in a sweep of the hill between the first remains and the eminence which is a little more to the south, and on which there are several bases and broken shafts of columns. On the side of the hill, more towards Corissus, are two arches and other vestiges of a theatre. To the south, also on the side of Mount Prion*, and over a narrow valley which separates it from Corissus, are pieces of walls and many broken shafts of columns; and further round the hill, to the east and towards Aiasaluk, are the remains of a large circular wall and two arches, constructed with stones of an immense size. The reader of Chandler will find these remains on and round Mount Prion, described as belonging to a stadium, a theatre, a portico, an odéum, and a gymnasium. The theatre, although robbed of its marble seats, discovers its site by the usual excavation in the hill. The other remains are not so distinctly marked: forty years may have occasioned some new decay amongst the ruins†.

* Attollitur monte Pione.—Plin. lib. v. cap. xxix.

† Former travellers were not so decisive. Wheler speaks of the ruins without assigning names to all of them; Tournefort, besides the remains of Aiasaluk, only particularizes the arch on Mount Prion, with the inscription,

ACCENSO
RENSI. ET. ASIÆ.

(which is on a block certainly taken from another structure). Pococke, who thought Aiasaluk included in the site of Ephesus, is more particular than the former, but neither so minute nor clear in his detail as Chandler. To collect every thing from ancient authorities, and insert every observation from local knowledge, would only be doing what has been done so well by that accurate traveller.

In the flat recess to the west and south-west of Mount Prion, which has been computed by Pococke at half a mile long, and a quarter of a mile broad, are masses of brick-work, partly fallen and partly standing. These are fragments of walls and arches; they have evidently been coated with marble, from the frequent holes which still remain to show how the facing was affixed. In the same quarter are many broken shafts of columns; four of which (three of red and one of grey granite), amongst the rubbish under the largest mass of ruins, are fifteen feet long and of an enormous circumference*.

A whole heap of pillars and other fragments†, lie in a flat spot near the foot of Corissus. In several parts of the plain, and under the structures by the granite pillars, are small brick arches, on which, from the nature of the soil, it was necessary to raise all the buildings at Ephesus, especially those nearest to the river. To the west and north-west, between the Cayster and the ruins, is a morass extending nearly to the sea-shore, from which a small stream runs into the river; and to the south and west of this morass, is a lake, the higher Selinusia: the lower and larger Selinusia is that which we passed on the other side of the Cayster. The present morass near the ruins is, with probability, thought to have been once the city-port, which the Cayster has filled with slime, and gained from the sea.

That one of the wonders of the world might not be supposed

* Pococke, p. 52.

† The diameter of the shafts of these pillars is four feet six inches, the length thirty-nine feet two inches; they were each of one stone; belonging, perhaps, to a temple in antis of the Corinthian order; raised by Augustus Cæsar to the God Julius.—Chandler's Travels in Asia Minor, p. 122.

to have entirely disappeared, the subterranean arches before mentioned, as well as the brick structure above the granite pillars, have been considered a portion of the Temple of Diana. The pillars, indeed, appear to have belonged to the same building as those which are in the mosck at Aiasaluk, and which, although not similar to those of green jasper in Santa Sophia at Constantinople, the ascertained remains of the great temple, are generally conceived to be the spoils of the Artemisium*. But such evidence is by no means decisive. The columns may have belonged to any other building, and the site of the great temple was without the city at the head of the port.—A Sybilline oracle† foretold, that the earth would tremble and open, and that this glorious edifice would fall headlong into the abyss; and present ap-

* Procopius, περι κτισματων Ιουστιν. has mentioned the fact of Justinian's removing the columns of the Temple of Diana from Ephesus to support the dome of Santa Sophia at Constantinople. He only relates the rebuilding of the church of St. John at Ephesus by that Emperor, upon a magnificent scale, without stating from whence the materials were obtained; and, indeed, the site of the mosck at Aiasaluk, does not answer to that of St. John's church, alluded to by Procopius. The same may be said of the place where the ruins now lie near the marsh, although a late traveller has hinted, it may be the spot where the church was built. Χῶρον τινὰ πρὸ τῶν Ἐφεσίων πολέως συνεβαίνεν εἶναι, οὔ γῆλοφον, οὐδὲ δυνατὸν ἀφεῖναι καρπούς, εἴ τις πειρῷτο, ἄλλα σκλῆρον τε καὶ τρᾶχυν ὅλως, κ. τ. λ. (Περι κτισματων Ιουστιν. Λογος πεμπτος, p. 46, edit. Vind. 1607.) Aiasaluk, although on a rough barren spot, could not have been said to be πρα της πολεως It was rather above than before, or in front of, the city; and the neighbourhood of the marsh could not be called σκληρον and τραχυν.

† Αρτέμιδος σηκὸς Εφέσου πηγνυμένος . . . . .
Χάσματι καὶ σεισμοῖσι ποθ' ἥξεται εἰς ἅλα δεινὴν
Πρηνὴς. κ. τ. λ.—Syb. Orac. lib. v.

pearances might justify the belief that it was swept from the face of the earth by some overwhelming catastrophe. It is easier to conceive that such an event, although unnoticed, did take place, than that a marble temple, four hundred and twenty feet long and two hundred and twenty feet broad, the columns of which (one hundred and twenty-seven in number) were sixty feet high*, should have left no other vestige than two fragments of wall, some brick

* Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xxxvi. cap. xiv. The manner in which the architect transferred the immense architraves to their proper position in the building, is mentioned in this chapter of Pliny, and confirms a hint before offered, respecting the mechanical powers of the ancients. "Id consecutus est ille peronibus harena plenis, molli pulvino super capita columnarum exaggerato, paulatim exinaniens ab imo, ut sensim totum in cubili sideret," p. 642, edit. Paris, 1532. There is some difficulty in reconciling Strabo's account of the temple with that of Pliny, although (as Tournefort has observed) both authors doubtless alluded to the same building. Ctesiphon, or Chersiphron, was the architect of the temple burnt by Herostratus, but Cheiromocrates of the second Artemisium. Πρῶτος μεν χερσίφρων ἠρχιτεκτόνησεν, εἶτ' ἄλλος ἐποίησε μείζω, are the words of the geographer, and the ἄλλος seems to allude to Cheiromocrates; yet Pliny talks evidently of the work of Ctesiphon. It is probable, that the first temple was not altogether destroyed, and that, as the original design was followed in the second structure, the naturalist speaks of the first architect, although he describes the fabric as it appeared in his time.—The image which dropped down from heaven in the time of the Amazons, was either changed for a new one, or was repaired. Some declared it to be ebony, others cedar. Mutianus, Consul in 75, A. D. pronounced it to be vine, moistened with nard.—It was a small many-breasted figure, *hermœan* in the lower extremities, or, with the legs and feet not cut out and separated, but rather traced on a single block, in the manner of the Egyptian statues. It was supported, in a shrine of gold, upon a block of beech or elm, by two iron rods, which were useful props to the old original image, but were preserved as appendages to the new one. The reader may consult "*Constantinople, Ancient and Modern*," for

subterranean arches, and four granite pillars*. It is probable, that Christian zeal accelerated the devastations of time; and that the Ephesians, in order to prevent the punishment denounced against the seven churches of Asia, may have been eager to demolish this monument of their glory and their shame. The cedar roofs, the cypress doors, the vine stair-case, the sculptured column of Scopas, the altar adorned by Praxiteles, the paintings of Parrhasius and Apelles†, and the ebony image of the goddess, may have fallen before the enemies of Pagan idolatry; and the piety of the priests may have been more injurious to Diana than the rapacity of Nero and the Goths‡: but neither the cupidity nor the audacity of the reformers, against whom the sophist Libanius, an eye-

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authorities on this subject (sect. xiii. p. 213). Chandler (cap. xxxix. Asia Minor) has collected, and arranged in a narrative, every thing relative to the temple. How much Diana was venerated in early times, may be seen by the story from Herodotus, told in Ælian (lib. iii. cap. xxvi. Περι Πινδαρου τυ Τυραννυ, edit. Kuhnii, p. 219) of the stratagem practised by Pindarus, tyrant of Ephesus, to save the city, when besieged by Crœsus.

* As little can some fragments of rude masonry on the side of the Cayster, near the ferry, be thought to belong to the great temple; nor will the spot near the ruins, supposed by Pococke and Chandler to be those of the Gymnasium, at all correspond with its site.

† He was paid for his "*Alexander with a thunderbolt*"—thirty talents of gold, above 38,750*l.*

‡ Nero, the great plunderer of temples, robbed that of Diana; and the Goths carried a great booty from Ephesus in the year 262, the period of their third naval expedition. Mr. Gibbon (Decline and Fall, 4to. vol. i. p. 323) detracts from the magnificence of the temple, by saying, that it was only two-thirds the measure of St. Peter's at Rome.

witness of their progress, so forcibly exclaims*, could have destroyed, although they might deface, the vast fabric of the Artemesium itself.

Every memorial of the worship of Diana has been obliterated with her temple, but the miracles of Christianity are still shown on the spot which was sanctified by the presence of the Apostles and of the mother of Jesus. It is an article of belief, that after the death of our Saviour, St. John and the Holy Virgin retired to Ephesus; and that the former undertook the care of the infant church, after St. Timothy, the first Bishop, had suffered martyrdom in the reign of Domitian. An artificial cut in the mountains of Gallesus†, seen on the higher road to Aiasaluk, is pointed out as performed by the sword of St. Paul, as the watch-tower on the hill is called his prison. A grotto sunk in Mount Prion, is the cave of the Seven Sleepers: a belief in whose long repose is enjoined by the eighteenth chapter of the Koran, and whose change from their right to their left sides, was seen in a waking vision by our Edward the Confessor, and proved by three Englishmen, a soldier, a priest, and a monk, who travelled to Ephesus in the year 1056‡.

* Οἱ δὲ καὶ τεμένη καὶ νεὼς κτήματα ἀυτῶν ἐποιήσαντο, ἔιτα μάλα εὐχερώς ἐκρίψαντες τὰ ἕδη, ξύρων ἢ ἀχύρων τοὺς νεὼς ἤπλησαν. Οἱ δὲ αὖ ἀνδρειότεροι, καὶ καθελόντες, οἰκίας ὤκησαν τῶν ἐκεῖθεν λίθων πεποιημένας. Liban. Λογοι εθικοι, edit. Morell. Paris, 1606, p. 941.

† Horriblement taillées à plomb.—Tournefort.

‡ The story is told by William of Malmesbury (lib. ii. de gestis Reg. Anglor. cap. xiii.) He says that the King burst into a loud laugh when the vision was first manifested to him. Those who are not of the Greek church, may laugh as much at the King, or at least the historian, as his Majesty did at the restlessness of the Sleepers. See Hakluyt, vol. ii. p. 7, edit. 1599.—In

At present, one Greek, the baker of the village, at Aiasaluk, and three or four fishermen who live in sheds near the ferry and on the banks of the river, are the only Christians to be found in the vicinity of Ephesus; and there is not a single habitation, not even a shepherd's hut, on the actual site of that splendid city*. A village of three hundred houses, called Ker-

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the Koran the Seven Sleepers are called "Ashab. Kahaf, or Kehef—The Companions of the Cavern." They had a dog with them, which became rational, and was translated to heaven, to keep company with Balaam's ass, and that on which our Saviour rode: hence the Oriental proverb, applied to a covetous man—"He has not a bone to throw at the dog of the Seven Sleepers." The Greeks say, that the Seven Sleepers were valets-de-chambre of the Emperor Decius.—D'Herbelot, Bibliotheque Orient. article Ashab. Kahaf.

* Ephesus was taken by the Mahometans in the reign of Alexius Commenus, and recovered by John Ducas, who defeated Tangripermes and Maraces, their leaders. In 1306 it was pillaged by Roger de Flor, and taken in 1308 by Sultan Saysan, who massacred the greatest part of the inhabitants at Tyriæum: Mantakhia, a Turk, conquered it, together with all Caria, in 1313; Homur, or Amir, son of Atin before-mentioned, succeeded Mantakhia: Tamerlane encamped with all his tributary princes in the plain of the Cayster, and sacked the city, in 1402. From that period, if not before, Aiasaluk is the Ephesus of history. Cineis expelled Homur; but his brother, also by name Homur, returning with Mantakhia II. Prince of Caria, and six thousand men, besieged Carasupasi, father of Cineis, in the citadel, which, after a long siege, was surrendered, and Carasupasi made prisoner, and confined in the castle of Mamalus, on the borders of Caria. He contrived, however, to make his escape to his son, and Cineis returned with an army, and drove Homur into the castle. These two princes were reconciled by the marriage of the daughters of Cineis with Homur; and after the death of the latter, the son of Carasupasi became the Sultan of Smyrna and Caria. Sultan Solyman the First marched from Brusa against him with a large army, encamping at Mesaulion, six leagues from his enemy. Cineis having collected his allies, the Princes of

keyah, four miles to the east of Aiasaluk, contains the principal portion of the few Greeks inhabiting the southern part of the once populous Ionia. The plain of the Cayster, where it is not too marshy to bear a crop, is cultivated with cotton and tobacco plants, with sesamus and a little barley. The husbandmen are the peasants of Aiasaluk. I saw one of them, as we returned from Ephesus, ploughing on horseback, and contriving to direct the progress of the share through a light soil by a short rope. This, according to a saying common in some of our northern counties, is one of the lazy child's three wishes, and is perfectly congenial to the idle listless temper of the Turks.

We were only one day on the road returning from Ephesus to Smyrna, but we travelled on that occasion for thirteen hours, and did not arrive at the Consul-General's until eleven o'clock at night. It was our wish, that our Dragoman and servants should proceed at the usual rate with the baggage, whilst we and our Janissary rode on quickly, in order to reach Smyrna at an early hour; but Suliman could not be persuaded to participate in our impatience, he would not quit his smoking place (for he had a pipe in his mouth during nearly the whole journey) but replied to all our applications both to him and his horse, by shaking his head, and smiling, and maintained his point with a good humoured

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Cotyæium and Iconium, prepared to meet him; but suspecting treachery in his friends, and having commanded his brother to keep the citadel until he should appear, rode off by night to the camp of Solyman, who, early the next day, marching through the passes of Gallesus, crossed the bridge over the Cayster, and entered Aiasaluk without opposition, the confederate Princes retreating across a ford. The Ottoman Sultans have since that time been in possession of the modern Ephesus.

pertinacity and inoffensive disobedience, only to be met with, I suppose, in a Turkish retainer. Not having slept ten minutes for the last two nights, I determined, after we had crossed the ferry, to ride on, and repose myself a short time, if possible, at the hut near Osenabár, previous to the arrival of our lazy-pacing caravan. Accordingly I gallopped forward alone, but had reason to repent of my scheme, for I soon missed my way, and not being able to find the stone causeway crossing the marsh towards Gallesus, wandered about in the muddy plain, sometimes stopped by the winding stream of the Cayster, and at others embarrassed by the overflowings of the lake. I contrived with some difficulty to find my way back to the ferry, and asked a Greek peasant (one of a party who were coming from the fishing huts on the river) to accompany me on my way across the marsh. The man consented, but said, that he must send back for his gun, without which he could not go into the mountains. I showed him my pistols, and said that they would be sufficient defence. To this he replied, "Yes, for you and I to go into the hills; but not for me, when you have joined your party, and I am coming back alone."—Not caring to wait for his gun, I resolved to make another trial by myself, and by good fortune hitting upon the causeway, crossed over to the mountain, where I again lost my way, but being put right by some goat-herds, proceeded at a brisk pace on my journey. A mile from Osenabár I met Suliman, riding slowly and smoking as before. He had been sent to look for me; and on my coming up, stopped, turned his horse, and suffered me to gallop forwards, without accompanying me, to the coffee-hut, where my party were expecting me, and where we were now obliged to wait for our unconquerable Janissary.

LETTER XXXVIII.

Departure from Smyrna—The Coast of Asia—Cape Baba—Yughlan Bornou—The Vale of Nezra-Keui—Liman-Tepe—Cape of Troas—Vale of Ghicle—Stamboul Douk—Koum Bornou—Land in Tenedos—The Port—The Town—The Castle—The Wine—Importance of the Island—Visit to the Ruins of Alexandria Troas—Granite Cannon-Balls—Dilapidation of Troas—The Sepulchre called Sarcophagus—The Baths—Effects of the late Earthquake—Site of the Town—Hot Baths of Lidgah Hammam—Port of Troas—Country near Troas—Conjectures of Travellers.

THE Captain of H. M. S. the Salsette, a frigate of thirty-six guns, which was ordered to Constantinople for the purpose of conveying his Excellency Mr. Adair, from that city, having been so good as to offer us a passage, we embarked on the 11th of April, and sailed out of the harbour of Smyrna with a fine breeze from the south. By nine in the evening we were opposite to Cara Bornou, and spoke the Pylades returning from a cruise. We had a fair wind during the night, and at half past six the next morning were off the north end of Lesbos, a long low crag, scarcely distinguishable from the main-land, and inclosing, as it

were, the deep gulf of Adramyttium. This island, which formerly took its name from its capital city, has experienced the same fate in modern times, and is now called, from its principal town, Mytelene. The point which we passed, was anciently the Sigrian promontory, and still retains the name of Sigri. Having a strong southerly wind, we were soon opposite to the little town of Baba*, in a nook of the cape of that name, formerly the promontory Lectum.

From this point, the coast to the north began to assume a less barren appearance: the capes were lower, and intersected by pleasant vallies stretching down to the shore. We next passed Yughlan Bornou, the headland north of Baba, and saw that from that extremity the shores fall back to the eastward. The island of Tenedos then was seen before us, at a little distance to the north-west. We observed, that beyond the cape the country had lost all those wild features of mountain scenery, which had distinguished it lower down to the south; and that the shore was no longer a line of abrupt precipices, but rose with a gentle ascent, ending in a spacious plain of cultivated lands. A small river running near a hamlet called Nezra-Keui, was seen winding through the sands into the sea. The prospect more inland was terminated by a horizon of white mist, the accompaniment of a south wind at this period of the year, which not only prevented us from seeing the vast range of Mount Ida in the back ground, but precluded the view of the ruins of Alexandria Troas, at other times distinctly seen from this position at sea. Indeed the coun-

* Il-y-a un petit village Turc, ou l'on fabrique d'excellens sabres et couteaux.—Reidesel, Voyage au Levant, p. 289, edit. Paris, 1802.

try seems to be frequently covered with exhalations; for a late traveller observes, that during a month's residence at Mytelene, the landscape from the mountains down to Adramyttium was obscured with a dense and gloomy atmosphere*. A mount called Liman-Tepe, the first of the many tumuli observed by the navigator on these coasts, was visible at a little distance from the shore. We coasted by another low cape with a house on it, where the country seemed covered for some distance inland with low woods, and by half past twelve came into the channel between Tenedos and the Phrygian shores, which were in this part quite flat and naked.

The country inland presented the view of another plain, cultivated and intersected with low inclosures, and watered by a small stream, which is lost in some salt-marshes near the shore. It is denominated by modern topographers the plain of Ghicle, and the river, in the maps, is the Sudlu-su. A low cape, Koum Bornou, terminated the land prospect to the north, and a very large barrow, Stamboul Douk, was visible in the distance on the coast.

We anchored not far from the principal port in the island, and in the afternoon went on shore in the Captain's boat. The mouth of the harbour is narrow, and is here contracted by a loose stone pier, raised on the foundation of the ancient mole or break-water, which projects from the south side of the entrance. A round fort is seen on the rocks above the pier. The port itself is a small basin, of an uneven circular figure, scooped out of the foot of the hills, which, with the intervention of a strip of flat muddy beach, reach to the edge of the water. There is another smaller harbour, frequented by fishing-boats, directly at the opposite, the

* Topography of Troy, p. 19.

western, side of the island. Strabo* mentions the two harbours. There seems no reason why Virgil should call so sheltered a port as that of Tenedos,

" tantum sinus, et statio male fida carinis†:"

he could hardly have alluded to the channel or road between the island and the main.

The port was full of small craft, which, in their voyage down the Archipelago, had put in to wait for a change of wind; and a crowd of Turks belonging to these vessels, were lounging about on the shore at our landing: but the town itself was in ruins, or rather, there were no habitations, except two or three deal houses fitted up as shops, and a few miserable mud huts; for the former place had been burnt to the ground by a Russian squadron in 1807.—The first objects which struck us were four great guns lying on the pier, marked with the broad arrow; they had lately been weighed up from the wreck of the Ajax, which was unfortunately burnt and lost upon the rocks to the north of the port, during our short war with the Turks.

The principal Turk gave us coffee in one of the shops, belonging to a wretched-looking Greek who called himself English Consul, and he paid our nation the merited compliment of observing, " When the English came here in war-time, they only asked us for a cup of water; but the Muscovites, they burnt our town, and took every thing from us, as you see."

An old castle on the north side of the harbour, the former fortress of the island, seemed in a very dilapidated state, but had perhaps suffered no other injury than from time and neglect; for

* Λιμένας δυὸ, lib. xiii. p. 604. † Æn. lib. ii.

there was no appearance of its having been battered, except by a few cannon-balls which lay in the court-yard. The building shows the importance formerly attached to the possession of the island: although commanded from the heights immediately above, it seems to have been constructed with some pains, being surrounded with a deep moat and strong castellated outwork, defended with towers at the angles. What it was in the days of its strength, may be seen by a plate in Tournefort. It is probable, that most of the stones composing it were taken from the ruins of ancient buildings; perhaps from those of the large magazine* erected by Justinian, to preserve the corn, when detained by the continued contrary winds in its passage from Alexandria to Constantinople. The Sultan Othman seized the place in the year 1302, and made it the rendezvous of the fleet with which he afterwards subdued many islands of the Archipelago, and he may have begun the modern fortifications; but the castle was, it is most likely, completed or built anew by the Venetians, who made themselves masters of the place in 1656, subsequently to the battle of the Dardanelles, but surrendered it after a four days siege, in the following year, to the Turks.

The size of Tenedos has been differently stated by different writers. Sandys†, following Strabo, makes it only ten miles in circumference; but, according to Tournefort, it is at least eighteen: I should think it more extensive. Its breadth is about six miles. It appeared to us from the sea to be rocky and barren, but when we walked to the top of a considerable eminence above

* Σιτωνα επιτεχνησατο τῳ παντι στολῳ αποφορτισασθαι διαρχως εχοντα. (Περι Κτισματων Ιουστιν. Λογος Πεμπτος, p. 46, edit. Vind. 1607).

† A Relation of a Journey, &c. edit. London, 1627, lib. i. p. 19.

the town, we saw that it presented a pleasing variety of hill and dale, well cultivated, although scarcely sheltered by a single tree. The highest hill, called the Peak of Tenedos, is seen at some distance from all the positions, both at land and sea, to the north. We put up several pairs of partridges, and we were told that these birds abound in such quantities in the island, that the Frank gentlemen of Constantinople sometimes pay a visit to the place for the sake of the sport. Rabbits are found in great numbers on the sides of the hills. Herds of goats, and of small black cattle, were feeding in the pastures: the whole island looked green, either with the grass-lands, the corn-fields, or with the vineyards (trained on the ground) whose produce is deservedly celebrated throughout the Levant. The Tenedos wine, when new, is of a deep red, and in flavour not unlike strong Burgundy. After being kept for some time, which, contrary to common practice in Turkey, it frequently is, even for a period of more than a dozen years, it becomes of a light yellow, and is then highly prized. The quantity grown in a good year is more than two thousand five hundred hogsheads, and its average price is five paras an oke. Liquids are sold by weight in Turkey; and an oke is equivalent to about a pound and three quarters English. Although we meet with no such encomiums on the wine of Tenedos as were lavished on that of Chios, yet its qualities were appreciated by the ancients, if we may judge by the vine-slip and bunch of grapes lying under the double or Amazonian hatchet which is seen on the reverse of the coins of that island*. It was celebrated for the beauty of its women and of its earthen-ware.

* See a Catalogue of Coins of the Grecian Commonwealths, chiefly out of Goltzius, in Walker on Coins and Medals, p. 43, London, 1692, A good plate

Tenedos partook of the fame attached to every thing connected with the Trojan war, and has to this day preserved its name, in order, as it were, to identify the alledged site of that ancient event. Italian and other Frank navigators have in this, as in many instances, by their ignorance of the language, exaggerated the corruption of the ancient names; for the island is TENEDO, and not DENETHO, according to the modern Greeks, notwithstanding that they pronounce the Δ softly, and call it Tenedtho. It has retained, however, nothing except its name; for no remnant of its ancient capital, Æolica, nor of the Temple of Apollo Smintheus, for which it was once celebrated, and which was plundered by Verres, is now to be seen.

The large granite sarcophagus, with the inscription ΑΤΤΙΚΩ ΚΑΙ ΚΛΑΥΔΙΑ ΣΕΚΟΥΝΔΑ* . . . referring to the father of the Atticus Herodes, so often before mentioned, was not shown to me; indeed, visiting the place accidentally, I had not informed myself of its existence, and not having looked for it, I cannot say that it is not to be found.

Tenedos has always derived an importance from its situation †,

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of this coin is given, from one in the Emperor of Austria's collection, in Riga's map for the Romaïc Anacharsis, published at Vienna in 1797; and a dissertation on the Τενεδιος πελεκὺς may be seen in Tournefort (p. 393, tom. i.) who has extracted the principal fable from Pausanias (Ὁ δὲ πελεκὺς Περιχλύτῳ, Phoc. p. 634.)

* See Chandler's Inscriptiones Antiquæ, p. 4.

† Tenedos is fifty miles from Mytelene, about five from the opposite Asiatic coast, and twelve and a half from the mouth of the Dardanelles, although in De La Mottraye's Travels, vol. i. fol. it is made twenty miles. In the latter periods of the empire, it was in the hands of pirates, until taken by Othman.

as its possessor may at any time blockade the Straits, and command the northern gulfs of the Archipelago. There were formerly six hundred Turkish families, and half as many Greek, on the island, although there were, besides the capital, only two or three hamlets. It is probable, that it will soon recover from its last great calamity; for, as it is the station of the vessels detained by the winds, both going to and returning from the Dardanelles, it will always support a considerable population.

The morning after our coming to an anchor off Tenedos, a large party of us left the ship in two boats, to visit the ruins of Alexandria Troas. We sailed over to the coast not immediately opposite to our station, but lower down to the south, a distance between six and seven miles, and landed in an open port, where there was a small vessel at anchor. We saw the road from the Dardanelles, running along the coast close to the shore, and a string of loaded camels, on their way to the south, were resting themselves on the sands. Several large cannon-balls, of granite, were lying scattered about on the sides of the path. The ruins of Alexandria have supplied the fortresses of the Dardanelles with balls, ever since the time of the famous Gazi Hassan Pasha, who having a chiflik, or country-house, at Erkissi-Keui, a village in the Troad, was well acquainted with a vast fund of materials to be found in his neighbourhood, and completed the destruction of many columns, some fragments of which, as yet not consumed, are now seen in different parts of this coast. If I mistake not, stone was used for this purpose previously to iron, or at least promiscuously with that metal, on the first invention of cannons, not only by the Turks, but the nations of Christendom.

If our countrymen were not, by experience, unfortunately too well acquainted with the dimensions of these balls, I might hesitate to state, that the weight of those which are made for the largest guns is between seven aud eight hundred pounds*. It is not, however, to be supposed, that the remains of this city have been applied merely to purposes of destruction, or that the Turks were the first who commenced the dilapidation of Alexandria: several edifices in Constantinople owed their ornaments, if not their structure, to the ruins of a city, the treasures of which lay so convenient for transportation, and which, as it was exposed to the ravages of the pirates who infested the seas during the latter ages of the Greek empire, was probably deserted at an early period, and left without an inhabitant to protect its palaces and baths of marble, its spacious theatres and stately porticoes. Indeed, it is likely that the rapine was begun at the foundation of Constantinople, and that it contributed, with Rome, Sicily, Antioch, and Athens, to the splendour of a capital adorned by the denudation of almost every other city—"*pene omnium urbium nuditate*†." A vast quantity of materials were carried off at once, by command of the Grand Signor, at the earlier part of the last century‡. At present, the Turks and Greeks of the country seldom point at a fragment of granite, or porphyry, an inscribed marble, or carved pillar, inserted in the walls of the moscks and churches in the neighbouring villages, without informing you, that it was brought from Eski-Stambol, the name given to a col-

* Two of them may be seen over the gate of the entrance to Sir J. T. Duckworth's house, near Plymouth.

† Decline and Fall, vol. ii. 4to. p. 14.

‡ Pococke, p. 110, vol. ii. Descrip. of the East.

lection of huts amongst the ruins of Troas. The traveller therefore must not expect to find all those remains of antiquity which are noted by early travellers, and of which plans and written details have been given by Pococke and others.

We had with us a guide from Tenedos, but as we had landed on the coast too much to the north, and he was acquainted only with the usual route, we rambled some time through the woods of vallonea, or low ilex, with which this country is covered, before we arrived at the ruins. We struck down to the south, at first, near the shore, towards the point of land with a house upon it, which we had seen the day before, and then turned up into the country, by the advice of a peasant whom we found working in a small vineyard in the middle of the woods.—As we were pushing through a tangly path, something which I had taken for the root of a tree, slid along by my feet into the bushes. Dervish, our Albanian, who saw me jump back, and had observed the cause of my surprise, hallooed out, a serpent (φειδι) and fired his gun, "which he would ne'er forsake," after the animal at a venture, but of course without effect. Our guide told me, that there were many much larger in the country (although this, to me, had appeared of an unusual magnitude) and that in the hotter summer months they might be very frequently seen basking in the woods, and on the sands near the sea. The thermometer was at seventy on the day of our excursion.

The first vestiges of antiquity which we saw, were two large granite sarcophagi: one of them was in the bushes, and the other by the side of a hedge, surrounding a plot which had been cleared, and turned into a vineyard. The pains taken to excavate these blocks of granite, which are of one piece, and were

covered also by a single slab, must have been considerable, and it is probable, that none but persons of some distinction were buried in such sepulchres. They were, indeed, rather family-vaults than single tombs, as might be conjectured by their size, and as we learn from their inscriptions, which seem also to hint, that they were receptacles either for corpses, or the bones of the dead; for the fine was incurred by putting into them NEKPON. H. OΣTEA.—a dead body, or bones, of any one except the owners. The name itself is sufficient proof that bodies were buried whole in these exposed vaults*. A little beyond the sarcophagi, we found two or three fragments of granite pillars, more massy than any we had yet seen. One of them, inaccurately measured with a handkerchief, was no less than twenty-five in length, and at least five feet in diameter.

We soon came to a flat inclosure (still in the woods, as are all the ruins of Troas) where there were two poor-looking huts, and some goats feeding on a tangly green, half overrun with briars. Getting over the inclosure, which was formed in part of granite pillars, we saw arches, half subterraneous, of brick-work, the foundation probably of some large building. Almost immediately at the back (the east) of this spot, are those magnificent remains,

* It does not appear that the name *Sarcophagus*, however, was in use amongst the Greeks; the word in the inscription at Pasha-Chiflik, or Erkissi-Keui, (a village we visited in the Troad) of which there is a copy given in "Constantinople, Ancient and Modern," p. 331, is Soros—THN ΣOPON. I presume, that all that can be said on the subject of these sepulchres, has been said in Dr. Clarke's Dissertation on the Tomb of Alexander, which I never have had the good fortune to see—κλέος οἷον ἀκούομεν. The inscription of Julius Atticus has also the NEKPON. H. OΣTEA.

called by early travellers the Palace of Priam, and, as Pococke mentions, by the peasants "Baluke Serai"--the Palace of Honey; possibly from the appearance of many of the masses, the stones of which are studded with petrifactions of cockle-shells, looking like the white cavities of a honeycomb. Mr. Bryant, however, approves of Pococke's suggestion, that the denomination may be derived from Baal, the Eastern name of Apollo. The last opinion of Mr. Le Chevalier, that these ruins are the remains of the public baths, is confirmed by the earthen pipes still visible on the cornices of the building, and also, as that traveller has observed, by the aqueduct of Atticus Herodes, of which there are remains crossing the valley to the north-east of the ruins, and which these Balneæ may have been intended to terminate. Those who are acquainted with the public buildings of the ancients, are aware that the word "bath," in our acceptation of the term, gives but a very inadequate notion of those spacious and splendid edifices so called by the ancients, and designed not merely for the purposes of ablution, but as places of instruction and exercise.—The earthquake of the last winter had thrown down large portions of the remains, and the whole interior of the edifice was choked up with fragments of wall and vast pieces of fallen marbles.

Entering through a gap, and leaping from one mass of fallen fragments to another, we found ourselves in the midst of an ample ruin, inclosed on two sides: to the north and east by stupendous walls raised on arches, and blocked up on the south by a line of irregular fragments of stone-work, some standing, some lying in heaps on the ground. The fallen blocks were of an enormous size, and showed that no cement had been used in the construction of an edifice which was thought sufficiently stable

from the weight of its massy materials. In the middle of the remains, and fronting the west, were three lofty portals or open arches; the principal feature in the ruins, and that part of them, as I suppose, which is seen afar off at sea. Pedestals of monstrous columns, and broken steps, were lying amongst the fragments below. A strip of marble cornice, highly finished, was visible in the front and side, and projecting from the spring, of the middle arch.

Our guide told us, that in this quarter the earthquake had been most destructive; and, indeed, on comparing the description of former travellers with what we saw, I am at a loss to find several portions of the stately ruins which have been mentioned by those who preceded us, and must suppose that time and violence have, within the last twenty years, produced a very material change in their appearance. No common observer would, I believe, recognize Pococke's plan in the present appearance of his Gymnasium; an artist, however, would find but little difficulty in restoring the building, as the ground-plan is descernible, and enough of it yet stands to enable him to form a judgment of the entire structure. The angle at the north-east of the inclosure is preserved. The north side presents a view of twelve open arches, for the most part unbroken, and the eastern front has twelve closed arches in the substructure of the wall, which, together with an open space in the middle of them, probably occupied by an arcade of entrance, was, it should seem, the whole length of the building.

From the baths, the distance from the sea has been computed three miles; it is probably not much more than two. To the west and south-west, the ground falls in a gentle declivity down

to the shore, covered with low woods, and partially interspersed with spots of cultivated ground. On this slope the ancient city was built. To the east of the ruins there is a deep valley, separating the site of Troas from the roots of Ida, and widening as it approaches the shore, beyond the village of Neshrah-Keui, into a spacious plain. Through this valley flows a small river, which we had seen from the frigate, and which rises in the hills near a village called Bairam-Keui. On the slope of the eminence, eastward from the ruins, are the hot-baths of Lidgah Hammam. The spring, at a short distance from its source, falls into two stone basins, one of which is covered in under a casupolo, or hut of boughs, and appropriated to the women. Overflowing the basins, the stream, called Aiyah-su, trickles through a pebbly channel into the river in the valley. An English gentleman, who preceded us in our tour, and whom we saw at Smyrna, informed me, that his thermometer had risen to one hundred and forty of Fahrenheit's scale, at the head of the spring. The people of the country resort to Lidgah Hammam for the cure of elephantiasis and other cases of leprosy. Hot springs abound on the western side of Æolia; an author has remarked, that the steam arising from them casts a mist over the whole country at the bottom of the Adramyttian Gulf.

To the north of Troas is a wide flat valley, or rather plain, with a marsh, through which runs the rivulet Sudlu-su.

Part of the walls of Alexandria are to be met within the woods to the west and north of the Great Baths, and can be traced, although with some difficulty, nearly to the shore. They have been computed to be a mile in length from east to west, and as

much from north to south*; but they must be considerably more extensive, especially in the latter direction. The remains of the theatre are to the south, below the Baths, in the side of the hill fronting the sea, with the view of Tenedos, Lemnos, and the whole expanse of the Ægean.

We did not return to the shore by the path which we had taken to arrive at the ruins, but went towards the point of land to the south, desiring, by a message, the boatmen to row down the coast, and wait our arrival. We came to the ancient port of Troas, a small circular basin, half choked up and stagnate, communicating with an outer harbour or bay, also very shallow, by a narrow canal. The hollow sides of the hill, down to the basin, were covered with brambles and brushwood, and in parts with crumbled rubbish; and near the water were many small granite pillars, about the size of sepulchral stelæ, which, it has been thought, were used to make fast the vessels by ropes to the shore†. Yet from the secure position of this basin, one might think it had been like that harbour in the Odyssey,

. . . . . λιμὴν εὔορμος, ἵν' ὲ χρεὼ πείσματος ἅπτειν.

Walking a little way higher up than the port, we came to a narrow flat valley, looking like a dry canal, or an artificial exca-

* Pococke, p. 110, book ii. Description of the East.

† The Greeks, besides πείσματα called these ropes πρυμνήσια, ἀπογάια, and ἀπογέια; hence τὰ ἀπογέια λυσάσθαι, in the Hermotimus of Lucian. The Latins gave them the name of *ora*. Vixdum omnes conscenderunt cum alii resolvunt oras, alii anchoram vellunt.—Liv. Hist. dec. iii. lib. ii. See Car. Stephan. Libell. de re Navali ex Bayfii. Vigili. excerpt. Ludg. 1537.

vation, which may have once been joined to the harbour, and have served as a dock for the construction or careening of ships. In this direction travellers have met with the site of the Stadium, which, however, escaped our observation. Above the valley to the west, was a considerable fragment of the city-wall, and a large pillar of granite broken in half.—Some of our party wandering in the woods in this spot, were assailed by the dogs of two goat-herds, whose charge must stand in need of very powerful protection, as they were guarded by seven of these fierce animals.

In the villages near Troas, ancient remains have been discovered wherever the country has been explored, which it has been only partially. Chemali, three or four miles to the north, has several fragments of marble and granite, with a few inscriptions. It was supposed by Chandler to be the Colonæ of the ancients; but that town was, most probably, nearer to the shore exactly opposite to Tenedos*. Perhaps, as a late traveller has conjectured†, the eminence on which this town was situated, and which gave it the name of "*The Hills*," was the large mount now thought to be artificial, and called Liman-Tepe.

Of the country at the bottom and the north side of the Adramyttian Gulf, anciently called Cilicia, and divided, according to the Homeric geography, between Thebe and Lyrnessus, we have very little actual knowledge. This is the assertion of D'Anville‡, which was repeated many years afterwards, and with

* Ἐν τῇ γῇ τῇ Τρωάδι αἱ κολώναι κατὰ νῆσον κείμεναι Λέυκοφρυν.—Pausan. Phoc. p. 634.

† Topog. of Troy, p. 19.

‡ Géographie Ancienne, abrégée, Paris, 1768, tom. ii. p. 19; Dissertation concerning the War of Troy, 2d edit. London, 1799, p. 144.

justice, by Mr. Bryant; yet Edremit, and (if the maps are not conjectural) Antandro and Asso, indicate the site of the towns, the ancient names of which they so very nearly preserve.

Pliny, who proceeds from the south-eastern point of the Troad, begins with Hamaxitus, mentions Cebrenia next, and then comes to Troas itself, called Antigonia, and afterwards Alexandria *. Hence, and especially from his expression "*ipsaque Troas*," it seems that this city, which was indeed inferior to none of its name, except the Egyptian Alexandria, was the capital of the province, and that it acquired the appellation before attached to the whole district. The citizens were by distinction *Troadenses*, as appears by their medals, and by inscriptions discovered on the spot; and that the city was called Troas without any adjunct, is seen by its being expressly so designated in ancient authors †. It was not, therefore, very surprising, that this Troas should be supposed by the common people of the country, and by those who had not looked narrowly into the ancient geographers, to have some connexion with the city of Homer. Meletius asserts, that in his time it was yet called TROADA ‡, as it is by the

* Troadis primus locus Amaxitus, dein Cebrenia; ipsaque Troas, Antigonia dicta, nunc Alexandria, colonia Ro.—Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. v. cap. XXX.

† The votive tablet to Drusus Cæsar, in the vestibule of the Public Library at Cambridge, contains the words, COL. AVG. TROADENS; and the coin of the city, with the Silenus on the reverse, has also the legend COL. AVG. TROAD. The TR.A. on the exergue of the medal of Trajan found by Chandler (Travels in Asia Minor, cap. x.) must be a part of the same word, and not, I should think, of TROAS, as he has supposed.

In the Acts of the Apostles, chap. xx., verse 5 and 6, and in the Second Epistle to Timothy, chap. iv. verse 13, the town is called distinctly *Troas*.

‡ Καλεῖται ὅμως ἀκόμη Τρωάδα, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Τέρκων Ἐσχὶ-Σταμπόλι.—Melet. Geog. Venice, p. 455, article Φρυγια.

Greeks at this day. This general persuasion made Belon take the ruins of Eski-Stamboul for the remains of the city of Priam, and conceive, that the river in the vale of Nesrah-Keui, was the actual Xanthus of the poet. The little stream of Lidgah Hammam may have supplied him with a Simois. That this mistake (if a mistake it is) was not made by every one who saw the country, may, however, be proved, by the account of a Voyage in the Levant, written by an Englishman, so far back as the year 1593; who says, that he came down the Straits, "and so by the Sigean promontory, now called Cape Janissary, at the mouth of Hellespont upon Asia side, *where* TROY *stood*, where are yet ruins of olde walles to be sceene, with two hils rising in a piramidall forme, not unlikely to be the tombs of Achilles and Ajax." Adding, "from thence we sailed along, having Tenedos and Lemnos on the right hand, and the Trojan fields on the left*."

Sandys also, who began his journey in 1610, objected particularly to Belon's account, and asserts, that "*in all likelihood*" he had mistaken the site of ancient Troy†. At the same time, however, it is a little difficult to understand the whole of his narrative, taken together, as it relates to Troas; for his phrase is somewhat at variance with his meaning, and would almost make us suppose that he had adopted the very notion of Belon's which he appeared at first willing to controvert.

The error into which Sandys certainly fell, was mistaking the remains at Eski-Stamboul for those of Ilium—the Ilium of Lysimachus. Pococke, who followed the text of Strabo, knew that

* This is from the journal of one Richard Wrag, who accompanied Edward Barton, Ambassador from Queen Elizabeth to the Porte.—Hakluyt, 2d vol. p. 308, edit. London, 1599.

† A Relation of a Journey, &c. lib. i. p. 22, edit. London, 1627.

what he had said of the site of Ilium would not apply to Eski-Stamboul; but Mr. Wood has been accused of that inaccuracy, and of confounding two towns which were sixteen miles apart*: yet I believe he will not be found speaking so decisively, as to make it clear that he committed that considerable mistake†.

It seems to me a much more unaccountable error, to confound Troas with Ilium than with Troy; for Strabo, to mention no other authority, when he described Ilium, described a town which was in a flourishing condition in his day, and so particularized its site, as to identify it with a spot not much more than a mile from the shore of the Hellespont; but he spoke of Troy as of a city of which not a vestige was left, and the site of which, as it had ever been a subject of dispute, he was able to fix where he pleased, but without depriving succeeding writers of the same freedom of conjecture. In fact, we see that a late celebrated authority has sent us to look for the city of Priam, even more to the south than Alex-

* Gibbon, Decline and Fall, vol. xi. 4to. p. 8.

† I recollect nothing upon which the charge is grounded, except that, after saying that the present town is not the Troy of Homer, he adds, "that was higher up." Now Strabo having placed the site of Troy above the new Ilium, it must seem that the traveller supposed the ruins of Eski-Stamboul to be those of that second town. He asserts, in the same place, that the situation of the Scamander is likewise changed; and that the hot spring is below the source, and does not communicate with the river, the fountains of which are in the mountains, where no town could have stood," (Essay on the Original Genius of Homer, p. 329.) But the Scamander of Mr. Wood flows so many miles to the north-east of Eski-Stamboul, that he could not well allude to the baths of Lidgah Hammam, when he talks of the hot spring of the river. It is true, that a map made, as Chandler supposed, by a Frenchman, in 1726, and belonging to Mr. Wood, did seem to admit the supposition, that Troas was either Troy or Ilium.

andria, between Lectum and Antandros*. Mr. Bryant founded his argument not a little on the position of Tenedos, which he conceived should be in front of Troy; and had he seen that the island is placed too low in the maps, and that beyond Lectum to the south the coast is rocky and precipitous, he might have altered his opinion: but it is not at all improbable, that he would have fixed upon the plain of Ghicle, just to the north of Troas, as the country in which (if in any) the poet meant to lay the scene of his Iliad. He would not, indeed have found the Sudlu rivulet so large as the Scamander of the Iliad; but with his general scepticism on the subject, he might not have been disturbed by such a dissimilarity, especially as he would have seen some other requisite points of resemblance to the Trojan plain of Homer, not to that of Strabo, which it would be in vain to look for near the Sigean promontory, and in the plain watered by the Mendere-su.

* See from page 133 to page 148, of Mr. Bryant's Dissertation concerning the War of Troy.


The Western Half of the HELLESPONTINE PERYGIA
STRAITS OF THE DARDANELLES
ARCHIPELAGO
ISLE OF TENEDOS
Tenedos
RABBIT ISLANDS
Cape of Troy
Cape Yeni Cher
Koum Kaleh Castle
Castle
Elles Bournou
Ene
Mavromati
High Mountains
First Chain of High Mountains
Kisit Keui
Ik-Keui
Eski Skupchu
Sorrim Tepe Barrow
River Probably the Andeus
Hipar Haline Keui
Baghtche Keui
Bairam Ruins (Anct Assos)
Bourghaz
Kourabachi
Stavidy Bournou
Polymedi ain
Silver Mines
High Mountains of Grey Granite
Granite Quarry
Quarry
Tchoban-Keui
Chemali Keui Ruins
Kis Stambol
Arch Keui
Kara Dag Mountains
Ruins
Barrows
Roumarbashi
Arabler Keui
Bos Keui
Bourgas Keui
Ruins supposed by Pococke to be those of Ilium
Rivulet corresponding with the navigable Scamander of Pliny
Scamander
Bournabashi Rivulet
Callifatli
Palaia Callifatli
Ruins probably of Ilium
Koum Keui
Mount
Barrow
Tchiblak
Marble ruins
Halli Elli Keui
Marble ruins
Telmessus
Thymbrek Keui
Rivulet the Simois of Chandler and the Thymbrek of Le Chevalier
Chandler
Le Chevalier
Probable called by the ancient Greeks the tomb of Ajax
In Tepe Cheuhi Barrow
Karamlik-Liman
Marshes
Plain
Extensive Marshes of Le Chevalier
Udjek Tepe Barrow
Ereesse Keui et Palaia Callifatli
Canal
Mounts
Meudere River
Site of Ilium according to Le Chevalier
Barrow
Suppposed tomb of Achilles
Gaur Keui
Yeni Keui
Beshik Tepe Barrow
Tenian Bournou
Acqueduct in Ruins
Remains of ALEXANDRIA TROAS formerly supposed of Troy
Ancient Fort
Stamboul Douk Mount or Tower
Udjek Hamman Hot Bath
Nesrah Keui
Koploudje Hane
Linnan Tepe Barrow
Yaghlan Bournou
Kuran Keui
Baha
C. Baba or Lectum Prom:
Longitude East of Greenwich
40°
45'
39°.30'
15
26
London Published by James Cuthern. Cockspur Street 1813.
Neele Sc. Strand.

LETTER XXXIX.

Frigate anchors off Sigéum—The Troad of Strabo—Ilium—its History—Not Troy—Nor on the site of it—No Vestiges of Troy ever seen—Modern Travellers—No pretended Discovery of the Site until the time of Le Chevalier—Description of the Coast from Stamboul-Douk to Cape Janissary—Yeni-Keui—Beshik-Tepe—Elles-Bournou—Mouth of the Dardanelles—Ancient Geography of the Coast—Amnis Navigabilis of Pliny—Sigean Promontory—Giaur-Keui—Sigean Marbles—Sigéum—Elêus—Elles Baba-Tepe—The Protesiléum—Koum-Kale—Mouth of the Mendere River—The Thymbrek River—In-Tepe Gheulu—Valley of Thymbrek-Dere—Marshes of the Plain—Rivulet of Bournabashi—Udjek-Tepe—Bournabashi—Course of the Mendere—Callifatli Village and Brook—Banks of the Mendere.

EARLY on the morning of the 14th of April, the frigate got under weigh, and going on deck, we found ourselves at anchor, not, as before, in the channel of Tenedos, but at a little more than a mile and a half from Cape Janissary, where we

found H.M.S. the Bustard, brig of war, and an English transport laden with gunpowder for the Turks, which had been there several days waiting for a firman to pass the castles of the Dardanelles. No ship of war belonging to any foreign power, is now allowed to enter the straits, without such an imperial order directed to the Pashas of the several forts commanding the passage; and we were detained in expectation of receiving this permission until the 1st of May. Such was the jealous caution of the Porte, that it would not allow two British ships of war to proceed at the same time to Constantinople; and the Bustard having resigned her charge to the Salsette, departed on the 18th for Malta. Whilst the frigate was at this anchorage, and during nearly another subsequent fortnight, I had an opportunity of surveying the whole of that plain which for 3000 years has attracted the attention of the civilized world, and which the ingenuity of our own age has illustrated by discoveries so singular, that whether fanciful or not, they must increase the interest of visiting these celebrated regions. For some find it most agreeably congenial with all their early prepossessions, to credit the conjectures of those who recognize on this spot every vestige of the poetic landscape; whilst others experience not a little satisfaction in detecting the futility of former schemes, and in furnishing themselves with arguments in favour either of more probable arrangements, or of a general scepticism respecting the whole Homeric topography.

We may expect to find the account given by Strabo of this part of Asia, equally correct with the other descriptions of that invaluable writer; and we may at least hope to see his plain of Troy, with the Simois and Scamander, the stations of Achilles and Ajax, the harbour of the Greeks, and many of those

celebrated objects which, on whatever foundation, were identified in very early ages with the scenes of the Iliad. If the country bordering on these famous straits does not correspond with the descriptions of the poet, it may be found, perhaps, to agree with those of the geographer; and with this resemblance a prudent traveller should, according to my humble judgment, be content, without attempting to find those evident vestiges of the Trojan war, which all the investigation of the ancients was so utterly unable to discover, that the words of the poet himself were quoted to prove that some of them, as the rampart of the Greeks, had perhaps never existed, and that others, amongst which was reckoned Troy itself, had been destroyed by the event to which they owed their celebrity.

Plutarch informs us, that Alexander the Great performed sacrifices at Ilium*; and Arrian adds, that he carried away from the place some arms which were said to have been used in the Trojan war, and ordered them to be borne before him in his battles†. But this Ilium, which, from a village with a single temple, was converted by his order into a considerable town, is proved by the many arguments adduced in the treatise on the Troad, contained in the thirteenth book of Strabo, to have not

* Ἀναβὰς δὲ εἰς Ιλιον, ἔθυσε τῇ Αθηνᾷ.—In vit. Alex. p. 674, Op. Om. edit. Paris, 1624.

† Ἀνελθόντα δὲ ἐς Ἴλιον τῇ τε Ἀθηνῇ θύσαι τῇ Ἰλιάδι, καὶ τὴν πανοπλίαν τὴν αὐτῇ ἀναθεῖναι ἐς τὸν ναόν, καὶ καθελεῖν ἀντὶ τάυτης τῶν ἱερῶν τίνα ὅπλων ἔτι ἐκ τῆ Τρωϊκῆ ἔργα σωζόμενα· Καὶ λέγουσιν ὅτι οἱ ὑπασπισταὶ ἔφερον πρὸ αὐτῆ ἐς τὰς μάχας.—Arriani, de Expedit. Alex. lib. i. cap. ii. p. 25, edit. Gronov. 1714 It will be observed, that the annalist uses throughout, the phrase "it is reported."

been the Ilium of Homer, although the vanity of its inhabitants induced them, long previously to the Macedonian invasion, to call it by that name, and to show their Acropolis to Xerxes as the Pergamus of Priam*.

It is related of the new city, that the old site not being chosen on account of Agamemnon's supposed imprecation, the Astypalæans, who inhabited Rhœtéum, built a little town, called in the Augustan age Polisma, in a marshy spot, which was soon deserted. Ilium was then founded by the Lydians, but did not arrive at any prosperity until a long time afterwards; when Lysimachus, to fulfil a promise made by Alexander, took it under his protection, and surrounded it with a wall of forty stadia in circumference. When, however, the Romans came into Asia, it was more like a village than a town, and at the passage of the Gauls from Europe, it had no walls. It afterwards recovered itself, was created a free city by the Romans when they made peace with Antiochus†, and stood an eleven days siege against the Quæstor Fimbria, the murderer of Valerius Flaccus, by whom it was razed to the ground‡.

Sylla having destroyed Fimbria, favoured Ilium, as also did Julius Cæsar in a more especial manner, and it's immunity from

* Ἐς τὸ Πριάμου Πέργαμον ἀνέβη ἥμερον ἔχων θεήσασθαι.—Herod. Hist. lib. vii. cap 43.

† Liv. Hist. lib. xxxviii.; Casaub. Comm. et Castig. p. 224, edit. Xyland.

‡ Caius Fimbria . . . . urbem Ilion quæ se potestati Syllæ reservabat, expugnavit ac delevit.—Liv. epit. in lib. lxxxiii. Appian, who gives a detailed account of the cruelties of Fimbria, adds, that this calamity happened CICL years after the taking of Ilium by Agamemon.—Vide Casaub. Com. et Castig. in Strab. lib. xiii. p. 224, edit. Xyland.

tribute was afterwards confirmed by the Emperors Claudius* and Nero†.

The love of proving an illustrious ancestry, common to the two great nations of antiquity, made the Romans wish to believe the Iliéans the actual descendants of the true Trojans, and to call their town, as they generally did, by the name of Troy, which was one of its Homeric appellations, but was obsolete with the Phrygian Greeks‡.

A proof of this persuasion may be adduced from the story told of Tiberius, who, to reproach the Iliéans for their late condolence for the death of Drusus, informed them, that he also sympathized with them for the loss of Hector§. But the well-known lines of Lucan, inform us with what success Julius Cæsar searched for the vestiges of the Trojan wall‖; and that the verses of the

* "Iliensibus quasi Romani generis auctoribus tributa in perpetuum remisit."—Suet. in vit. Tib. Claud. Cæs. p. 543, edit. qt. Schildii.

† "Impetrat ut Ilienses omni publico munere solverentur."—Tacit. Annal. lib. xii. cap. 58, p. 88, edit. Glasg. 1753. "Circensibus ludis Trojam constantissime favorabiliterque ludit."—Sueton. in vit. Neron. Claud. Cæs. cap. 7, p. 578, edit. qu. sup.

‡ Dissertation concerning the war of Troy, edit. 2, p. 39; see also the commentary on verse 817, Perieg. Dionys., in which the Latins are censured for calling Ilium Troy, p. 285, edit. Lond. 1679. It seems strange that Mr. Bryant should be the first to remark, that the Τροια of Homer is sometimes the city as well as the district.—Dissert. Append. p. 132, 2d edit. To prevent the necessity of adding an epithet to Ilium Immune, I shall distinguish the Homeric city by the name of Troy.

§ Suet. in vit. Tib. cap. 52, p. 388. The reader may recollect how happily this story it introduced in one of Dr. Swift's letters to Mr. Pope.

‖ Mr. Le Chevalier, in alluding to the lines of Lucan, with a singular disingenuity, and confidence in the ignorance of his readers, only quoted the first

poet were founded on fact, is fully proved by the testimony of Strabo, and the decisive evidence of the author, to whose assistance he had recourse in describing the Hellespontine Phrygia.

We do not know that Strabo had not himself been in the Troad, but we are sure that no person could speak more to the purpose than Demetrius, who was a native of Scepsis, a town not far from Ilium, and who wrote thirty books on sixty lines of Homer's Trojan Catalogue. From this authority we know, that not a vestige was left of the ancient city*.

Neither Julius Cæsar, nor Demetrius, nor Strabo, had any doubt of the former existence of the city of Priam; and the orator Lycurgus, quoted by the latter author, at the same time that he declared the total desolation, and as it were death of Troy, to be known to all the world, spoke of its destruction as of a fact equally notorious†. These authorities therefore are to be acknowledged as

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three lines of the description, beginning "Sigæasque petit famæ mirator ârenas," as the five following verses were fatal to his hypothesis. The author of the Topography of Troy, is much fairer in his notice of the passage, if he does notice it when he attributes the prevailing error respecting the non-existence of any Trojan remains, to the "etiam periere ruinæ" of *Virgil*.

* Οὐδὲν δὲ ἴχνος σώζεται τῆς ἀρχάιας πόλεως.—Strab. lib. xiii. p. 195. These words, and the general tenour of the whole argument, may be quoted as decisive against those places, where the words ἡ παλαιὰ, or ἀρχαῖον κτίσμα, are introduced to signify either Troy, or the supposed site of it, at the Pagus Iliensium.

† See Casaubon. Comm. in Strab. lib. xiii. p. 601. Τὴν Τροίαν τίς ἐκ ἀκήκοεν ὅτι μεγίστη γεγενημένη τῶν τότε πόλεων, καὶ πάσης ἐπάρξασα τῆς Ασίας, ὡς ἅπαξ ὑπὸ τῶν Ελλήνων κατεσκάφη, ἀπο τὸν ἀιῶνα ἀοικητός ἐστίν. Strabo relates, that Thucydides speaks of *Troy* being taken by the Athenians; but on referring to

complete evidence against the remains of Troy having ever been recognized by any credible witnesses amongst the ancients, and are to be received with none of that distrust with which we may hear the arguments of those who have in our times been arrayed, to prove that such a place as Troy did never exist, and that consequently the Trojan war was a mere fiction of poetry. The geography of the Troad cannot be affected by any decisions on this latter question, nor by those disquisitions which have lately increased our doubts on all points relative to Homer, and have made us uncertain not only of the productions and the name, but even ot the actual existence, of the poet.

The learned world may decide that the Odyssey and the Iliad were not productions of the same person or period; and Mr. Heyne, annulling the labour and dissolving the union of Pistratus, may disperse the two epics into their primitive rhapsodies. It is enough for the traveller to be aware, that not only not a vestige of Troy was ever seen, but that no ancient author ever pretended to have ascertained with precision its actual site. It may be observed, that in the forgeries of Dictys Cretensis* and Dares Phry-

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the historian, we see that he does not mention Troy, but only, τὰ ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ πολίσματα—the towns in the interior, or on the main-land, lib. iii. See Casaubon's note to p. 600 of Strabo, lib. xiii. p. 226, edit. Xyland.

* In Dictys Cretensis the Scamander is mentioned only once (p. 99, edit. Amstlea, 1730), the Simois not at all; the river (" flumen, p. 88, and fluvius, p. 99") is noticed but twice; Ilium is once named, p. 108; the tomb of Achilles once, p. 109; Sigéum once, p. 132; and the tomb of Ajax, on the Rhœtéum promontory, also once, p. 137. The author says of Troy, " urbs incendiis complanata"—" the city was burnt to the ground," p. 134; but he makes Antenor, and Æneas and Antenor, inhabit it afterwards. He

gius*, no attempt is made at local description, and that this would hardly have been the case if the site of the Phrygian capital, and consequently the exact scene of the memorable events which they recorded, had been universally known to the Greeks of the age of Constantine.

The uncertainty respecting Troy must necessarily have increased rather than diminished by the progress of time, and I do not find that any judicious person amongst the early travellers, ever thought of discovering the vestiges or the site of the city of Priam. Dr. Pococke did not attempt to find any thing undiscovered by Demetrius and Strabo, and spoke with great hesitation even of conjectures founded on their descriptions. Mr. Wood, in the essay which he wrote "to do justice to Homer," wisely reserved a "thorough examination of the poet's geography to a

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every where calls the Trojans "Barbarians;" a distinction, as Mr. Wood observed on another occasion, not to be found in Homer, and only once used in Virgil (Essay on the Genius, &c. p. 504): Tzetzes (Chil. 5, Hist. 30, as I find him quoted in some notes on Ælian) averred, that Homer followed this history; but the learned Isaac Vossius thought the book was not the composition of a Greek even so late as the time of Constantine, but that the Latin, now called the translation of Septimius, was the original work.

* Dares Phrygius, who differs from Homer in very many particulars, for which the letter from Cornelius Nepos to Sallust, prefixed to the treatise (p. 154, ibi.), asserts that he was much extolled at Athens, mentions scarcely a single place by name except the Scæan gate, and the tomb of Achilles. The Phrygian Iliad, which was the foundation of this imposture, inferior both in antiquity and elegance to Dictys Cretensis, was said to be in existence in the time of Ælian; that author, however, does not say that he ever saw it, but only, that he believed it to be yet preserved—Καὶ τὸν Φρύγα Δαρήτα, οὗ Φρυγίαν Ιλιάδα ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἀποσωζομένην οἶδα.—Var. Hist. lib. xi. cap. 11.

more enlarged plan of his work;" and notwithstanding a singular hint, that the country was more like Homer's landscape in his time than it had been in that of Strabo *, and some general praise of Homer's accuracy, yet in his description of the Troad, he notices rather the changes that must have taken place in the face of the country, than the resemblance it bears to the picture given of it in the Iliad; and he does not hazard a single conjecture as to the actual site of the ancient city, except that it stood above Alexandria Troas: an omission caused not by ignorance or carelessness, but, it is probable, by a thorough knowledge of the insurmountable difficulties attending the enquiry.

Chandler, in his account of the Plain, followed Strabo and the geographers; he attempted no discoveries as to Troy, and although he spoke with more decision respecting other points, he thought proper to make an excuse in his Preface, for hazarding such assertions †. What he might have done in his announced work, relative to the topography of the Troad, cannot be known, as it never was published, or transmitted to the press. But the world has become much wiser than formerly, especially, as Dr. Swift observed, within these ten years. Mr. Le Chevalier determined upon the discovery of Troy, and succeeded. The Pergamus of

* Essay on the Genius and Writings of Homer, p. 76.

"When we look on the regions of Troas, as represented in my map, it will be found, I believe, to differ from the history of the country as exhibited by Homer," p. 328.

"There is no trace in Homer of the progress of the Scamander, from the ruined bridge to Bournabashi; and yet this is the only part of the channel which is precisely the same as anciently," p. 329.

† He speaks of the barrows as the tombs of Achilles and Patroclus. His History of Ilium I have not been able to procure.

Priam, ruins of temples, foundations of walls, the Scæan gate, the hot and cold source of the Scamander, the station of the Greeks, the tombs of heroes, were ascertained, laid down, and irrevocably named. The ancients were accused of ignorance, the moderns of diffidence; the former, in the instance of Strabo and Demetrius, for not knowing their own Scamander when they saw it before their eyes; the latter, such as Dr. Pococke, for not finding the ashes of Achilles in the hillocks on the banks of the Mendere. The discovery was hailed with enthusiasm by the Parisian antiquaries, and all the learned bodies in Europe were, as the author predicted would be the case, eager to adopt the improved geography of Phrygia. Even the sober scepticism of English scholars gave way before the torrent of asserted proofs. It was not until five years subsequently to the publication of Mr. Le Chevalier's extraordinary success, that Mr. Bryant, without travelling beyond his library, and rather impeded than assisted by a wretched chart of the disputed country, raised such objections (not all, it must be owned, of equal validity) to the new map of the Troad, as no criticisms, either of the travelled or the learned, have been able to remove. Yet a gentleman who had visited the spot, vindicated Homer and Mr. Le Chevalier: another of our countrymen, who travelled in 1796, acknowledged the recent scheme sufficiently ingenious and plausible*; and the author of the Topography of Troy, not only concurred in most points in the invention, but in 1802 found several additional Homeric vestiges to support the happy hypothesis. Another

* "Mr. Chevalier's topography and general idea, after a fair investigation, we acknowledged to be ingenious and plausible."—Constantinople, Ancient and Modern, p. 347.

traveller, however, apparently of a totally different complexion*, and who lent an academic faith to the whole superstition, restored us to our ancient uncertainty; and when we travelled, the village of Bournabashi was no longer Troy; the springs of the Scamander and the Simois had disappeared, and the encampment of the Greeks had again sunk into the nonentity to which it was before reduced, by the trident of Neptune and the streams of seven rivers.

We repeatedly traversed the whole of that part of the Troad, which is usually called the Plain of Troy. The frigate was anchored a little above one of those singular tumuli, four of which are ranged near the shore of the Archipelago. Liman-Tepe, and Stamboul-Douk, have been already noticed. From the flat point Bournou, beyond Alexandria Troas, the coast, for four or five miles, is a sandy flat, and a shrubby plain, divided by a small rivulet, spreads from some inland eminences to the sea. About a mile from the succeeding promontory, called in the maps the Cape of Troy, another stream flows through a narrow but deep channel into the sea. About a mile from its mouth, it is joined by a small rivulet flowing from the south; and to this rivulet that channel of a mile in length formerly belonged, and not to the stream now running from the north-east, which has within the memory of man been let into it through an artificial cut. From this point the shore becomes less level; and the Cape of Troy is a sandy promontory, terminated by a mass of shapeless rocks. Half a mile inland, and to the north of the Cape, is the third large barrow, Beshik-Tepe. The coast above is exceedingly

* See an Essay in the Edinburgh Review, July, 1805, No. XII. Franklin and others have also written on the Troad; but the general outline of the progress of the question is given above.

abrupt, composed of high chalky cliffs, and on the flat of the hills not far beyond the barrow, stands the town of Yeni-Keui, containing perhaps two hundred houses, inhabited chiefly by Greeks. Immediately below it is a circular part or basin, to which the communication with the town is by a path winding down a steep precipice. Beyond Yeni-Keui, the coast still continues abrupt and high; but a little before, to the south of the fourth barrow, there is a deep chasm in the coast. The path on each side is made more easy by steps cut in the hill. At the bottom is a stone fountain, and between the hollow, a small stream trickles through the sandy beach, projecting in a thin strip at the foot of the rocks. The fourth barrow rises from the hilly coast, immediately above the chasm. To Cape Janissary, a mile and a half to the north, the coast is a line of steep craggy rocks. Opposite to our anchorage, a steep and difficult path ascends the hill: this was our often-trodden route into the plains, and part of the ship's company were daily employed in watering at two springs near the landing place. From the top of the cliff the path turns northwards near the edge of the precipice, and leading at first down a slope, ascends some gently-rising ground, until it arrives at the flat summit on which stands the town of Yeni-Cher, or Giaur-Keui. From this point the Cape stretches off half a mile beyond, to the north-north-west. On a flat above the town are eight or nine windmills, which when the pilot sees in a line with the tongue of the promontory he makes directly for the mouth of the straits. From the ship we had a distinct view of Elles-Bournou, or Cape Greco, the extremity of the Thracian Chersonese, of Cahim-Kalessi, the new fort built by De Tott on the hill, two miles within the Cape, and of Eski-Kalessi, the old castle

a mile farther in the mouth of the strait: a barrow, called Elles Baba-Tepe, was discernible on the hills above Cahim-Kalessi. From Cape Janissary to Cahim-Kalessi the distance is about three miles and a half; but as the angle formed at that point is very obtuse, the straits seem to commence from Elles-Bournou; and thus having a width of five or six miles, sweep round the high cliffs on either side into the expanded sea, with all the grandeur of an American river.

The usual place of anchorage for the vessels detained in their passage to Constantinople, is under the hills near Cahim-Kalessi, or in a small inlet under Cape Janissary; where, however, they are not always secure from the violence of the Etesian gales. On the 24th of April, many ships of different sizes, bursting from their moorings, and borne down as upon a rapid torrent, shot swiftly by us under bare poles, and were unable to bring up until they got shelter behind Tenedos. The boundless sea prospect from the heights on the Asiatic side of the straits, is broken by Imbros to the west, and to the north of that island by Lemnos, whose high rocks are, as it were, capped by the fainter peaks of Samothrace. Athos itself is said to be sometimes visible in the utmost distance, but it was not discernible during our stay on the spot.

The whole length of the coast from Koum-Bornou to Cape Janissary is about eleven miles, in a direction due north. Its ancient geography has not been determined very precisely. The headlands Koum-Bornou, and the cape of Troy, appear to have received no distinct names. Pococke says, that Achæum may have been near Yeni-Keui; but Chandler* assigns Nea or Nee

* Travels in Asia Minor, cap. xxii.

to this spot, as being more agreeable to the detail of Pliny, and as it seems to preserve its old name in a Turkish translation. He gives a Latin sepulchral inscription, taken from a stone in the village*. The land near the town is bleak and bare, but in the slopes under the hill there are some extensive gardens, in which the fig and mulberry tree are cultivated in luxuriant abundance. Strabo, whose notice of this coast is by no means in detail, says, that Achæum was opposite to Tenedos, and that its district was next to that of Alexandria Troas, not far from Larissa†.

If Yeni-Keui, and the vicinity of the barrow Beshik-Tepe, be near the site of Nee, we should look for the "Scamander Amnis Navigabilis" of Pliny between that spot and Cape Janissary‡. But there is no river between the two points, and the stream nearest to Yeni-Keui is that which flows into the sea, a mile to the south, where the continent, agreeably to the site of Achæum, is opposite to Tenedos, at least to the north end of that island. The stream in question is not noticed by Strabo, but it does, indeed, seem to be the navigable river Scamander of Pliny; and as it is larger than the other rivulets below to the south, it may have been so characterized, to show its comparative importance. It is certainly not the great Trojan Scamander of which the naturalist here speaks, for he mentions that river immediately afterwards, and in the position given to it by every other writer, calling it the Xanthus: I shall leave it, however, to the etymologists to determine, whether a stream, not capable even at its mouth of admitting a

* Inscriptiones Antiquæ, p. 4.

† Lib. xiii. p. 605, 596.

‡ "Oppidum Nee, Scamander amnis navigabilis, et in promontorio quodam Sigæum oppidum."—Nat. Hist. lib. v. cap. 30.

Thames wherry, and having all the characteristics of a mountain torrent, could have been ever designated by the epithet navigable Perhaps the ships navigating this Scamander were like those river boats (πλοῖα ποτάμια) which, according to Diodorus, were made by the orders of Stabobrates, King of India, out of a single reed*.

Every ancient mention of the Sigean promontory seems to identify it with Cape Janissary, and the remains discovered in Giaur-Keui, show that the town Sigéum was built on or near the site of the present village. The Sigean decree in honour of Antiochus, was removed in 1708 by Mr. E. W. Montague, and the Boustrophedon, which is called the famous Sigean inscription by Pococke, and has had that epithet attached to it by every succeeding traveller, was removed by Lord Elgin. From the inscriptions, a fac-simile of which is given in Chishull's Asiatic Antiquities, and in Mr. Payne Knight's Analytical Essay on the Greek Alphabet†, it appears that the method of writing or graving, from left to right, and from right to left, alternately, "as an ox ploughs," continued after the adoption of the long vowels generally supposed to have been invented by Simonides,

* Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐκ τῶ καλάμω κατεσκέυασε πλοῖα ποτάμια τετρακισχίλια . . . ἡ γὰρ Ἰνδικὴ παρά τε τοὺς ποταμοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἑλώδεις τόπους φέρει καλάμω πλῆθους ὃυ τὸ πάχος οὐκ ἂν ῥαδίως ἄνθρωπος παραλάβοι . . .—Hist. lib. ii. p. 74, edit. H. Steph. 1559. "Ex uno arundinis trunco μονοξυλα," says Wesseling. These boats were manned to resist the invasion of Semiramis; but the streams which they navigated cannot be supposed of the same sort as those on which the expedition of Nearchus sailed, and which Arrian does not call πλοιμοι, navigable by boats, but ναυσιποροι, navigable by ships.—Hist. Ind. cap. iv. pp. 317, 318, cap. v. p. 318, edit. Gronov.

† Plate II.

but prevalent in Asia, it is probable, prior to the time of that poet. The upper inscription contains the additional characters, although the one below uses only the alphabet of Cadmus and Palamedes. The earlier Sigean inscription was written, it is thought, six hundred years before the Christian era, and the second, which is nearly a copy of the first six lines of the other, seventy-seven years subsequently to the first*. Phanodicus, the son of Hermocrates of Proconesus, who gave the bowl and cover (**ΚΡΗΤΗΡΑ ΑΕ ΚΑΙ ϒΠΟΚΡΗΤΗΡΙΟΝ**) which are the subjects of the record, to the Sigean Prytaneum, is supposed by Chishull to be the historical writer of that name mentioned by the Scholiast in Apollonius, and the same person who is more than once commended by Laertius as the author of a treatise on the *Tripod of the Sage*, and concerning Thales and Bias†. Yet this biography, which is conjectural, does not fix the precise date of the marble.

The Montague marble was in the wall of a small church dedicated to St. Demetrius, and the pilaster containing the Boustrophedon was in the same church, and served as a seat. The pedestal, with the piece of sculpture described by Lady M. W. Montague‡, and explained by Dr. Chandler§, was opposite to the pilaster; but whether it is still left, I know not, for the Greeks of the village telling me that the marbles had been removed, I did not enter the church. Several fragments still remain scattered about near that building, which may be on the site of the Athenéum. Such was the opinion of the last-mentioned traveller, who adds also, that the flat on which the

* Analytical Essay, p. 18.

† Inscriptio Sigea, p. 32, see Appendix, Lond. 1728.

‡ Letter XLIV. p. 152, edit. London, 1790.

§ Cap. xii. p. 36, Travels in Asia Minor.

village stands, was the Acropolis, and that the ancient town occupied a slope on the descent towards the mouth of the Straits.

The village of Yeni-Cher or Giaur-Keui, is inhabited by Greeks only, some of whom are of the better sort. They cultivate the cotton grounds and vineyards on the sides of their hills, and are, in part, owners of the flocks of broad-tailed sheep which swarm over the neighbouring plains. We found that several houses contained a stock of wine sufficient to furnish a considerable quantity for the use of our ship's company.

The traveller before quoted out of Hakluyt saw some remains on this spot, as also did Belon, who took them for the relics of the structure consecrated to Achilles. Sandys* talks of the Promontory being "crowned with a ruinous city, whose imperfect walls do shew to the sea their antiquity." Some remnants appear to have been seen by Lady M. W. Montague; but they are not noticed, that I am aware, by any subsequent traveller, and at present there is not a vestige of them to be found. Whether they belonged to the unfinished city of Constantine, as Sandys conjectured, or were relics of Sigéum, has not been determined. The remains of Constantine's design, were visible on the right hand entering the Straits, but not, in all likelihood, on the Promontory itself; since the gates, which were conspicuously seen by those who sailed along the coast, were in the plain before Ilium, near the shore, and above or beyond the tomb of Ajax†. The same fatality seemed to attend the attempt at fixing the seat of empire

* Page 19, lib. 1.

† Καταλαβὼν δὲ τὸ πρὸ τοῦ Ἰλίου πεδίον παρὰ τὸν Ἑλλησπόντον ὑπὲρ τὸν Αἴαντος τάφον.—Zozom. Eccles. Hist. lib. ii. cap. iii. Decline and Fall, vol. ii. cap. 17, p. 9, 4to.

in the kingdom of Priam, as we are told prevented the rebuilding of the Temple at Jerusalem; and the perseverance of Constantine was of little longer duration than the inauspicious resolves of Julius Cæsar and of Augustus. The gates were all that was finished of the intended work, and cannot have left behind them relics sufficient to be called the ruins of a city: yet Kauffer, in his map, has laid down "Ville de Constantin," on a site which, it must be confessed, answers better than Giaur-Keui, to that of the designed capital.

Sigéum was built by Archæanax of Mitylene, and, as was said, out of the ruins of Troy; a report which, although entirely unfounded, was a proof of its extreme antiquity. After a variety of fortunes*, it was destroyed by the people of Ilium, who from the age of Antiochus, became masters of the greater part of the Troad, as far as Dardanus, and retained it when Strabo wrote. It was a ruin in his time, and the walls seen by modern travellers can have no reference to Sigéum. They may have been the remnants of some fort or watch-tower built in a much later period.

* We find in Strabo, that the town was taken from the Mitylenæans by Phryno the Athenian, and that Pittacus, endeavouring to recover it, several battles were fought, in one of which the poet Alcæus lost his shield. Herodotus (lib. v. cap. 94, 95) relates that it was taken by Pisistratus, who left his illegitimate son Hegesistratus governor, and that the latter was unable to retain it without repeated contests with the Mitylenæans of the neighbouring fortress Achilléum. He makes Alcæus' loss of his shield occur in one of these battles, and mentions, that the place came into the final possession of the Athenians by the award of Periander, the son of Cypselus; a circumstance which, in Strabo's account, happened previously to the time of Pisistratus. Dr. Chandler (cap. xii. p. 37, Travels, &c. &c.), to reconcile the statements, puts the conquest of Pisistratus after that of Phryno and the other events mentioned by the geographer. Chares the Athenian was governor of the town when Alexander landed in Asia. Arriani, de Exped. Alex. lib. i. cap. 2, p. 25, edit. Gronov. 1714.

If any argument were wanting, to shew that Cape Janissary is the Sigean Promontory, its situation opposite to the point of the Thracian Chersonese, might be adduced in proof. Near that point, called formerly Mastusia, was the town Eleus, a little to the north, on a precipice above Eski-Kalessi, and a mean village now occupies its site*. The Protesiléum, or sacred portion of Protesilaus, who was worshipped at Eleus, where he was supposed to be buried, was near the barrow Elles Baba-Tepe, and the barrow itself may have been called the tomb of that hero†. To the Protesiléum there is a history attached: it was laid waste and defiled by Artayctes, the governor of Sestos, to deter the Greeks, as he told Xerxes, from again invading Asia; but the Persian was severely punished for having revenged upon the people of Eleus the crimes of Agamemnon's army; for, being taken alive by Xanthippus the Athenian, he was himself impaled alive‡, whilst his son was stoned to death before his face§. Alexander the Great having left his main army near Sestos, marched to the point of the Chersonese, on purpose to visit the spot, and sacrificed on the tomb to the manes of the warrior who first landed in Asia, and was the first victim of the Trojan war‖. The barrow

* Strab. lib. xiii. p. 595.

† Ἐν γὰρ Ἐλαιοῦντι τῆς χερσονήσου ἐστὶ Πρωτεσίλεω τάφος τε καὶ τέμενος περὶ αὐτὸν, ἔνθα ἦεν χρήματα πολλά.—Herod. Hist. lib. ix. p. 116.

‡ Ζῶντα πρὸς σανίδα διεπασσάλευσαν.—Herod. Hist. lib. vii. cap. 33.

§ Herod. Hist. lib. ix. cap. 120.

‖ Ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐς Ἐλεοῦντα, θύει Πρωτεσιλαῷ ἐπὶ τῷ τάφῳ τοῦ Πρωτεσιλάου, ὅτι καὶ Πρωτεσίλαος πρῶτος ἐδόκει ἐκβῆναι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν τῶν ἅμα Ἀγαμέμνονι ἐς Ἴλιον

is no longer sheltered by the elms, whose ephemeral leaves dropped off every morning from the branches looking towards Troy, and presented a mournful type of the premature fate of the youthful hero: but, although nothing but a bare hillock, it is sufficiently remarkable to attract attention, and still retains the venerable name of tomb. Another smaller mount has been lately discovered near Elles Baba-Tepe; but travellers, with a very unusual forbearance, have not as yet assigned it to any ancient hero.

Having determined that the site of the Sigean Promontory coincides with Cape Janissary, a fact which Mr. Bryant thought had been arbitrarily assumed, and being acquainted with the point anciently reputed to be one of those anonymous headlands*, which were boundaries of the line of coast occupied by the Grecian ships, we may expect to receive some help in our future progress, from the detail of the geographers. On the descent from Giaur-Keui to the left of the road leading to the first castle on the Asiatic side of the strait, called Koum-Kale, in less than half a mile from the village, there is a barrow, which is not conspicuous from any quarter, as it is attached to the root of the hill above, and has also a tekeh, or Dervishes' chapel, built against its side. There is a vineyard hedge round the bottom of the mount, and

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στρατευσάντων.—Arriani de Exped. Alex. lib. i. cap. ii. p. 24, edit. Gronov. 1714. "Ipse cum reliquis Eleuntem proficiscitur, Protesilao sacrum, cujus ibi sepulchrum adjesto tumulo tegitur," &c. &c.—Suppl. in Q. Curt. lib. ii. cap. iii. p. 99. edit. Lugd. Bat.

* Ἠϊόνος στόμα μακρὸν, ὅσον συνέεγραθον ἄκραι. Il. Ξ. v. 36.

the top, which is used for a cemetery, has on it some broken remnants of modern stone-work. It is very inferior in size to Beshik-Tepe and the other barrows before-mentioned, to which it does not bear so great a proportion as the mount at Marlborough to that at Sidbury. To the east of this barrow, at a little distance, and in the road to Koum-Kale, there is another similar mount, but smaller, although more observable than the first. Immediately below it, the road turns northwards, and leads down a descent into a sandy triangular flat, about a mile long and a quarter of a mile broad, at the extremity of which is the town of Koum-Kale. The approach to it is through gardens and vineyards, separated by low enclosures. On the road we observed some singular constructions for forcing water. The stream from a spring at the foot of the hill of Giaur-Keui is conveyed in an earthen pipe, which is carried over several pieces of wall, perhaps twenty feet high, about three hundred paces from each other, across the flat to the reservoirs and fountains in the town and castle. The source is considerably above the level of Koum-Kale, so that the Turks, by this contrivance, show their perfect ignorance of the first principles of hydraulics, and put it in the power of any enemy to cut off their supply at once, by knocking down one of these walls.

The town of Koum-Kale is exceedingly clean and well-built, with one wide street containing several neat shops and coffee-houses. It has two moscks, whose white minarets are seen at some distance from the inland villages and from the sea. The number of inhabitants may be about six hundred, chiefly the families of the Turks who garrison the fortress. The castle, built by Sultan Solyman in the year 1659, is ill-constructed, being a hollow square of massive walls, with towers at the angles, pro-

tected at the back by a single moat. The battery ranges along the northern and western walls, and the embrasures, with the mouths of their enormous cannons, look like the entrances of small caverns to those sailing through the Straits.

The eastern bank of the neck of land on which Koum-Kale is built, is a bay or marsh, bounded on the other side by another flat sandy projection. It is about half a mile in breadth, and being extremely shallow, is covered in part with high reeds. It may be called the mouth of the Mendere, for into it that river discharges itself under a wooden bridge three hundred feet long, a mile above the town. A yellow tinge, similar to that observable at the mouth of all streams which deposit sand-banks, spreads in a circular line beyond the point, into the waters of the strait. The banks of the river near its mouth are adorned with frequent clumps of garden and forest trees. A little above the bridge there is a low barrow enclosed in a Turkish cemetery, and shaded by poplars and cypresses.

On the east side of the Mendere is an extensive plain, (Pococke calls it two miles broad and four long*), well cultivated in some parts, but in others a black swamp, and, near the shore, a sandy marsh. It is so intersected with dykes, that on passing it on our route to the Dardanelles, we were obliged to have recourse to the assistance of a peasant who was working in the corn fields. A broad ditch stream, which is lost in the marshes, flows from the east, in a line nearly parallel with the strait, at the distance of a mile from the shore. It is called the Thymbrek. Koum-Keui is a village a mile and a half from the bridge between the Mendere and the Thymbrek. The coast is still flat and sandy for two

* Observations on Asia Minor, p. 105.

miles to the east of Koum-Kale, as far as a projecting point of land, where the ground becomes high and rocky. On the slope of this point is a barrow, called In-Tepe Gheulu, "The barrow of the marsh." A neck of sand divides the coast between In-Tepe and the mouth of the Mendere, into two bays; the higher one of which, near the barrow, is at the bottom almost choaked with reeds, and is called Karanlik-Liman, "The shut port." Into this basin there runs a deep brook, Gheulu-Su, "The water of the marsh." A little above In-Tepe the road to the Dardanelles winds round the foot of some low hills, which project from the east into the great plain of Koum-Keui, having the shore on the north, and on their southern declivity the beautiful valley of Thymbrek-Dere, so called from the stream that runs through its whole length. The southern bank of the valley is formed by another root of the mountains, which spread in successive chains from the south-east to the north-west over the whole of the eastern portion of the Troad. On this root is the village of Tchiblak, and at the extremity of it is a barrow. About four miles in the valley of Thymbrek, on the north bank of the river, is the village Hallil-Elly, and two miles higher up another village, Thymbrek-Keui.

The course of the Mendere from the bridge, is for two miles in nearly a straight line to the south, through a vale, bleak and uncultivated to the west, under the hill of Giaur-Keui, but divided into green pastures and corn-fields on the side towards the plain of Koum-Keui. The banks are high and sandy, but the depth of water in the channel varies with the season. We crossed at a ford a mile above the bridge resorted to by the peasants of Giaur-Keui, in their way to Koum-Keui and the villages to the south, and, in the month of April, found the stream as high as

the saddle-girts. Two miles from the bridge a small rivulet, running in a channel which has once been supplied with more copious waters, flows into the Mendere from the south. A mount of some dimensions is close to the junction of, and between, the streams, near two piers of a fallen bridge crossing the rivulet. Some carved stones, and two capitals of the Corinthian order, were found on this mount by the author of the Topography of Troy. A quarter of a mile farther, the rivulet creeping through sedges, winds round a low long eminence, which being nearly surrounded by a tract of marsh land, is approachable only over a stony ridge stretching towards it from the south. From the great barrow, opposite to which our frigate was anchored, to the marsh, is a walk of half an hour, the whole way on a descent over corn-fields and heathy lands. The marsh runs to the south-south-east, on both sides of the rivulet, for a mile and a half, then turns off to the east, and with a few intervals of meadow land, covers an expanse of flat country seven or eight miles in length, and two or three in breadth, spreading itself over the southern portion of the plain between the Mendere and the rivulet. It is in many parts choked up with tall reeds, the covert of innumerable flocks of wild fowl of every description. From the turn of the marsh to the east, the rivulet may be called its boundary, although there are here and there some tracts of cultivated land between the morass and the banks of the stream. Immediately from that angle commences the new cut, which has diverted some of the water from its former channel, and has served also partially to drain the marsh. It is deep, like a mill-course, but in no part more than fifteen feet broad. It runs in a south-south-westerly direction, and in something more

than three miles, joins the rivulet conjectured to be the Navigable Scamander of Pliny. Beyond this canal to the east, there is a succession of low eminences, and the country is covered with brown heath and stunted bushes, except in some few cultivated spots. On a slope above the commencement of the new channel, is the village of Erkessi-Keui, or, as it is more usually called, Pasha-Chiflik, from a country-house in that quarter built by the famous Hassan Capudan Pasha, who either originally formed, or deepened and widened the artificial cut. A mile to the south of Pasha-Chiflik, and, as I found by frequent walks, about six from the barrow opposite to our station, and three from the mouth of the new channel, is the great barrow, called from a neighbouring village, Udjek-Tepe, which towers above all the surrounding eminences, and from the summit of which there is a complete view of the whole plain of the Mendere, and of that which slopes down to the flat sandy shores in front of the island of Tenedos. Udjek-Tepe is as large as the barrow at Sidbury, but from being placed in the midst and on the summit of some gradually-rising ground, is much more conspicuous than that mount. It is in shape a peaked cone, and has a few bushes on its sides, but is bare on the top. The road to Alexandria Troas passes near it on the right.

Bos-Keui is a village on the same line of low hills, three quarters of an hour east-south-east of Udjek-Tepe. From the barrow to the sources of the rivulet, near the far-famed Bournabashi, is a walk of two hours, over hilly uneven ground, in a direction nearly due east. It may be as well to mention here, although with some anticipation of a future topic, that this line of low hills, whose extremity reaches to the angle formed by the

new and old channel of the Bournabashi rivulet, is the southern boundary of the great plain of the Mendere, and has been thought, as may hereafter appear erroneously, to be that elbow of high land (αγκων) which Strabo mentions as stretching from the roots of Mount Ida towards the Sigean Promontory. Were it continued, it would reach rather to Yeni-Keui than to Cape Janissary.

Having traced the course of the Bournabashi rivulet to its spring, let us follow the Mendere upwards, from its junction with that stream. It turns off at first a little to the east. Its southern bank for a mile and a half, is an open flat of green sward, interspersed with a few bushes, and to the north, the land is cultivated, and partly enclosed. Two miles above the junction, a streamlet from the eastward falls into the river, near a village called Callifatli which lies south of Koum-Keui, on the road from the castle to Bournabashi. The vale through which runs the Callifatli rivulet, is the next in succession to that of Thymbrek Dere, from which it is separated by the low eminences of Tchiblak. In the direction from this last village to Callifatli is a barrow, from which there is a line of elevated ground projecting towards the west-south-west into the plain of Koum-Keui. East-south-east, a mile from Callifatli, is another low barrow, and a third chain of low woody hills bounds the valley of Callifatli to the south, approaching near the banks of the river. The succeeding valley is watered by a rivulet, which runs from the hills near the village of Atche-Keui, three miles to the east of the Mendere. Between the village and the river, but nearer the latter, is a large irregularly-shaped mount, and near this a ford crosses the river to Bournabashi, which is a mile distant on an eminence at the head, as it were, of the whole plain of the marsh. The river from this

point to Callifatli flows through a highly cultivated country, forming woody aits, now concealed amidst groves of cornel and wild-almond trees, and now glittering through open tracts of corn-lands. I traced all its windings, startling young broods of wild ducks and flocks of turtle doves out of every brake, from the vicinity of Bournabashi to where the path led me across the plain and the rivulet towards the frigate, and found I had walked for three hours; but the direct road, even to Callifatli, is not, I should think, more than seven miles.

Nothing could be more agreeable than our frequent rambles along the banks of this beautiful stream. The peasants of the numerous villages, whom we frequently encountered ploughing with their buffaloes, or driving their creaking wicker cars, laden with faggots from the mountains, whether Greeks or Turks, showed no inclination to interrupt our pursuits. The whole region was, in a manner, in possession of the Salsette's crew, parties of whom, in their white summer dresses, might be seen scattered over the plain collecting the tortoises which swarm on the sides of the rivulets, and are found under every furze-bush.

LETTER XL.

Barrows—Short Account of those ancient Mounts—Probably not all of them actual Sepulchres—Barrows of Celtic or Scythian Origin—as well in Phrygia as in Britain—The Phrygian Barrows appropriated by the Greeks—Barrow-Burial adopted by the Greeks, but not prevalent in the later periods of their History—The present Barrows of the Troad—Liman-Tepe, Stamboul-Douk, Beshik-Tepe, Udjek-Tepe, &c. not mentioned in Strabo—Supposed Tomb of Achilles—Account of its Excavation by De Choiseul Gouffier—Absolute uncertainty respecting the real Monument—Arbitrary adoption of Names for the other Barrows—In-Tepe possibly the Æantéum—Rhœtean Promontory.

IT must have been observed, that frequent mention has been made of barrows, on the coast and in the plain of Phrygia. The precise origin of these singular mounts has never been determined; for, whilst some have supposed that all of them are specimens of the most ancient kind of sepulchre, there are others who think that they may have been raised on other occasions, and are not to be invariably regarded as memorials of the

dead*. It would, perhaps, be proceeding too far to suppose every artificial heap of earth, even when found in countries where such tombs abound, and although generally considered an ancient tomb, to be an actual sepulchre. Mounts were raised by the Egyptians sometimes to support a sacred building, and sometimes to serve, without any superstructure, as objects of veneration. In this manner hills were accounted holy by the ancient Persians, as they are by the modern Japannese; and amongst the Jews, temples or other places of worship were, from the practice of the idolaters, denominated High Places†. From the hillocks of the Egyptians, Taphos, one of the Greek words signifying a tomb, may be derived‡, which can be accounted for by supposing, that many of these were in truth the tombs of their princes, and perhaps the archetypes of their pyramids, and that the worship of the dead was the origin of the sanctity attached to their supposed sepulchres.

In flat countries a mount was raised, but in other situations, either the foot, or the summit of a natural eminence, was selected for the place of burial. We have the testimony of Homer himself to prove, that hills, the size of which precluded almost the possibility

* Dr. Borlase, in his Antiquities of Cornwall, p. 211, edit. 2d (quoted in Dalzel's Notes on Le Chevalier) finds fault with the appellation, which being usually *barrow*, and not, as in Cornwall, *burrow*, gives, as he conceives, too great a latitude to that which should always signify a sepulchre. It is possible, however, that our word is not derived from the Saxon byrig, to bury, but beorg, or beorh, signifying "oppidum," a fortress or little hill, which is pronounced gutturally, like berch, and (as talch is changed into tallow) becomes in English, barrow. See note to page 20, of the Introduction to Sir R. Hoare's Ancient Wiltshire, where both roots seem to be admitted.

† Sir R. Hoare's Ancient Wiltshire, pp. 80, 81.

‡ Bryant's Mythology, vol. i. p. 449. Less curious etymologists may be contented with the derivation from ἔταφον, the aor. sec. indic. of θάπτω, sepelio.

of their being artificial, were called tombs. This was the case with Batieia, named by the Immortals, or, *in early ages*, the tomb of Myrinna*, where the Trojan army of fifty thousand men was drawn out in battle array, which could not have been effected even if the hill had been equal in size to the tomb of Ninus, the largest barrow in the world†. King Dercennus was buried under a hill‡, and Cinethes, one of the companions of Æneas, on the top of a mountain on the shores of Peloponesus§. The prevalence of the superstition above alluded to, which has been denominated hero worship, although it may militate against Mr. Bryant's general assertion, that all ancient barrows were not sepulchral, and may induce us to think that if they were not really tombs they were at least supposed to be so, may yet serve to convince us that many of these mounts, whether natural or artificial, did not actually contain the ashes of the dead. In proof of this, it is observed by the above author, that the tombs shown in Greece " were some of them those of gods themselves‖;" and Dr. Borlase has remarked, that ancient writers use that word for

* Il. B. v. 811. See the Scholiast to verse 403, and Camerarius, who give an easier explanation of the double appellations in Homer than either Eustathius or Dr. Clarke. The second names of inanimate objects, it should be observed, are not to be confounded (although the annotators have not remarked the difference) with those of men derived from any exploit, of which Homer gives an example in Astyanax, the agnomen of Hector's son Scamander—

Δῖος γὰρ ἐρύετο Ἴλιον Ἕκτωρ.—Il. vi. v. 403.

† It was nine stadia (more than a mile) from the bottom to the top, and ten stadia in breadth, and was to be seen in the time of Diodorus, who says of it, Τὸν δὲ Νῖνον ἡ Σεμίραμις ἔθαψεν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις καὶ κατεσκεύασεν ἐπ' αὐτῷ χῶμα παμμέγεθες, οὗ τὸ μὲν ὕψος ἐννέα ἦν σταδίων τὸ δὲ εὖρος ὡς φήσιν Κτησίας δέκα.—Lib. i. p. 67, edit. Steph. 1714.

‡ Virg. Æn. xi. 850.

§ Dion. Halic. lib. i. cap. 42.

‖ Observations on a Treatise, pp. 44, 45.

a temple, which signified properly a sepulchre*. The same may be said of the monumental hillocks in our own country. The barrow on Cotley Hill, and that in Elder Valley, in Wiltshire, on being excavated, discovered no signs of an interment, although there were sufficient proofs to show that they had been devoted to religious purposes; and the black earth generally found on digging into these eminences, which was once thought a decomposition of carcasses, has been pronounced by competent judges to be nothing but vegetable matter†.

It would not, indeed, be saying too much to affirm, that the same judgment which we form of the barrows in our own country, may be applied to those found in the north of Europe, in Tartary, and in whatever part of the world was at any time peopled by the Celtic race of mankind. The Nomades or the Scythians of the early Greeks and Romans, and the Celto-Scythæ of later periods, have been recognized in every region of Europe and Asia, and were discovered under different denominations in Britain, in Germany, and in Gaul‡. Not only the manners, but the name of Scythians, was found, in the age of Pliny, amongst the Sarmatians and Germans§, who supplied the first population of our island; and we need not be surprised at beholding vestiges of the same customs on the downs of Wiltshire and the plains of Troy. The

* Τύμβος, Lycoph. Cassand. ver. 613; "tumulum antiquæ Cereris," Virg. Æn. ii. 742; Antiquities of Cornwall, p. 222; Descript. of the Plain of Troy, p. 93.

† See Sir R. Hoare's Wiltshire, pp. 71, 82, 92, vol. i.

‡ See the authorities on this head, collected in Sir R. Hoare's Ancient Wiltshire, Introd. pp. 8, 9, &c.

§ "Scytharum nomen usquequaque transit in Sarmatas atque Germanos."—Hist. lib. iv. cap. 12, p. 59, edit. Paris, M.DXXXII.

Thracians and Mysians of Homer, as well as the Hippomulgi, Galactophagi, and Abii, may be said to be of Scythian origin, and tribes of that wandering people were mixed with the nations south of the Ister in the time of Augustus*. The Thracians of Herodotus have many points of resemblance with the Scythians of that historian, amongst which may be remarked the practice of barrow-burial. The latter nation constructed earthen sepulchres of an enormous size over their kings†; and the Thracians, after burning or interring their corpses, heaped a mount over them, and performed funeral games‡: it appears also, that they sacrificed victims of all kinds at the funerals of their chief men§. Now the early inhabitants of Phrygia were from Thrace; and Strabo asserts, that many Trojan names were Thracian: they were, therefore, a Scythian people, and may have constructed the barrows on the south side of the Hellespont previously to the Homeric æra. It is not getting over a single step to say, that these monuments are Phrygian, and not, as Mr. Bryant asserted, Thracian; since the Phrygians are allowed to have been originally from Thrace.

A gentleman, more practically acquainted with the subject of barrows than any other enquirer, no sooner saw the first description and representation of the tumuli on the plain of Troy, than he pronounced that they were exactly similar to those seen in Great

* Strab. lib. vii. p. 296.

† Ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες χοῦσι πάντες χῶμα μέγα, ἁμιλλεόμενοι, καὶ προθυμεόμενοι ὡς μέγιστον ποῖησαι.—Herod. Hist. lib. iv. cap. 71, p. 251, edit. Edinb. 1806.

‡ Ἔπειτα δὲ θάπτουσι κατακάυσαντες, ἢ ἄλλως γῆ κρύψαντες χῶμα δὲ χέαντες, ἀγῶνα τιθεῖσι παντοῖον.—Herod. lib. v. cap. 8, &c.

§ Παντοῖα σφάξαντες ἱρήια. Ibid.

Britain; that they were the tombs of the Celts of Thrace, and of a date prior to that assigned to the Trojan war. He was not at all aware that Mr. Bryant had made a precisely similar remark,' but came to the same conclusion by actual observation, which that learned person had derived from his books*. Repeated experiments have proved, that the English barrows are of the most remote antiquity; for frequently, after finding a Roman or Saxon burial near the summit of the mount, the excavators have arrived at the original British interment in the cist on the floor of the tomb; and in the very old British sepulchres, stags' horns, and bones of various animals, have been often found, together with other vestiges of the Celtic practice of sacrificing, before remarked in the Thraco-Scythians†.

The Phrygian barrows were most probably then, as Mr. Bryant has observed, appropriated by the Greeks to people of their own nation, just as fancy directed. It was the common custom for those amongst them, who pretended that their ancestors had received the benefits, or witnessed the exploits, of an hero, to show his tomb as the best memorial to keep alive their gratitude. This remark, by which Dionysius of Halicarnassus‡ accounted for

* The late Mr. Cunnington, of Heytesbury, Wilts, stated this opinion in presence of B. A. Lambert, Esq. F.R.S. to whom I am indebted for the anecdote.

† Amongst other curious articles (some of which, although ancient British, are very similar to the trinkets found in the tombs in Greece) there was discovered in a barrow in Wiltshire, a piece of woven cloth, the web very coarse, but exactly the same as that for the invention of which a patent has lately been obtained: so that what Horace said of words, in his epistle to the Pisos, may be applied to the arts—

"Multa renascentur quæ jam cecidere . . . . ."

‡ Lib. i. cap. 46.

finding several tombs of Æneas, should make us hesitate to decide any ancient facts by the appearance of these tumuli; and it may be observed, that when Virgil described the spots where the trumpeter and the nurse of Æneas had been buried, it was not from the supposition that their bones were actually deposited in Italy, but only to introduce a popular superstition into his poem. Yet why should we not look for the ashes of Cajeta and Misenus, as well as for those of Achilles and Ajax? Mr. Bryant's opinion respecting the Thracian, or (as I have ventured to call it) the Scythian origin of the Phrygian barrows, would have been much strengthened, if he had had an opportunity of seeing, with myself, that these artificial hills abound on the European side of the strait, especially in the vicinity of Gallipoli; where, two hundred years ago a superstition prevailed, that they were the sepulchres of Thracian kings *; and his argument may, perhaps, receive some little accession by the remark, that one of the words used by Homer to signify a barrow, appears altogether of Celtic origin; so that the poet, in celebrating the great and supereminent tomb of Achilles†, did not even change the name of that monument, which long before the days of his hero may have been the sepulchre of some Scythian warrior. *Tumba* is the Celtic root; hence the *tombeau* of the French, and the *tomb* of the English ‡, whose church-yards still display a specimen of the same humble sepulchre which contented their ancestors.

It is not to be denied indeed, that the Greeks adopted the same method of denoting the site of their primitive under-ground graves (ὑπόγαια). Not to mention the χυτὴ γαῖα, the heaped earth

* Sandys, A Relation of a Journey, &c. lib. i. p. 26, edit. Lond. 1627.

† Μέγαν καὶ ἀμύμονα τύμβον. Odyss. Ω. 80.

‡ Introduction to Sir R. Hoare's Ancient Wiltshire, note ‡, p. 20.

of Homer, their sign (σῆμα), burial-place (τάφος), and monument (μνῆμα), were raised mounts. The sign of Hecuba (κυνὸς σῆμα), is a barrow still seen on the shore of the Thracian Chersonese. The burial-place of the Athenians, was a mount, since that or the similar tomb of some of the heroes who conquered with Miltiades, is at this day visible on the plain of Marathon *; and the monument of Panthea and Abradates † was a hillock, for it was heaped up ‡. The custom, however, of raising a mount only, does not appear to have generally obtained after the early periods of Grecian history. On the Marathonian barrow, and that of Panthea, there were inscribed stelæ; and even in Homer's time, that refinement had begun to prevail, for the horses of Achilles, when they wept for the death of Patroclus, stood fixed to the spot, *like a pillar on a tomb* §. The Scythians raised no other memorials of their dead in the vast plains on which they settled their temporary dwellings ‖; but these monuments were too bulky for the

* Τάφος καὶ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ Ἀθηναίων ἐστίν. Paus. Attic. p. 60.

† Cyrop. lib. vii. cap. 11, τὸ μνῆμα ὑπερμέγεθες ἐχώσθη.

‡ Ορθὸν χῶμ' Αχιλλέως τάφου. Eurip. Hecub. v. 225.

Ὑπερθ' ἐπὶ σῆμα χεῖσθαι. Apoll. Rhod. Argon. lib. iii. v. 203; as well as many other passages might be adduced, in proof that the early Greek monument was a heap of earth.

§ Iliad. P. v. 434.

‖ It seems likely, that at the time the English barrows were constructed, not only those who died in battle, but every person of distinction, was buried under one of these conspicuous mounts, some of which appear to have been family mausolea, as they contain several skeletons of both sexes ranged in order. The weapons frequently found in the tombs, may not have pointed out that the deceased died in battle, but only have shown what was the profession, or perhaps the sex, of the corpse, at a time when all men wore arms. None of the barrows in England appear to have been raised promiscuously over the soldiers slain in battle; but some of those opened in America, have been found to contain as many as a thousand skeletons.—See Jefferson's State of Virginia, p. 174.

precincts of cities, and with the civilized Greeks, the very large mount was the sepulchre of those only who were slain in battle, and were buried where they fell; or of such as died on a military expedition, as was the case with Demeratus the Corinthian, to whose memory the army of Alexander heaped up an earthen cenotaph eighty cubits high *. Although earthen substructures were used in the time of Demetrius Phalereus †, and probably in much later periods, yet the monuments of which such frequent mention is made in Pausanias, are generally understood to have been of polished stone ‡. The old appellation of the Greek sepulchres became almost obsolete; and we may collect from a passage in Cicero, either that its meaning was in his time not distinctly understood, or that there was some difficulty in giving a precise translation of it in the Latin language §. Except at Marathon, and the hillocks near Phalerum, I do not recollect to have seen any barrows in Greece conjectured to be sepulchral.

After this general view of the subject, and of the probable history of any monumental mounts, however ancient, which may be seen in these parts of the world, we may proceed to examine the particular specimens of the supposed tombs which are found on the shore of the plain, and in the plain itself, watered by the

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quoted in Dalzel's note to p. 88, Description of the Plain of Troy, and in the Encyclop. Britt. article Barrow.

* Καὶ τάφον ἔχωσεν ὁ στρατὸς ἐπ' αὐτῷ τῇ περιμέτρῳ μέγαν, ὕψος δὲ πηχῶν ὀγδοήκοντα.—Plut. in vit. Alex. p. 696, Op. Om. edit. Paris, 1624.

† Sepulchris autem novis finivit modum, nam *super terræ tumulum* noluit quid statui nisi columellam, &c.—Cicer. de Legib. lib. ii. cap. 26.

‡ Τύμβος ξέστε λίθε-Τάφος ξέστος.

§ Pænaque est, *si quis bustum* (nam id puto appellari τύμβον) *aut monumentum*, inquit, *aut columnam violaverit*, *dejecerit*, *fregerit*.—De Legib. lib. ii. cap. 26.

Mendere. It may have been observed, that they still bear the name of tomb, for the Turkish Tepe is reasonably supposed a derivation from the Greek Taphos. The largest of the Tepes already noticed is Stamboul-Douk, the next Liman-Tepe, the third Udjek-Tepe; the fourth and fifth, Beshik-Tepe and the barrow next to Cape Janissary, are of nearly an equal size. The whole of these are of such dimensions, that they might be, by those who are unused to such appearances, considered natural eminences; and the two last are so situated on the summits of rising ground, as to make it doubtful where the artificial mount begins. Dr. Pococke mentions a chain of low hills running south-east from the Sigean Promontory, divided by small vales or rather hollow grounds. On the first he places the town of Giaur-Keui, on the next the first barrow, on the third the town of Yeni-Keui, and on the north-eastern end of the fourth, which he says extends to the south-east, another barrow*. It will be seen he does not notice Beshik-Tepe. The singular appearance of four large barrows ranged along the shore at regular distances, and of the conspicuous Udjek-Tepe, cannot fail of attracting the attention of the most unobservant traveller, although "the succession of these five tumuli" has not, in my humble judgment, the least tendency "to ascertain the Trojan war†." They have been supposed the work of the early Mahometan invaders, and are referred by the present inhabitants to the Sultans, who at every considerable sta-

* Pococke, Observations on Asia Minor, page 106.

† "The succession of five tumuli, under the distant horizon, tends more than any other proof to ascertain the Trojan war."—Constant. Ancient and Modern, p. 340.

tion raised a mount, on which they erected the standard of Mahomet*, a custom still observed, as an eye-witness informed me, by the Tartar princes whenever they pitch their tents. There is such a similarity of size and form, which is conoidal, in all of these five barrows, that the same opinion must be formed of one as of the other mount; and if Udjek-Tepe is, as late writers have pretended, in reality the tomb of Æsyetes mentioned by Strabo, we cannot but suppose that the other tepes are also Homeric land-marks, or at least were so considered in former times, and we must expect to see some ancient notice of their remarkable appearance. Yet I find not the least allusion to either of these immense tombs on the Phrygian coast, in the long and minute detail of Strabo, nor in any other ancient authority, except we conclude (which no arrangement will, I fear, justify), that the Greek sepulchres, which have always been hitherto put within the mouth of the strait, were in reality on the shore of the open sea.

Whoever should sail towards the Hellespont with the expectation of finding the tomb of Achilles on the jutting promontory (a beacon to the sailor afar off at sea), would fix at once upon the great barrow next to Sigéum, as the monument of that hero, and Beshik-Tepe would supply him with a tomb for Ajax. These, indeed, I take to be "the two hils rising in a piramidall forme, not unlikely to be those of Achilles and Ajax," seen by the traveller in Hakluyt. Dr. Pococke, sailing from Tenedos to Alexandria Troas, and having before made some conjectures respecting the barrows on the other side of Cape Janissary, did think that this barrow, or Beshik-Tepe, "as it was very much exposed to view from the sea," might more

* Observations on Asia Minor, p. 105.

probably be the tomb of Achilles*. Other travellers, without a shadow of support from any authority whatever, have called the barrow near Cape Janissary the tomb of Antilochus, and Beshik-Tepe that of Peneleus. They are so noted in Olivier's map. We have heard also, that "it admits of doubt whether Beshik-Tepe is not the tomb erected by Caracalla over his friend Festus†."

Whether the Achillean tomb of Homer was that next to Sigéum, can never be determined; and those who consider the action of the Iliad as a fiction, will not be affected by the uncertainty; but it must be interesting to know, whether any vestige remains of that barrow round which Alexander ran, and which received the homage of so many succeeding ages.

According to Herodotus, there was a place on the right bank of the river Hypacyris, in the Scythian region Hylœa, called the Course of Achilles‡, near which Anacharsis sacrificed, on his return to his country. This spot is noticed by all the geographers; and Pliny§ adds, that the *tomb* of Achilles was shown on the opposite island of Leuce or Macaron, about which so many strange stories were related by the ancient navigators of the Black Sea‖. There

* Observations on Asia Minor, p. 110. It is difficult to say to which of the two Tepes he alludes.

† Topography of Troy.

‡ Τὸν Ἀχιλλήϊον καλεομένον Δρόμον.—Hist. lib. iv. cap. 76.

§ Lib. iv. cap. xii. p. 59, edit. Paris. In lib. x. cap. x. p. 177, he has these words, more decisive of the supposition: Perdices non transvolant Bœotiæ fines in Attica, nec ulla avis in Ponti insulâ, *quâ sepultus est Achilles*, sacratam ei ædem.

‖ Pausanias, lib. iii. p. 200, relates, that Leonymus of Crotona found Achilles and the two Ajaxes, together with Antilochus and Patroclus, upon the island, and Achilles married to Helena. They were departed spirits. According to other accounts, Achilles, sailing towards Taurica for the love of Iphige-

was a cenotaph of Achilles at Elis *. Whoever would see the importance attached to every particular relative to this early hero, may look at the discussion in Note A, to the article Achilles, in Mr. Bayle's Dictionary, in which eleven authorities are quoted, to settle whether the son of Peleus was actually fed on lion's marrow; and a perusal of the whole article, which is taken from the learned treatise on Achilles by Drelincourt, may show us, that notwithstanding this attention, the death and burial, as well as the life and exploits of the hero of the Iliad, are not to be settled by a reference to any credible history.

It would be superfluous to quote the Greek poets, to show that a pretended tomb of Achilles near Sigéum, is celebrated in very early periods, but it is as well to mention that a town or fortress was built round it, not, as Timæus reported †, by Periander, nor out of the ruins of Troy, but by the Mitylenæans of Sigéum, who, when expelled by the Athenians from the latter place, retained the town Achilléum ‡. The Athenians possessed it after the Mitylenæans. In the time of Strabo it was a small village, and Pliny mentions it as having once existed §. Sigéum and the tomb

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nia, stopped at this island, and there died, and was worshipped. He used to wander upon the promontory at the mouth of the Borysthenes, called the Course of Achilles; a name which was, as some have thought, indiscriminately given to many shores with a wide range of beach—"Dionysius Albinus ut refert Apollonii interpres ἱστορεῖ τὰς εὐρείας ἠϊόνας λέγεσθαι Ἀχιλλέως δρόμον."—Casaub. Comm. in lib. vii. Strab. p. 140.

* Paus. lib. vi. p. 389.

† Strab. lib. xiii. p. 600.

‡ Herod. Hist. lib. v. cap. 94.

§ *Fuit* et Achilléum, oppidum juxta Tumulum Achillis, conditum a Mitylœneis, et mox Atheniensibus, ubi classis ejus steterat in Sigæo.

are so connected in the mention made of them by Strabo*, as to show their vicinity to each other†; and the expression of Pliny in the passage quoted above, points out that the tomb was near the shore where the fleet of the hero was supposed to have been stationed. There was a circular temple, containing an image of Achilles, upon or near his tomb; and the barrow itself must have been very conspicuous on a headland immediately overlooking the naval station. A fragment of the Polyxena of Sophocles, preserved out of Porphyry, in Stobæus, gives three lines of a speech addressed to the Greeks as they were sailing from the harbour, by the spectre of Achilles from the summit of his tomb‡.

But not only were the temple and the tomb of Achilles at the Sigean Promontory, but the sepulchres of Patroclus and Antilochus were seen in the same quarter§; and with these monuments, the three barrows mentioned on the route from Giaur-Keui to Koum-Kale, have been thought to coincide. Pococke, before whom no one, that I am aware, ever noticed them, said "they might possibly be very extraordinary pieces of antiquity." Chandler more decisively called the barrow next to Giaur-Keui the tomb of Achilles, and the following one that of Peneleus, but offered an excuse for the assertion in his Preface. Since the visit of the last traveller the first barrow has been opened, but with such myste-

* Lib. v. cap. 30, p. 78, edit. Paris.

† Ἀπὸ τοῦ Ροιτείου μέχρι Σιγείου καὶ Ἀχιλλέως μνήματος.—Lib. xiii. p. 593.

‡ Καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἀπόπλουν τῶν Ελλήνων ἐπὶ τ' Αχιλλέως προσφαινομένου τοῖς ἀναγομένοις ὑπὲρ τᾶ τάφα.—Longin. sect. xiii. Vid. Runkken. not. in Long. sect. xv. p. 255, edit. Toup. 2d edit.

§ Τᾶ μὲν οὖν Αχιλλέως καὶ ἱερόν ἐστὶ, καὶ μνῆμα, πρὸς τῷ Σιγείῳ. Πατρόκλα δὲ καὶ Αντιλόχα μνήματα.—Strab. lib. xiii. p. 596.

rious caution, that the world has a right to doubt the account of the persons concerned in the transaction. With what unfairness the researches of the French dilletanti had been conducted previously to Mr. Le Chevalier's tour, may be understood by reverting to the unwarrantable expedient in which the Abbé Fourmont was detected by Mr. Stuart*. The detail of the opening of the supposed tomb of Achilles, may incline us to suspect that the loss of the Abbé Fourmont need not have been regretted in France, whilst a Choiseul Gouffier, or a Le Chevalier, were to be found amongst their living antiquaries. The son of Signor Solomon Ghormezano, French Consul at the Dardanelles, was employed for two months, in the year 1787, in opening the barrow, and worked at it alone, and by night, saying that he was looking for a spring of water, "so necessary to the inhabitants of Giaur-Keui." At length he discovered the place where the relics were deposited. He immediately collected the whole, and communicated his success to his employer, filling a large chest with what he had found. This consisted of pieces of burned bones, pieces of a large broken metal vase, with a small ornament round the rim; some charcoal; a piece of calcined mortar of triangularly shaped metal; pieces of fine pottery, well painted with wreaths of

* It is well known in the learned world, that Fourmont returning from Greece, asserted that he had got an ancient copy of the laws of Solon, and had found amongst the ruins of Amyclæ, written monuments of higher antiquity than any before discovered. Of these he published specimens in the year 1740. The originals have never been shown; and our learned countryman who followed him, learnt that the Abbé had employed many persons in the Pelopone-sus, not in finding inscriptions, but in destroying those before discovered, to prevent the detection of his frauds. See Mr. R. P. Knight's Analytical Essay on the Greek Alphabet, p. 112.

flowers; some bits of large vases; small cups, some of them entire; a fragment of brass a foot and a half long, and in circumference as big as a quart bottle, weighing seven or eight pounds, which "was at first called the hilt of a sword, but afterwards by Mr. Le Choiseul declared to be the statue of a man, with a lion under each foot!!! And lastly, a small transparent piece of tube, a foot long and two inches in diameter, ornamented with chased or embossed branches, in good preservation.

"At the foundation of the barrow was a large slab, extending, as he supposed, over the whole surface, as, wherever he dug, he still found it: in the middle was a hole, twelve feet square, around which was raised a wall three feet high, which was the sepulchre containing the relics; on the outside of this stone was strewed a quantity of lime, and of charcoal, supposed to be the ashes of the funeral pile."

Now this is extracted from the account of the person who opened the barrow*; but Mr. Le Chevalier says, "towards the centre of the monument, two large stones were found leaning at an angle, the one against the other, and forming a sort of tent, under which was presently discovered a small statue of Minerva, seated in a chariot with four horses, and an urn of metal, filled with ashes, charcoal, and human bones. This urn, which is now in the possession of the Comte de Choiseul, is encircled in sculpture with a vine-branch, from which are suspended branches of grapes, done with exquisite art†."

Let me request attention to these two statements. The first

* See Constantinople Ancient and Modern, pp. 351, 352.

† Description of the Plain of Troy, p. 149.

is the least singular, and comes in the least questionable shape. Yet why should Signor Ghormezano work by night, when he had deceived the people, by telling them he was looking for a spring of water? The conducting of his operations in such a manner could only have made the Turks suspicious; and how could he be two months discovering the relics, when he confesses that the foundation, that is, the surface of the barrow on a level with the ground, was covered with a slab, which he found wherever he dug, and that in the middle of it was the sepulchre? One would think he might have come to this by digging straight downwards at once. The slab may very likely have been found. A similar artificial floor has been discovered in excavating the English barrows; and the cist, or stone coffin, has always been seen upon or in this floor. The other articles are also such as have been met with in our tumuli, and although the preservation of the metal after so many centuries is extraordinary, it is not impossible; the whole interior relics being, as it were, hermetically sealed by many strata of light dry earth, pressed down by an intermixture of large loose stones. The pottery might have been also found; for every traveller must have seen proofs of the durability and high state of preservation of the terra cotta specimens found in the ancient tombs of Greece. Mr. De Choiseul's *man with two lions* requires no comment. Finally, we have only the word of the Jew for the whole story; if, however, his account is true, the wonders of Mr. Le Chevalier must be fictions. The Minerva has, indeed, been modelled by Mr. Fauvel of Athens, and other specimens have been handed about, which have an appearance of extreme antiquity, but may have been found elsewhere, or have been manufactured at Paris. Both of the details can-

not be correct; either the Jew is not to be believed, or Mr. Le Chevalier must have ventured at an imposture; for it is impossible to suppose, that the fragments found by Ghormezano could have been metamorphosed by the heated imagination even of the most zealous antiquary, into the Minerva and sepulchral urn of Mr. De Choiseul. It is now almost impracticable to collect any information on the subject at the spot; for the same secresy is observed respecting the discovery at this time as at the period of the transaction.

Supposing this tumulus to be the tomb alluded to by Strabo, Achilléum, the town, must have been on the spot, or close to it. Dr. Chandler says, he was eight minutes walking to it from Giaur-Keui, and that the town Sigéum was on the slope leading to it. To this slope, in fact, the barrow is attached. But the Mitylenæans of Achilléum, and the Athenians of Sigéum, carried on a long war with each other from these respective places*; and allowing the first to be only a fortress (oppidum), the two rival armies must have always lived within nearly a stone's-throw of each other. Beshik-Tepe, or either of the other tumuli before noticed, is three times as large, and incomparably more conspicuous from every point of view than this barrow; a circumstance which struck me so forcibly, that I could not forbear, when on the spot, from suggesting to myself, that the site of the Achilléan tomb must have been on the summit of the peaked hill on which Giaur-Keui stands; and that the town Sigéum was nearer Koum-Kale, on the slope of the hill. Herodotus calls it "Sigéum

* Ἐπολέμεον γὰρ ἔκ τε Ἀχιλληΐου πόλεος ὁρμεόμενοι καὶ Σιγείου.—Herod. Hist. lib. v. cap. 94.

on the Scamander*." Perhaps it may be thought some slight confirmation of this opinion to observe, that when, in two places, Strabo proceeding southwards, that is, towards Lectum, names Sigéum and the tomb of Achilles, and puts Sigéum before the tomb†, he may mean to identify the relative situations of the two spots; but, at any rate, the region opposite Tenedos does not come immediately after the site of the present tomb; it is at least six miles lower down.

The supposed tomb is not on a promontory, where Homer placed that of Achilles; but under and on the side of a hill; and if it has been always so attached to that hill as it is at present, Alexander would never have been said to run round it. It may be added, that there was evidently some structure upon the ancient tomb; Strabo mentions a temple. That which was anointed and crowned by Alexander, could not be a barrow only‡: Plutarch§ calls it a pillar. How has it happened, that no vestiges of any building, or ancient stone-work of any kind, have been discovered near or on this barrow? The sepulchre was existing

* Μετὰ δὲ ἐξεχώρησαν ἐς Σιγείον τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ Σκαμάνδρῳ.—Lib. v. cap. 64, edit. Edinb. p. 190.

† "After the Sigean promontory and the Achilléum, is the region opposite Tenedos," (lib. xiii. p. 604). "From Rhœtéum to Sigéum and the tomb of Achilles," (ibid. p. 595).

‡ Nam Achillem cujus origine gloriabatur, imprimis mirari solitus, etiam circum cippum ejus cum amicis nudus decucurrit, unctoque coronam imposuit. —Suppl. in Q. Curt. lib. ii. cap. 4, p. 99, edit. Lug. Bat.

§ Τὴν Αχιλλέως στήλην ἀλειψάμενος λίπα, καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἑταίρων συναναδραμὼν γυμνὸς, ὥσπερ ἔθος ἐστὶν, ἐστεφάνωσεν.—Plut. in vit. Alexand. p. 672, Op. Om. edit. Paris, 1624.

in the time of Caracalla; for, according to Herodian *, he adorned it with crowns and flowers previously to the funeral of his Patroclus, the freedman Festus; and it is told, that the Emperor Julian long afterwards passed by the sepulchres of Achilles and Ajax, on his way to Dardanus and Abydus †. Now there are remains in the barrow In-Tepe Gheulu, which have been pronounced to be parts of the Æantéum, and whoever thinks he has discovered the tomb of Achilles, might expect to find remnants of a similar structure—a small shrine, partly inclosed in the hillock.

As to the other two barrows on the path towards Koum-Kale, it is possible Strabo may allude to them, when he talks of the tombs of Antilochus and Patroclus. Notwithstanding Homer precisely said, *that one urn contained the mixed ashes of Achilles and Patroclus, and also, but apart, the ashes of Antilochus, and that the sons of the Greeks raised for them a tomb;* so that there was only one barrow to cover the remains of the three heroes; yet the Greeks showed Alexander the tomb of Patroclus, and it was crowned by his friend Hephæstion ‡. The tomb of

* Ἐπελθὼν δὲ πάντα τὰ τῆς πολεως λείψανα, ἦκεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀχιλλέως τάφον, στεφάνοις τε κοσμήσας καὶ ἄνθεσι πολυτελῶς πάλιν Αχιλλέα ἐμιμεῖτο.—Hist. lib. iv. cap. 14.

† Ammian. Marcellin. lib. xxii. cap. 8; Const. Anc. Mod. 345.

‡ Οἰδὲ ὅτι καὶ τὸν Ἀχιλλέως ἄρα τάφον ἐστέφανωσεν, Ἡφαιστίωνα δὲ λέγουσιν, ὅτι τῷ Πατρόκλου τὸν τάφον ἐστέφανωσε.—Arrian. de Expedit. Alex. lib. i. cap. 12, p. 25, edit. Gronov. 1714.

Αλέξανδρος τὸν Αχιλλέως τάφον ἐστεφάνωσε καὶ Ἡφαιστιων τὸν τῷ Πατρόκλω. —Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. xii. cap. 7. p. 561, edit. Lederlin, 1713.

Odyss. Ω. v. 74, et seq.

Ἀμφ' αὐτοῖσι δ' ἔπειτα μέγαν καὶ ἀμύμονα τύμβον
Χεύαμεν . . . . . .

Antilochus is not mentioned by any author except Strabo; yet it is likely that all the tumuli on the plain were known under some heroic title; and, in truth, Diodorus hints as much, by telling us, that Alexander performed ceremonies at the tombs of Achilles, Ajax, and *the other heroes* *.

It would be superfluous to comment at any length upon that arbitrary adoption of names for these barrows, in which late travellers have so wantonly indulged. It has, I trust, been seen, that the authority which enables us to fix the Achilléum on either of them, is but very doubtful; and that there is no ground whatever for giving the preference to one rather than to the other of the mounts. Nothing can explain why Mr. Le Chevalier should call the Tepe next, on the south side, to Giaur-Keui, the tomb of Antilochus, and at the same time suppose another, not

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If we suppose, according to the hypothesis of Mr. R. P. Knight, contained in his unpublished treatise, "Carmina Homerica, &c." that the Odyssey is the production of an age subsequent to that of the Iliad, or following the opinion of the grammarians Aristophanes and Aristarchus, conclude the Homeric Odyssey at the two hundred and ninety-sixth verse of the twenty-third book, the authority of these lines is still preferable to that of any following author; and that αὐτοῖσι was not thought to mean Patroclus and Antilochus by the latter Greeks, we may safely assert; for they showed a tomb of each of them. It may be deduced also, from the twenty-third book of the Iliad, v. 249, that Achilles and Patroclus were buried under the same barrow; for Achilles desires the Greeks to refrain from raising a large tomb over his friend, since they might afterwards make it broad and lofty when he himself should die.

* Καὶ τοὺς μὲν τάφους τῶν ἡρώων Ἀχιλλέως τε καὶ Αἴαντος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐναγίσμασι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς πρὸς ἐυδοξίαν ἥκουσιν ἐτίμησιν.—Lib. xvii. cap. i. p. 570, edit. H. Steph. 1559. "Ceteris etiam heroibus quorum iis in terris osenduntur sepulchra parentavit."—Freinsh. in Q. Curt. lib. ii, Suppl. edit. qu. sup.

one-third as large, to be that of the great Achilles himself. There was, indeed, something like an authority for his presumption, arising out of a curious mistake of his own. The native Greeks call the neighbouring barrows under Giaur-Keui Δυο Τεπε, pronounced Dthio Tepe—*The two Tombs.* This the traveller metamorphosed at once into Dios-Tepe, and to show that a remnant of ancient superstition was still attached to the once hallowed spot, rendered it "*The Divine Tomb.*" This is sufficiently strange; but no less singular is it, that the intelligent author of Constantinople Ancient and Modern, who detected this mistake, should have quoted Strabo, as fixing the tomb of Antilochus on Beshik-Tepe, and have found the ashes of Peneleus the Bœotian, in the small barrow next to the supposed Achillean sepulchre*.

There are some circumstances which show the coincidence of In-Tepe Gheulu with the reputed tomb of Ajax. This monument was, as Pliny relates, on the other horn of the Greek naval station opposite to Sigéum†. That author has been accused of putting it on the Sigean promontory, owing, I presume, to a mistake in the punctuation of the text‡. But he, with every

* "Advancing some furlongs over the promontory, we saw the barrow (Beshik-Tepe) called the tomb of Antilochus by Strabo."—Const. Ancient and Modern, p. 350. In the map, however, accompanying the work, Antilochus is again removed to the barrow next to Cape Janissary.

† Fuit et Æantion a Rhodiis conditum in altero cornu, Ajace ibi sepulto xxx. stad. intervallo a Sigæo, et ipso in statione classis suæ.—Nat. Hist. lib. v. cap. 30, p. 78, edit. Paris, 1532.

‡ By Vossius—The words "in Sigæo," which belong to the former sentence, are usually put with the passage above quoted; so that the text runs thus: "In Sigæo fuit et Æantion:" an evident error. I find that Mr. Bayle, article

other writer, proves that this famous tomb, where so many miracles were wrought, and of which so many curious tales are related*, was on the Rhœtean promontory. It was also so close to the shore, that the sea broke a passage into the sepulchre†.

In-Tepe is on a headland, which forms the eastern boundary of the bay or marsh Karanlik-Liman, and which appears like a promontory to those who are sailing up the Dardanelles, but not to those coming down the straits. Its exact distance from Cape Janissary, was found by Mr. Le Chevalier to be three thousand fathoms; a measurement very nearly coinciding with the thirty stadia (three R. miles and three quarters) assigned by Pliny to the interval between the two promontories. The tumulus is less conical than those before mentioned, and is of the form called the Bell Barrow, although not so regularly shaped. It is conspicuous from the strait, but is not on high ground, nor of a size to be compared with that of Beshik and Udjek Tepe. Near its summit are the

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Achilles, note K, censures Solinus, because in his verses, attached to the emblems of Alciatus, he places the tomb of Achilles on the Rhœtean shore—

"Æacidis tumulum Rhœteo in littore cernis:"

but the Rhœtean shore is only a general term, applied not to the station of Ajax only, but to the coast within Sigéum; as that without the promontory is called the Sigean shore. Thus Virgil uses the expression:

"Tunc egomet tumulum Rhœteo in littore inanem
"Constitui." Æn. lib. vi.

and Pliny also has the words "Rhœtea littora" (lib. v. cap. 30).

* They are collected in Bayle's Dictionary, article Ajax.

† Pausan. lib. i. p. 66; Strab. lib. xiii. p. 595.

ruins of a stone arch, and the crumbling fragments of some wall-work. The masonry has been judged to be of a "much more modern date than the death of Ajax*;" an opinion in which, without knowing the precise period of that event, we may safely concur. It may, however, be a part of that shrine called the Æantéum, which was despoiled of its statue by Marc Antony, who carried it to Egypt, but which recovered its treasure by the bounty of Augustus Cæsar†. It was under the especial care of the people of Rhœtéum, a town on an eminence above the tomb. The Æantéum rivalled in celebrity the tomb of Achilles, and was perhaps, by the Athenian Greeks, regarded with greater veneration. It was not to be expected that Alexander, who sacrificed to Priam, should neglect the hero who, next to his own great prototype, was the best of the Greeks both in form and stature—

ὃς ἄριστος ἔην εἶδός τε δέμας τε
Τῶν ἄλλων Δαναῶν μετ' ἀμύμονα Πελείωνα.
ΟΔΥΣΣ. Λ. 468. Ω. 17.

Diodorus, although other writers are silent, mentions the Æantéum amongst those heroic monuments visited by the Macedonian conqueror. The ancient notices of the sepulchre of Achilles, include also that of Ajax; but it has been the fate of In-Tepe to be neglected until very lately, whilst the barrows near Sigéum have for some time attracted the attention of travellers. This may be attributed in some measure to the different accounts in the ancient geographers relative to the site of Rhœtéum, which

* Constantinople Ancient and Modern, p. 338.

† Strab. lib. xiii. p. 595.

Mr. Wood, preferring the measurement of Strabo (sixty stadia) to that of Solinus (forty-five stadia) and of Pliny, has assigned to Cape Berbieri, a point at least eight miles from Cape Janissary. This was certainly a singular notion, for one who believed that the Grecian fleet was actually drawn up on these shores, but, in a matter of this kind, not sufficiently "culpable and unjustifiable*," to call forth such grave censures as those of Mr. Le Chevalier, who has himself fallen into so many inconceivable absurdities.

It seems impossible to touch upon this debated point without committing a mistake; or to correct one error, without being involved in some other misapprehension. Leunclavius, the editor of Xenophon, who had himself sailed through the Dardanelles, fixed Rhœtéum at Pefkia, a place four miles from Cape Janissary, and near In-Tepe, but at the same time placed the Æantéum on the Sigean Promontory, and called Alexandria Troas, Troy†.

Pococke saw some broken pieces of marble about the barrow, and thought Rhœtéum to have been in this quarter, but spoke very indecisively about its identity with the Æantéum‡. The French tourist so often mentioned, expostulated with this

* Description of the Plain of Troy, p. 100.

† Heic Rhœteum promontorium Troadis, et Sigéum, monumentis Achillis et Ajacis nobile. . . . . Pefkia distat a capo Jenitzari, hoc est, a Sigeo, milliaribus quatuor; unde colligi videtur, Pefkiam esse Rhœteum . . . . . A capo Jenitzari ad Tenedum milliarum sunt xii. a Tenedo ad Trojæ ruinas, millia-ria x. note B, to the first book of the Hellenics, p 1062, of Leunclavius's edition of Xenophon. Frankfort, A. D. 1596

‡ "But whether this was the tomb of Ajax, would be difficult to determine." —Observations on Asia Minor, p. 105.

traveller for his diffidence, but gives him some credit, which his learned editor seems willing to abridge. He had no doubt whatever that In-Tepe was the tumulus of the Æantéum, and accounted for not finding the ashes of the hero, by supposing they had been carried away, together with the statue, into Egypt *. Of all that gentleman's conjectures, perhaps that respecting this barrow is one of the least objectionable; and those who, on visiting the Troad, are determined not to be disappointed of their due share of enthusiasm, should select the summit of In-Tepe, as the spot on which their local emotions may most legitimately be indulged. The sober visitor, without believing in Ajax, may be delighted in thinking he has found the Æantéum; but the man of warmer fancies, as, undisturbed with doubt, he surveys the swift-flowing Hellespont, the station of Agamemnon and his heroes, and the plain impressed with the footsteps of the immortals themselves, will feel a thousand lively sensations, and at every glance of the imposing prospect, experience an increase of his satisfaction and a confirmation of his faith.

* He adds, "by Pompey the Great." Mr. Dalzel, in his note, informs us, that for "Pompey the Great," we should in this passage, and in page 48, read "Marc Antony," as if the other reading had been an error of the press.

LETTER XLI.

The supposed Port of Agamemnon's Fleet—The Naval Station of the Greeks—The Mouth of the Scamander—The Site of Ilium—The Confluence of the Simois and Scamander not precisely known—Streams falling into the Mendere—The Thymbrek—The Water of Callifatli and Atche-Keui, and the Bournabashi Rivulet—Mr. Le Chevalier's Pseudo-Xanthus—The Identity of the Mendere and the Scamander of Strabo—The ancient Confluence of the Thymbrius and Scamander—The Thymbrek not corresponding with the former, but answering better to the Simois—Uncertainty respecting that River—Palaio-Callifatli, possibly the Position of Ilium—Site of the Iliéan Village—Not at Hallil-Elly, but perhaps at or near Tchiblak—Remains on a neighbouring Mount—The Calli-Colone of Strabo—The Vale and Brook of Atche-Keui—The latter conjectured to be the River Thymbrius—The Erineus, the Tomb of Æsyetes, Batieia, the Tomb of Ilus not now to be discovered—Udjek-Tepe not the Tomb of Æsyetes, as described by Strabo—Note on the Homeric Thrôsmos—Bournabashi—Tepid Sources of the Bournabashi Rivulet—Errors respecting them—Balli-Dahi—The Pergamus of Mr.

Le Chevalier—Unfounded Conjectures respecting the Tomb of Hector, and the Remains on Balli-Dahi.

ALL ancient accounts agree in placing the mouth of the Scamander, and the port of the Greeks, that is, the supposed station of Agamemnon's fleet, between the Sigean and Rhœtean promontories. The river is described by Strabo and Pliny, as forming near its mouth a marsh, called by the first Stoma-Limne, and by the latter author Palæ-Scamander. Present appearances coincide very exactly with this description; for from the Mendere to In-Tepe, immediately within the sandy projections, there is a line of reedy swamps, to which most probably the Greek geographer alludes, when he says, that the "Simois and Scamander joining in the plain, and carrying down with them much slime, create a new line of coast, and form a blind mouth with salt lakes and marshes*." This accretion of sandy soil, which may have been augmented since the days of Augustus, most probably has worked some change in the appearance of the bay, which was called the Port of the Achæans. It may be collected from several passages of the above author, that next to Sigéum was the mouth of the Scamander†, twenty stadia, two R. miles and a half from Ilium‡; that what was called the Naval Station, that is, where the Grecian fleet was drawn up on land, was near the mouth of the river; and that the port of the Achæans followed, at a dis-

* Συμπεσόντες γὰρ ὅ τε Σιμόεις καὶ ὁ Σκάμάνδρος ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ, πολλὴν καταφέροντες ἰλὺν, προσχοῦσι τὴν παραλιαν, καὶ τυφλὸν στόμα τε καὶ λιμνοθαλάττας καὶ ἕλη ποιῦσι.—Lib. xiii. p. 595.

† Lib. xiii. p. 597.

‡ Ibid. p. 598.

tance of only twelve stadia of flat plain from Ilium*. By this order, it should seem that the port of the Achæans was not the whole circular bay between the two promontories Rhœtéum and Sigéum, but an interior inlet on the Rhœtean side of the river. Yet Pliny mentions, that the Scamander flowed into the port, and favours the contrary opinion†. It is probable, however, that anciently some recess may have been pointed out, which is now choked up or covered with marshes, at the site of Karanlik-Liman, or the inlet nearer to the mouth of the Mendere‡. Some alteration may have been effected in the appearance of the coast, even in latter times, although not so much as we might think from looking at the account of Sandys, who says that the mouth of the Simois, meaning, it appears, the Mendere, is nearer to Rhœtéum than Sigéum§; a manifest error, as it was not so when Strabo wrote. In saying the river Simois was nearer Rhœtéum, Sandys followed Strabo; but in asserting that it discharged itself into the Hellespont, nearer to Rhœtéum than Sigéum, he could have consulted neither the authority of Strabo

* Lib. xiii. p. 598.

† Dein portus Achæorum in quem influxit Xanthus Simoenti junctus stagnumque prius faciens Palæ-Scamander.—Lib. v. cap. xxx. p. 78, influxit. leg. influit.

‡ An error has prevailed respecting the Port and the Naval Station, which have been considered the same, notwithstanding the express words of Strabo, p. 598. That Λιμὴν and ναύσταθμον are not to be confounded, will be seen very clearly from the following passage of the same author, who, talking of Adramyttium, says it is an Athenian colony, having a port and naval station: ἔχουσα λιμένα καὶ ναύσταθμον.—Lib. xiii. p. 606.

§ "Nearer Sigéum was the station of the Grecian navy; but nearer Rhœtéum, the river Simois (now called Simores) dischargeth itself into the Hellespont."—Relation of a Journey, &c.

nor of his own journal. There may have been some addition of new land since the beginning of the Christian æra; but it is impossible to say how great, for it is allowed, that the torrent of the Straits will prevent any future accretion, and we cannot tell how long the coast may have assumed its present form. The mouth of the Mendere has been shifted more than once in modern maps; but there is every reason to think that it is not far from the ancient outlet, for Herodotus, in the place before quoted, describing the site of Sigéum, says it was above the Scamander. This may assist us in our search after the site of the Ilium of Lysimachus, with the attempted discovery of which, being warned by former examples not to look for the Troy of Homer in explaining the Troad of Strabo, we may rest satisfied and content.

Ilium was twenty stadia, two R. miles and a half, from the mouth of the Scamander, and twelve from the port of the Achæans; consequently, it was on the eastern side of the river, and not on the western, where it is placed by Mr. Le Chevalier; for had it been on the western or Sigean side, it would have been nearer to the mouth of the Scamander than to the port of the Achæans. It was on the slope of a hill, so that there was no free course round it, and its citadel was on a considerable eminence*; and it was between the extremities of these two roots or elbows of Mount Ida, one of which pointed towards Sigéum, and the other in the direction of Rhœtéum. Besides these circumstances, the high

* Strab. lib. xiii. p. 599. I beg leave to notice a mistake in Mr. Bryant, who, in order to show that a general misconception had prevailed relative to the flight of Hector *round* the walls of Troy, quotes these words from Strabo—οὐδ' ὁ τὰ Ἕκτορος δὲ περίδρομος ἡ περὶ τὴν πόλιν ἔχει τὶ ἔυλογον, and translates them thus: "Nor is the flight of Hector attended with the least show of probability." Observat. p. 35.—But the geographer is only arguing against the claims of Ilium Immune; and amongst other reasons why it could not be on

ground on which stood its citadel, stretched like a neck of land, through the plain to the point whence the elbows of Ida branched off, so as to form a Greek Upsilon, or, as may be thought from putting together this description, a figure like our representation of the sign Aries*. Lastly, Ilium was a little above the confluence of the Simois and Scamander. The discovery of this confluence would be of the utmost importance to the enquiry.

Four streams fall into the Mendere in its course below Bournabashi. The Thymbrek mingles with it, or at least with the marshes at its mouth, near the wooden bridge; the water of Callifatli runs into it near the village of that name; the stream from Atche-Keui, a mile and a half below Bournabashi; and the rivulet from Bournabashi, as has been seen, about two miles from its

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the site of Troy, says, "if it were, Hector never could have fled round Troy"—οὐ γὰρ ἔχει περιδρομὸν ἡ νῦν διὰ τὴν συνεχῆ ῥᾶχιν . . . . . ἡ δὲ παλαὶα ἔχει περιδρομὸν—"for there is no course round the present city, on account of the attached root of the hill; *but the old site has such a course.*" It is curious to observe, that in the only instance in which Mr. Bryant acquiesced in the interpretations of Le Chevalier, namely, that Hector did not run, and was not dragged *round* the walls, and that περὶ in this place does not mean *round*, but *at* or *near*, he seems to have fallen into an error; for, not to consult the grammarians, Strabo in the above passage, evidently shows that he thought the περὶ did mean *round about*. Virgil was the first who drew Hector thrice round the walls of Troy; but no less than fourteen authorities mention the circuit, without the number of turns: their names are given in note H to Bayle's "Achilles:" Sophocles, Euripides, Ovid, Seneca, Statius, Dictys, Plato, Cicero, Hyginus, Philostratus, Libanius, Servius, Tzetzes, and Eustathius.

* Strab. lib. xiii. p. 597. It does seem that this description answers better to the shape of a barb ⅄ than of a ϒ. Perhaps Strabo does not speak of the figure formed by the elbows and the neck of land conjointly, but only by the latter, which, as it approached the mountains, branched off on both sides.

mouth. It was at the sight of this last streamlet that Mr. Le Chevalier exclaimed, like La Fontaine's Callirhoe, "Ah! voilà le fleuve Scamandre*!" But the question has been completely decided against this pleasant discovery, and the Mendere restored to the title which it possessed as far back as the time of Xerxes, who found it, as he would at this day, the first river to be met with in the road from Sardis to the Iliéan plain†.

A writer and traveller (Castaldus) is quoted by Mons. Morin, to prove that the Scamander in latter ages was called the Simois; but Ortellius, in his geographical Thesaurus, adduces the same authority, to show its modern name to be Simores‡. The Mendere is so called by Lady M. W. Montague§, and, as it appears, by Sandys‖; but none of the inhabitants of the country at this time, are acquainted with such an appellation. The topographical picture given by the last-named traveller shows two distinct rivers, but both, in this and every other respect, is a fancy piece. The Simois, in Dr. Chandler's map, corresponds with the rivulet of Bournabashi. Pococke¶ mentions Udjek-Tepe as being above the conflux of the rivers, and talks of the Simois as if it were decidedly known, but I have not been able to discover whether or not he alluded to the same stream. The Simois is noted in Homer amongst the rivers running from Ida, and is more than once called the Idæan

* One may apply the beginning of the next line, and of that next but two, to the progress of this disclosure—"On s'etonne . . . . . on en rit." Contes de la Fontaine, Le Fleuve Scamandre.

† Herod. Hist. lib. vii. cap. 42, p. 224, vol. v. edit. Edinb.

‡ Bayle's Dict. article Scamander.

§ Letter XLIV.

‖ Lib. i. p. 21, Relation of a Journey, 1627.

¶ Observations on Asia Minor, p. 107.

Simois by the poetical geographer Dionysius*; it could not, therefore, be the stream which rises under the village of Bournabashi.

The Thymbrek bears so great an affinity to the Thymbrius in name, that little doubt has been entertained of their identity. Hesychius, on what authority I know not, says, that Thymbra, or the river so called, where there is a temple of the Thymbrean Apollo, was ten stadia from the ancient city of Troy†. I confess myself, however, entirely at a loss in reconciling what Strabo says of the Thymbrius with the present state of this stream. It is lost in the marshes near the mouth of the Mendere; for we crossed it near those marshes in our way towards In-Tepe and the Dardanelles. Its actual point of confluence cannot be discerned, or rather, it has none. One thing, however, is quite clear, that the ruins on the side of the hill at Hallil-Elly, four miles above the valley of Thymbrek-Dere, are not, as they are laid down in Kauffer and every other map, those of the Temple of Apollo Thymbrius; for Strabo says precisely, that that temple was near the confluence of the streams‡. The confluence of Thymbrius and Scamander was also fifty stadia from Ilium§, if I understand the

* Ξάνθῳ ἐπ' ἐυρὺ ῥεοντι καὶ Ἰδαίῳ Σιμοέντι. V. 819.

And in another place,

Τούς ποτ' ἀπὸ Ξάνθοιο καὶ Ἰδαίης Σιμοέντος. V. 683.

† Θύμβρα τόπος τῆς Ιλίου, περὶ τὸν Θύμβρον λεγόμενον ποταμὸν, ὕυτως ὀνομασθεντα, τῆς ἀρχάιας πολέως ἀπέχοντα σταδίους δέκα, ὅπουγε καὶ ἱερὸν Ἀπόλλωνος Θυμβραίου.—Hesych. in v. Thymbra, p. 1742, edit. Albert. 1766. Vide Schol. in Homer, Il. κ. line 430.

‡ Κατὰ τὸ Θυμβραίης Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν—most *audaciously* translated by Le Chevalier as if it were τὸ Θυμβραίης Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν ἔστι κάτα, or rather κάτω.

§ Τῇ δὲ νὺν Ιλίῃ, καὶ πεντήκοντα σταδίους διέχει. Lib. xiii. p. 598.

author correctly; of which, although assisted in this translation by Mr. Bryant*, I am by no means sure†. The confluence could not, then, have been between Ilium and the mouth of the Scamander; for the mouth was only twenty stadia from the city, and the confluence was fifty. It must, therefore, have been above Ilium towards the mountains, and not below it towards the shore.

The Thymbrek corresponds rather with the Simois, and Ptolemy seems to put that river near the coast, by placing it, in his notice of Phrygia, between Dardanum and Scamander‡. It is larger than the other streams which fall into the Mendere; and no one accustomed to see the small torrents which acquired notoriety by being attached to the exploits of the Greeks, will be surprised at beholding the diminutiveness of this Simois, if the Thymbrek may be so called. We learn §, that the Simois approached, or had a direction towards, the Rhœtean promontory, before its confluence with the Scamander; and I did certainly find by experience, that this stream, running from the valley of Thymbrek, turns a little to the north towards In-Tepe, before it resumes its western course and is lost in the marsh. When Strabo‖ says, that the Astypaléans inhabiting Rhœtéum built a small town, called in his time Polisma, near the Simois, in a place which was not

* P. 19, Observations.

† Mr. Le Chevalier says in this place—"The opening into the valley of Thymbra is betwixt new and old Troy; and whatever it be that Strabo is pleased to say of it (for it is again difficult to discover his real meaning), it was nearer the former than the latter of those cities."—Descrip. of the Plain of Troy, p. 66.

‡ Lampsacus, Abydus, Dardanum, Simoeis, Scamander, Sigéum.—Geog. p. 137. Bryant, p. 31, Observat.

§ Strab. lib. xiii. p. 597. ‖ Page 601.

sufficiently firm, the marshes near the Thymbrek seem to be alluded to, rather than any spot farther up the country.

The water of Callifatli, which is less than either the Thymbrek or the Bournabashi rivulet, and might very easily be overlooked, has no direction towards Rhœtéum that I could discover, but falls with a course due west into the Mendere, four miles from the shore, at a distance too considerable to have been the confluence of the two Trojan rivers, which being a little before Ilium, could not have been farther than that city from the port, namely, twelve stadia, one Roman mile and a half.—Whether the Thymbrek or the Callifatli be the Simois, Ilium must have been somewhere between these two brooks; but in the first supposition, the little before (μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν) must mean a little to the north; and in the other case, a little to the west. Some ruins of massive foundation-stones have been dug from an eminence near the termination of a suite of hills, corresponding sufficiently with the description of Strabo, to answer to the neck of land (αὐχὴν) which stretched from Ilium towards the mountains. They are noted in Kauffer's map, as the ruins of the town begun by Constantine; and it is not impossible that the walls and towers erected by command of that Emperor, may have been built near the site, and perhaps from the stones, of Ilium. The spot is called Palaio-Callifatli; and as the walls of Ilium were forty stadia in circumference, that city, if on this hill, was near enough to the confluence either of the Thymbrek or the Callifatli water, to agree with what Strabo mentions respecting the vicinity of the town to the junction of the Simois and Scamander.

In the same line of hilly ground which separates the vale of the Thymbrek from that of the Callifatli water, is the village of

Tchiblak, an hour distant. Supposing Palaio-Callifatli to be Ilium, the view on every side towards the rivers, answers to the description of Strabo's plain of Troy, properly so called*, composed of the Simoisian plain towards the Thymbrek and the Scamandrian towards the Mendere, which was broader than that higher up, and in which the battles of the Iliad were supposed to have been fought. The plain country of the Troad, which I so call, to distinguish it from the "Trojan Plain," reached from the line of shore between Sigéum and Achéum, for many stadia to the east, as far as Mount Ida, bounded to the south by the district of Scepsis, and to the north by the Lycian territory and Zeleia†.

Ilium is the best centre whence the topographer may direct his enquiries on every side; and hence, to strain the words of Pliny a little beyond their meaning, there is an opportunity of illustrating many other celebrated objects—*unde omnis rerum claritas*‡.—As the progress of Strabo's description seems to proceed from east to west, from the mountains to the plain, we may guess where to look for the Pagus Iliensium, which, although he no where speaks decisively, and expressly asserts that no remains were to be seen, he considered as having much better pretensions to be on the site of Troy than the new city, and does in more than one place distinguish it as the old Iliéan town §. The ruins near Hallil-Elly are very considerable, and from them was taken the inscribed marble recording a Phrontistes of Drusus Cæsar, the son of Germanicus, now in the vestibule of the Public Library at Cambridge ‖. It cannot be supposed that there were any large buildings or temples at this

* Ἰδίως Τρωϊκὸν.—Lib. xiii. p. 597.

† Strab. lib. xiii. p. 596.

‡ Nat. Hist. lib. v. cap. 30, p. 78, edit. Paris, 1532.

§ Ἀρχαῖον κτίσμα, p. 598; ἡ παλαιὰ, p. 599, lib. xiii.

‖ P. 43, n. 21, Clarke's Greek Marbles.

village of the Iliéans, sufficient to account for these remains, which may rather be referred to one of the many cities of the Troad which are mentioned by geographers, but not in such an order as to enable us to discover their respective sites. There are a few fragments of carved marble at Thymbrek-Keui and above Tchiblak, besides many remains of pillars on a hill near the latter village; nor are we to be surprised at these vestiges in a country, every region of which was regarded with peculiar sanctity. The Iliéan village was but little more than a mile (most probably westward) from the eminence, five stadia in circumference, called Callicolone, "*The Beautiful Hill*," under which flowed the Simois*. Tchiblak might be considered nearly on the site of the village, and the hill where are the ruins thought to be the Callicolone. Hesychius calls it a place remarkable for its sanctity, and the ruins on the mount above Tchiblak may be the remains of its temples†. The distance between Tchiblak and Palaio-Callifatli, will pretty well correspond with the three Roman miles and three quarters which were between Ilium and the village; and the town and the hill are near enough to the Thymbrek or the Callifatli water (whichever of these streams was the Simois) to have been spoken of as being in the Simoisian plain, where the Pagus Iliensium and the Callicolone are placed by the geographer. The hills close behind Tchiblak to the east, may likewise be the commencement of those two elbows of Mount Ida (ἀγχῶνες) so often before mentioned, which were in the vicinity of the village‡.

* Ὑπερ᾽ δὲ τῆς Ιλίων κώμης, δέκα σταδιούς ἐστὶν ἡ Καλὴ Κολώνη, λόφος τὶς, πάρ᾽ ὃν ὁ Σιμόεις ῥει, πεντεστάδιον ἔχων.—Strab. lib. xiii. p. 597.

† Καλλι-Κολώνη——χωρίον ἱεροπρεπές.—P. 125, tom. ii. edit. Albert.

‡ Τουτὸ μὲν δὴ μεταξὺ τῆς τελευτῆς τῶν λεχθέντων ἀγκώνων ἔιναι, τὸ

The country in the direction immediately eastward above Tchiblak, has many inequalities of surface, and is rough and hilly; but on the south side of the chain of eminences on which it is placed is a fine undulating plain. In this stands Atche-Keui, and from near that village a brook runs into the Mendere, a mile to the north-east of Bournabashi. There is no end of conjecturing on these subjects; but the distance between Palaio-Callifatli and this stream agrees with that between Ilium and the confluence of the Thymbrius and Scamander*; and as the valley of Atche-Keui runs up to the spot near which the Pagus Iliensium may be fairly supposed to have been placed, it may be the plain of Thymbra, which was in the vicinity of that village†.

In the wide plain properly called the Trojan, some of those objects were shown which are mentioned in the Iliad: the wild fig-tree, or hill of wild fig-trees; the tomb of Æsyetes, Batieia (or the tomb of Myrinna); and the tomb of Ilus‡. The Erineus was some rugged ground, shaded with fig-trees, under the Iliéan

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δὲ παλαιὸν κτίσμα μεταξὺ τῆς ἀρχῆς.—Lib. xiii. 597. Whether the παλαιὸν κτίσμα here means the village of the Iliéans or the actual Troy, the point is the same, for Strabo thought there was a correspondence in the site of the two.

* Fifty stadia, six R. miles and a quarter.

† Πλησίον γὰρ ἔστι τὸ πεδιόν ἡ Θύμβρα.—Strab. lib. xiii. p. 598.

‡ Πλατύτερον γὰρ ἔστι, καὶ τοὺς ὀνομαζομένους τόπους ἐνταῦθα δεικνυμένους ὁρῶμεν, τὸν Ερινεὸν, τὸν τῆ Αἰσυήτε τάφον, τὴν Βατίειαν, τὸ τῆ Ιλε σήμα. "For here it is more extensive (the plain, πεδίον Τρωϊκὸν), and we see those places pointed out which are recorded by the poet—The Fig-tree Hill, the tomb of Æsyetes, Batieia, and the tomb of Ilus" . . . . . Strab. lib. xiii. p. 597.

village*. I need not say that I was unable to fix upon the Erineus; it will be as well, indeed, to avow that I made no effort to find either that or the beech-tree mentioned by Achilles, which the geographer informs us was a little below†. The tomb shown for that of Æsyetes was five stadia (something more than half a mile) from Ilium, and not so high as the Acropolis of that city‡. If the meaning of the text in Strabo is at all understood, Udjek-Tepe cannot be the tomb of Æsyetes; for that barrow is at least seven miles in a straight line from the supposed site of Ilium, and in order to get to it, you have to cross two, if not three rivers, the latter part of the way through a morass, and over hilly ground. Besides, Polites, in running to Udjek-Tepe, would be going from, not towards, the Grecian camp, and had, therefore, no cause of fear; he would, indeed, have had a much better view than from the Acropolis (if we have found it) of Ilium; but this is the very advantage which Strabo says he would not have had. There is only one point of resemblance between the barrow and the tomb: Udjek-Tepe is near the road to Alexandria Troas; but, allowing the present path to be in the line of the ancient road, as that road

* Ὁ τε Ερινεὸς τραχύς τίς τόπος, καὶ ἐρινεώδης, τῷ μὲν ἀρχαίῳ κτίσματι ὑποπέπτωκεν.—Strab. lib. xiii. p. 598.

† Καὶ ὁ φηγὸς δὲ μικρὸν κατωτέρω ἔστι τῆ ἐρινεοῦ, ἐφ ᾧ φησιν ὁ Αχιλλεύς. —Ibid.

‡ "And (if Ilium were Troy) Polites also, '*who being a spy from Troy, trusting to his speed, sat on the very summit of the tomb of the ancient Æsyetes*,' he must have been improvident even if he did sit on the very summit; for he might have had a much higher look-out from the citadel, and at much the same distance: nor could he at all want his speed; for that which is now shown for the tomb of Æsyetes, is five stadia distant towards the road to Alexandria."—Strab. lib. xiii. p. 599.

ran all across the plain, and probably from Ilium, it is very likely indeed, that there might be another barrow near it. Wherever Ilium was, the tomb of Æsyetes was not more than two miles from the port of the Greeks; probably it was less, but Udjek-Tepe is more than nine from the shore of the strait. This lofty tumulus may be the Homeric tomb of Æsyetes. Of this we can know nothing, but it is not that of Strabo. There are two or three barrows which answer better to that tomb, and especially one between the village of Koum-Keui and Callifatli, noticed in Mr. Gell's map, not as a barrow but as a mount. It is in the plain near the Mendere, and about half a mile from the projecting eminence of Palaio-Callifatli, to the west. Two other barrows have been noticed in this quarter; one is on a plot of rising ground, which projects south-westward from the chain of eminences between Palaio-Callifatli and Tchiblak, but is rather to the south of the first place, and about two miles and a half from the last; the other is at the western extremity of the hills which form the northern boundary of the plain of Atche-Keui, and two miles on the left of the road to that place from the village of Callifatli. Under Atche-Keui, and nearly opposite to Bournabashi, is a low natural hillock, called in Mr. Gell's map Batieia.

As Strabo gives us no assistance whatever in identifying either of these barrows with his tomb of Ilus, or the Batieia, but only mentions those objects as being in the plain of Troy properly so called, and that only in the one passage above quoted, it would be useless for one who is not perfectly persuaded that the scene of the Iliad can be fixed upon with precision, and has been actually discovered, to make any essay towards an arrangement of these ancient monuments on a modern map. As presumptuous might it

be thought to fix upon any hill, or natural eminence, the name of the Homeric Thrôsmos, on which the army of the Trojans was stationed, more particularly as we cannot be sure that the Thrôsmos was a hill*.

* The grammarians have supposed this word, which, as Mr. Bryant mentions, (Observations, p. 10) occurs only three times in Homer and twice in Apollonius Rhodius, to signify *a high place.*

Θρωσμός—ὑψηλὸς τόπος Βουνοειδὴς, ἀφ' οὐ καταβαίνοντα θορεῖν ἐστι.
Hesych. in v. p. 1738, Albert. edit. 1766.

Θρομβός—ὑψηλὸς τόπος idem quod Θρωσμός.
Is. Vossii, not. in v. θρομβοι, Hesych. p. 1736, ib.

Επὶ θρωσμῲ πεδίοιο—Ὁδῷ πεδίᾳ μὴ ἐπιδρόμῳ.
Ibid. p. 1355.

The Scholiast on Homer, Il. K. ver. 160, and Il. Λ. ver. 56, Suidas, and the Etymologicon Magnum in voc. θρωσμός, make it to be near the Callicolone—" Erat autem Callicolone locus excelsus in campo Trojano, ab isto non longe remotus qui Homero θρωσμός dicitur," note 1, p. 1707, Hesych. ibid, which can not be collected either from Homer or Strabo. The first places the Callicolone near the Simois (Iliad. Υ. ver. 53), and the latter ten stadia above his site of Troy; but the θρωσμός was near the ships of the Greeks, and separated from them but by a very small interval—

Οὐκ ἀιεῖς, ὡς τρῶες ἐπὶ θρωσμῲ πεδιόιο
Εἵαται ἄγχι νεῶν, ὀλίγος δ' ἔτι χῶρος ἐρύκει.
Il. K. l, 160.

Mr. Le Chevalier, with just as little reason, fancied that, " like Batieia and the tomb of the nimble Myrinna, the Throsmos and the tomb of Ilus were the same. Descrip. p. 112.—The only difference between the two cases is, that Homer says the first was the same, but gives no such hint as to the latter. We may see from the poet, that they were not the same, although perhaps not

We are now arrived at Bournabashi, the Troy of Mr. Le Chevalier. It is a Turkish village, situated on some rising ground, at the head of the great marsh. All travellers have with justice

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far from each other; for Hector, and the other chiefs, retired from the camp to the Thrôsmos, to the tomb of Ilus, to hold a council—

Θείου παρὰ σήματι Ἴλου
Νόσφιν ἀπὸ φλοίσβοιο.

Il. K. ver. 415.

Mr. Bryant (Dissert. p. 37) makes Batieia and Callicolone the same, but without giving any reason for such a conjecture. The probable vicinity of the tomb of Ilus to the Thrôsmos, may help to shew us that Homer never meant a hill or mound by the latter word, for he makes Agamemnon pursue the Trojans from the neighbourhood of the ships, to which they had advanced, by the tomb of Ilus, through the middle of the plain,

Οἱ δὲ παρ' Ἴλου σῆμα παλαιοῦ Δαρδανίδαο
Μέσσον καππεδίον παρ' ἐρινεὸν ἐσσεύοντο
Ἴεμενοι πόλεως. Il. Λ. ver. 166.

and not over any hill, which must have been the case if the Thrôsmos had been high ground, as the Trojan station was between the place of action and the city. In the two places of Apollonius, Θρωσμὸς does not seem to mean an eminence. Jason and his companions conceal themselves, and hold a council under cover of the high reeds and shrubs in the bed of a river in Cholcis, and then quit their concealment for a place in the plain above, named Circæum, which the poet calls the Thrôsmos of that plain.

Ἄφαρ δ' ἀνὰ νηὸς ὑπὲρ δόνακάς τε καὶ ὕδωρ
Χέρσονδ' ἐξαπέβησαν ἐπὶ θρωσμῷ πεδιοιο.
Κιρκαῖον τόδε πῦ κικλήσκεται, ἔνθα δὲ πολλαὶ
Ἐξείης πρόμαδοί τε καὶ ἰτέαι ἐκπεφύασιν.

Argon. lib. iii. ver. 199.

lavished their encomiums on the beauty of its situation, which commands an extensive prospect of the whole plain, both to the

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We see that on this Thrôsmos there were willows growing (although some, instead of πρόμαδοι, have read, without assigning any reason, προμάλοι, a sort of wild oak)—trees not so likely to flourish on a hill as on the meadowy banks of rivers. The Scholiast commenting on the passage, calls this Thrôsmos a place overhanging the river—Τῶ ὑπερκειμένου τῶ ποταμῶ τόπου, ὅπου ἐστὶ θορεῖν καὶ πηδῆσαι ἀπὸ τῆς νεῶς, p. 276, edit. Shaw; and the translator has it "in editiorem locum campi." The Argonauts, when they proceed from this Thrôsmos of Circæum (ver. 213) are only said to go *from the plain*, ἐκ πεδίοιο, not from any height.

The other passage in which the disputed word occurs, does not convey the notion of a Thrôsmos being any thing else than a spot with an open space, where there was room to move about. It is not here the Thrôsmos of the plain, but the Thrôsmoi of the river—

Αὐτὰρ ὅγ ἰλυόεντες ἀνὰ θρωσμὸς ποταμοῖο.

Argon. lib. ii. ver. 825.

"Per limosi salebras fluvii," are the words of the translator; and the Scholiast interprets it, ἀντὶ τῶ, κατὰ τὰς ἀναβολὰς καὶ ἀναβάσεις, καὶ καθόδους, p. 219, edit. Shaw.—Supposing the word to be derived from θρωσκεῖν, or θορεῖν, to leap, there seems no necessity for having the ἀφ' ὃυ καταβαίνοντα θορεῖν ἐστί, the "descending leap" of Hesychius: a level spot is more fit for leaping or exercise than any high ground. When Homer mentions Batieia, on, or at, which the Trojans were drawn out in array, he describes it as a hill, and if the Θρωσμος, where the Trojans were also stationed, had been a hill, it is likely he would have likewise described it as such. We may be inclined, then, to submit to Mr. Bryant's opinion, that the θρωσμὸς of Homer should be rendered *saltus campestris* and not the mound of the plain. The preposition *up* (ἀνὰ), with which it is connected in the passages above quoted, may perhaps persuade us that a gentle ascent is expressed, unless it only conveys the meaning of our phrase *up the country*, *up to town*.

shores of the strait and to the open sea, and gives a nearer view to the north of low undulating hills, whose slopes are adorned with frequent villages, and backed with a dark line of forest scenery. To the right, at about half a mile distance, the Mendere flows through a green flat, winding from behind a rocky hill, called Balli-Dahi, or the Honey Mountain, which rises at the back (the south-east) of the eminence of Bournabashi, and is separated from it only by a narrow woody dell.—Immediately below the village is the path which crosses the country from the north to the south towards Alexandria Troas, and on the other side of this path is a slope of hard rugged ground, covered with Turkish tombstones, chiefly granite, and having the appearance of being taken from some ancient structure. Below this to the south, less than a quarter of a mile from the houses, is one of those beautiful springs from which the village takes its name of the Fountain-Head. The principal basin is ornamented by a rectangular margin of white marble slabs and the fragments of two granite pilasters; and the water gushing copiously from below, slides over the smooth brink, and moistens a flat plot of green sward, which is shaded by a line of weeping willows rising from a shrubbery of evergreens.

The temperature of this spring has been found to be sixty-four of Farenheit's scale, and we learnt that in the winter a steam arises from it, which altogether conceals the source and the surrounding grove. It felt tepid in April, but was not so warm as to be unpleasant to the taste. The head of the marsh, obscured by tall reeds, commences a little to the west of the fountain. Walking for three minutes to the south, and keeping by the side of some pools of water, interspersed with brushwood, you come to a

strong spring, bubbling up from beneath a rocky hillock, and flowing off, dispersed in several pebbly channels, into the marsh and through a line of gardens belonging to the Turks of Bournabashi. The Aga, a considerable person in this part of the country, has a kiosk in one of them between the two springs, which is surrounded by an orangery, and sheltered by a grove of ashes and poplars and other tall trees. On one of my visits to the spot, our party, who had been on a shooting excursion in the marshes, and were somewhat fatigued after a hot walk of five hours, took some refreshment under a spreading walnut-tree, on the brink of a rivulet running round the Aga's garden, which supplied us with water-cresses.

As we were rising to depart, a tall fair complexioned Turk, half wrapped in a tattered garment, having every mark of extreme poverty, but with an easy graceful mien, walked over the little plank laid across the brook from the garden, and accosted me first in Italian, and afterwards, seeing my surprise at hearing any thing but Turkish from a Turk, in Latin, enquiring if I understood that language—"*Domine scis linguam Latinam?*" He added a few sentences, in a manner which shewed he had once been accustomed to converse. He was asked where he had learnt his Latin. He said at home. Had he ever received any public instruction? "*Vidi etiam academiam sed non frequentavi,*" was his reply. He had seen the English at Alexandria. When questioned as to the place of his birth, and his country, he answered, "*Sum civis mundi*"—"I am a citizen of the world;" and smiling, put an end to our interrogatories, by asking me if I wished to see the garden belonging to his master: "*Visne videre hunc hortum, mei magistri est.*" At this instant a Turk richly dressed came up, and

accosting him with great kindness and familiarity by the name of Selim, they both walked away to the village.

The singularity of meeting a Turk talking Latin in a solitary garden in the Troad, although not so agreeable an adventure as that which befell the friend of Æschines, and (as Mr. Le Chevalier thought) on this very spot*, engaged our thoughts for some time, and we could only conclude him to be one of the many prisoners or deserters from the French Egyptian army who embraced Islamism, some, as it was reported in France at the time, from inclination, others to save their lives.

The springs and the pools of water unite their streams, which are partly lost in the marsh, and partly flow into the channel of the Bournabashi rivulet, and the whole fountain is called Saranda Ochia—the Forty Eyes. The last mentioned source is thought by the people of the place to be cold, but is in fact of the same temperature as the tepid fountain, although, as it does not rise and settle in a basin, but flows off into the pools, its warmth is not so easily perceived as that of the other springs. To the taste they appeared to me exactly the same, and only not chill; a fact, which, considering the number of warm sources in this part of the country, it would not be worth while to mention, if Mr. Le Cheva-

* Mr. Le Chevalier commenting seriously on the accident of Callirhoe, calls it "a circumstance ever to be regretted, as it prevented Æschines from entering into a minute examination of the plain of Troy, and from giving the result of his enquiries to the world." La Fontaine thought otherwise, and made somewhat better use of Cimon's adventure than Mr. Le C., who really believed that Æschines came to Troas to write such a piece of topography as his own. One circumstance has as usual escaped or been unnoticed by him, although his editor has been more explicit: the letters of Æschines are thought to be spurious.

lier and his disciples had not positively pronounced them to be the two fountains of the Scamander, the Δοιαὶ πηγαὶ of Homer, one of which was enveloped in smoke, as of a burning fire, whilst the other in the summer rushed forth cold as the hail, the chill snow, and the ice†.

My last visit was paid to these springs on the last day of April, which was more sultry than an English midsummer, and might therefore have shown the freezing faculty of the cold spring to advantage. I repeat, however, that no difference was perceptible between the temperature of the fountains. Yet Mr. Le Chevalier, comparing it with the other, says it is "always cold*;" when, however, he could see the broad, the angry Scamander in a rivulet, in spite of all ancient authority, whether of poetry or prose, it is not surprising that he should reject the evidence of his senses, and find the warm and freezing sources of that river in the tepid fountains of Bournabashi. Demetrius of Scepsis confessed that the Scamander rose in the hill Cotylus from one source; and Strabo endeavoured to explain away the difficulty, by suggesting that the hot spring may have failed, or that the two sources may have been those of some tributory stream, which might therefore be fairly called springs of the Scamander. This must be allowed, and was so by Mr. Bryant, to be a very reasonable account; and those believers in the Iliad who can reconcile one hot and one icy fountain with many tepid springs, may be willing to adopt the latter suggestion, and suppose the sources at Bournabashi to be those to which Hector was pursued by Achilles. It must, however, be observed, that the explanation

* Iliad, X. v. 147.

† 127 Descript. Plain of Troy.

can hardly be applied to springs supplying a rivulet which does not fall into the main river till within a mile and a half of its mouth; and, moreover, that if Demetrius or Strabo had thought these Bournabashi fountains to have been the Δοιαὶ πηγαὶ, or if they had been commonly so called and noticed amongst the other Homeric objects, it is next to an impossibility, that after having made the remark and particularly discussed the difficulty, the author should not have mentioned their existence in the Trojan plain. Let me add, that those who believe in the fountains, may as well believe Bournabashi to be Troy; for if Achilles and Hector fought on this spot, the great difficulty of the distance of the city from the sea is removed; indeed they are almost bound to believe it, since the Scamandrian springs were in sight of, and not far from, the city.

There are at Bournabashi several traces of some ancient town having stood in the vicinity, and the situation of the village is such, as I have observed the Greeks generally choose for their cities; blocks of carved marble and granite, one or two containing inscriptions which throw no light on the subject, are to be found in the houses, and particularly in the Aga's court-yard: vestiges of a paved way are also discernible. But it is on the hill Balli-Dahi, a quarter of a mile to the south-south-east, that the citadel of Priam and the tombs of his sons have been at last discovered. Above the first rugged flat there is a second eminence, the highest summit of the hill; on this are three barrows, not so large as those on the shore of the strait, but similar to them in every respect, except that one, like the cairns of Scotland, is chiefly composed of stones thrown loosely together. It is possible that the covering of turf may have been worn away by expo-

sure to the wind and rain. Mr. Le Chevalier chose to call it the tomb of Hector, and found a wonderful similarity between its position and that of the imitative sepulchre which Andromache raised to the memory of her hero on the shores of Epirus*. The cenotaph however was before the city, in a grove, on the banks of the feigned Simois.

"Ante urbem, in luco, falsi Simoentis ad undam."
Æn. iii. v. 300.

This barrow is in Mr. Le Chevalier's city, and no more on the banks of the Simois, than Blaize Castle near Bristol is on the banks of the Avon. It stands near the brink of a steep precipice, very high above the Mendere. If Virgil had any particular spot in view, we may find something full as likely to have been the prototype of his description, for we see in Strabo †, that at a place called Ophrynium, they showed the *grove of Hector*; but this was on the banks of the strait, twenty-five miles at the least from Bournabashi. We do not know, in fact, that the sepulchre was in that grove, or on any other spot; for an oracle preserved amongst the Thebans, related that the ashes of Hector had been conveyed from Troy to their city, and his tomb was shown at the fountain of Œdipus ‡. If any inference is to be drawn from the lines in the Pharsalia, in which the Phrygian tells Cæsar not to tread on the ashes of Hector, it is, that no such barrow as is

* "Virgil takes a very ingenious method of pointing out the true situation of Hector's tomb."—Descript. of Plain of Troy, p. 123.

† Lib. xiii. p. 595.

‡ Ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ἕκτορος Θηβαίοις τάφος τῦ Πριάμυ πρὸς Οἰδιποδίᾳ κατημένῃ κρήνῃ.—Paus. lib. ix. 569, edit. Hanov.

now seen on Balli-Dahi, was ever called the tomb of that warrior *.

Another of the tumuli is the tomb of Paris, but which of them has not been as yet determined; Strabo, however, relates that his monument was at Cebrene †. On the surface of the summit of Balli-Dahi are some flat stones regularly disposed, the vestiges of two pits or cisterns, and near the edge of the precipice above the river where it is four hundred feet high, the foundation stones of massive uncemented walls.

A most correct view of these relics is given in the thirty-seventh plate of the Topography of Troy, the author of which, has never called his pencil to the aid of his pen; but with a candour and ingenuity very rarely to be met with in a theorist, has, in the fidelity of his representations, furnished us with competent means of disproving his system. Those who look at the vestiges on Balli-Dahi in his plate, may be assured that such are the actual appearances on that hill; but enough may have been already said

* "————————Securus in alto
Gramine ponebat gressus, Phryx incola manes
Hectoreos calcare vetat."

Pharsal. ix. v. 975.

Thus rendered by Mr. Le C. "Cæsar, in traversing the plain of Troy, was walking inadvertently *over a heap of stones and of turf*, which no longer retained the shape of a tomb:" "Stop, Cæsar," cried his guide, "you are treading upon the ashes of Hector," p. 122. Let me ask whether the original, or even this strange translation, gives a picture of any one climbing on a rugged precipice, amongst ruins, and over the summits of actual tombs? For either Mr. Le C. must believe that Lucan really alludes to the barrow on Balli-Dahi, or the reference is altogether inapplicable and futile; but the poet could never have said that there were no ruins on this hill.

† Lib. xiii. p. 596.

to convince them, that some scope has been given to the imagination, in calling two or three lines of single flat stones the ruins of the *palace of Priam, the palace of Hector, the palace of Alexander, the temple of Apollo, the temple of Minerva, and the temple of Jupiter.*

The same author of course is not deterred by the ancient authorities who mention that no vestige was left of Troy, but quotes Babylon as an instance, that ruins long thought to have perished may be at last discovered. He might have added Baalbek, the finding of whose remains by Mr. Wood was ridiculed as a chimerical invention; but was Babylon at any time sought after as was Troy? were its ruins in the midst of the most polite and learned people in the world, who for a succession of ages desired and tried in vain to discover its site? I see no parity whatever in the two cases, and I must add, that it is not to be credited that Demetrius of Scepsis, and other enquirers living on the spot, would overlook any part of the Trojan plain on the banks of the Scamander containing the ruins of palaces and temples, which must necessarily have been twenty times more considerable in those days than they are at present.

The real Trojan palaces, if they ever existed, must have been erected in the very infancy of architecture, and what excellence could have been attained in this art, when letters had not been invented, when commerce was a change of commodities, arithmetic counting on the fingers, and when carpenters built ships with a brazen hatchet*? The greater part of the houses of the royal

* Wood's Essay on Homer, pp. 268, 274. That such must have been the state of society when even Homer wrote, may be deduced from his poems. Mr. W. observes, that the poet does not talk of sculpture with admiration.

city of Sardis, when it was destroyed by the Ionians, were either of reeds, or brick thatched with reeds, and of this material we may suppose the temple of Cybele to have been made, which was burnt with the other buildings*. The walls of the citadel were of course more durably constructed, but the interior buildings could hardly have answered to any thing like our notion of a palace, nor can we think that the Pergamus of Priam was composed of edifices so constructed as to leave remains discernible after a period of three thousand years.

The oldest statues of the gods were blocks of wood scarcely cut; the temples, the κλυτὰ δώματα of those ages may, however mean and simple, have been decent enough for such divinities. The poet, when describing the celestial habitations, says nothing of their size or construction, but confines himself to the costliness of their materials. Agamemnon's palace, or the treasury of Atreus, lately discovered at Mycenæ, is, it is true, a durable fabric, as also is the treasury of Myneus at Orchomeno; but we cannot be sure that those buildings did exist in the times alledged; we can only know that they were very ancient, and had those particular denominations amongst the Greeks of after ages.

* Ἔσαν ἐν τῇσι Σάρδισι οἰκίαι, αἱ μὲν πλεῦνες, καλάμιναι· Ὅσαι δὲ αὐτέων καὶ πλίνθιναι ἔσαν, καλάμου εἶχον τὰς ὀροφάς.—Herod. Hist. lib. v. cap. 101, p. 242, edit. Edinb. 1806.

LETTER XLII.

The District of the Troad—Ene—Eski-Scupthu—Bairam-itche —Kas-daghy, the Cotylus of Ida—Argument against the identity of that Summit with the Homeric Gargarus—and against that of Rhætéum and Sigéum with the Promontories bounding the Grecian Camp, mentioned in the Iliad—The Authority of Virgil quoted—The Homeric Troy in front of Tenedos—The Geographical Plain of Troy probably not that of the Iliad—The Homeric Landmarks invented by the Greeks after the Age of the Poet—No inference to be drawn from casual Resemblances between the Descriptions of them, and the actual Landscape near the Banks of the Mendere —The endeavours of Writers to adjust the Poetical to the present Positions entirely unsuccessful—Mr. Pope's Map, and the unaccountable Remarks upon it by Mr. Le Chevalier—Conclusion of Observations on the Troad, with an Enquiry into the limits of the ancient Hellespont.

THE remains on Balli-Dahi have been referred to a very late period, but when we know that the Troad was full of towns, of which Strabo enumerates twenty, we shall not be at

a loss to account for antiquities, either on this spot, or in any other portion of the same region. At Erkissi-Keui and Bos-Keui, villages on the ridge stretching south-westward from Bournabashi, on which stands Udjek-Tepe, there are also many fragments of marble and granite ruins: part of these were thought by Dr. Pococke to belong to Ilium.

The expectation that the frigate would sail immediately up the straits, prevented us from proceeding above Bournabashi along the banks of the Mendere, to the summit of the highest hill of the Idæan chain, Kas-daghy. But as no one ever thought of searching for Troy above the point to which we confined our researches, we were the less anxious to prosecute our journey in that quarter. Travelling in the Troad is at present not only safe, but perfectly agreeable, for Englishmen especially, owing to the good disposition of the governors of the district. The whole Idæan territory, nearly that of the lesser Phrygia, is under the power of Hadoum Oglou, or Hadgi Osman Bey; but the more immediate jurisdiction of the Troad is in the hands of his son, Hadoum Zade, or Hadji Achmet Bey. The latter of these resides at Ene, a town on the banks of a rivulet which falls into the Mendere about twelve miles above Bournabashi, and which is named in the maps the Andrius, a river flowing from the country called anciently Carasena.

It has been thought probable, that Ene may be on the site of the town Ænéa, which the ancient inhabitants alledged was the royal seat of Æneas. The account of the tradition is from Strabo, but he says nothing of a large barrow which there is near the modern town called Sovran-Tepe—*the Sovereign's Tomb*, or Ene-Tepe—*the Tomb of Ene*, and which, if it stood in ancient times, was perhaps, as were many other similar monuments in diffe-

rent parts of the world, shown as the tomb of Æneas. Whatever weight is derived from the similarity of the ancient and modern names will be lessened by observing that there is another Ene on the shore of the Adramyttian gulf above Bairam, the ancient Assos. A village to the south is called Eski-Scupthu, which, as it corresponds in its site, and partly in its name, with Palæ-Scepsis, fifty stadia from Ænéa, may be on the position of that ancient town. It would be hopeless to enquire, by what good fortune Ænéa, and Palæ-Scepsis, which was a decayed place in Strabo's time, should alone (if we except the doubtful Thymbrek), of all the spots in the Troad, have preserved nearly their ancient names. The case of the last may be thought more remarkable, when the latter city of Scepsis, sixty stadia below the old site, has been entirely lost*.

* Eski in Turkish is equivalent to the παλαι in Greek.—Palæ-Scepsis was fifty stadia from Ænéa. Strab. lib. xiii. p. 603. It was near the highest part of Ida, κατὰ τὸ μετεωρότατον τῆς Ιδης, Strab. ibid. p.607. It will be as well to look at Kauffer's map, and see how the site of Eski-Scupthu will answer to this description: if Eski-Scupthu is Palæ-Scepsis, Strabo could not say it was near Cotylus, where the Scamander rises, or in other words, his Ida Proper could not be Cotylus. Again, Palæ-Scepsis was above Cebrene, ἐπάνω Κεβρήνης, and sixty stadia above New Scepsis—ὕστερον δὲ κατωτέρω σταδιάις ἑξήκοντα εἰς τὴν νῦν Σκῆψιν μετῳκίσθησαν—but the Scamander flowed between the territory of Scepsis and Cebrene—τὴν δὲ Κεβρηνίαν διήκειν μέχρι τῆς Σκηψίας· Ὅριον δὲ εἶναι τὸν Σκάμανδρον μέσον ἀυτῶν ῥέοντα, ibid. p. 597. According to this account, Scepsis should be on the north bank of the Scamander; yet how will this answer with what Strabo says in another place, that the plain country of the Troad, in the narrow part towards the mountains, stretched as far to *the south* as the neighbourhood of Scepsis, ibid. p. 596. The confusion of confusions is seen in Mr. Barbiè du Boccage's map of Troas, attached to Anacharsis, and may convince any one of the extreme difficulty of restoring the ancient geography of this celebrated region.

Hadoum Oglou lives at the large town of Bairam-itche, which gives its name to a long plain, extending on the banks of the Mendere, between twelve and thirteen miles towards the roots of Kasdaghy: it is nine or ten from Ene. From the neighbourhood of Bairam-itche, were brought two of the marbles in the vestibule of the Public Library at Cambridge*. The whole district of Ida was held in much veneration, and it is probable that an inquisitive traveller would find remnants of the ancient superstition which sanctified this poetic region, in the most remote solitudes, in the deep recesses of the forests and the summits of the highest hills.

The source of the Mendere, a cataract, commonly called the falls of Megara, is at the foot of Kas-daghy, about six hours above Bairam-itche, and not only the written narrations of travellers, but the account of a friend who visited the spot whilst we were in Turkey, make me lament that any incident should have occurred to prevent our enjoying a spectacle more magnificent, as I understand, than the brightest conception can anticipate. The ascent to the top of Kas-daghy is an object which I must also regret that we omitted to accomplish. If however we had gained the eminence, it would not have been, on my part, with the persuasion that we were scaling the terrestrial heaven of the Idæan Jove.

There appears to me no way of getting over Mr. Bryant's arguments in favour of Troy, as described by the poet, being under the most southern parts of Ida, and near those mountains of Troas, called Lectum and Gargarus†; and I shall observe, that what

* No. XVI. No. XXVI. Clarke's Greek Marbles.

† See Dissertation, p. 134, and p. 136, to the end.

Mr. Wood calls the machinery*, and may be denominated the celestial topography of Homer, can be adduced as a proof of this supposition.

That which the ancient geographers called Ida, is a chain of hills extending north-north-east from Baba, or Lectum, and divided into several ridges, two summits of which (exactly given in the fifteenth plate of the Topography of Troy) overlook the whole sloping country towards Tenedos. The highest point of these ranges, once called Cotylus, now Kas-daghy, will be seen by looking at Kauffer's map, to be at a vast distance, both from Lectum and Sigéum, and to be near the sea on no side, except that of the Adramyttian gulf, where the Grecian fleet could not have been stationed, or it would not have been visible from the top of Samothrace, as in the thirteenth book of the Iliad it is said to have been. The plain of the Mendere towards Cape Janissary, is distant from Mount Cotylus, or Kas-daghy, thirty-five miles at the least, and separated from it by a ridge of low brown hills, and a large tract of plain country. But Gargarus and Lectum were immediately above the scene of action in the Iliad, not figuratively, but actually. The king of gods and men might have remained in the Thessalian Olympus† to have seen the ships of the Greeks,

* Essay on Homer, p. 133.

† This mountain Mr. Bryant calls the heavenly Olympus, and does not imagine it to be a hill upon earth (Dissertation, &c. p. 143). His chief reason is adduced from the circumstance, that Jupiter, in going thence from Ida, is said to fly "*between the earth and the starry sky*" (Il. Θ. ver. 46); but it appears that Juno is standing on this same Olympus in the fourteenth book, and in that place it is evidently the Thessalian Olympus, for her route is traced from the mountain over Æmathea, or the plain of Thessaly, thence over the hills of Thrace to Athos, Lemnos, and Lectum (Il. Ξ. ver. 225 to 285). This seat of the gods,

and the city of Troy, unless he had wished to be near the plain; nor would he have poured a cloud round his horses and chariot, to render them invisible*, if the combatants, and the whole scene of action, had been thirty miles distant from his station. When the gods held a council to favour the Trojans, it was on a mount in the plain; and when Jupiter quitted the heavens to watch over their interests, the summits whence he launched his lightnings against the Greeks were not, it is probable, divided from Troy by intervening hills and plains. In the thirteenth book of the Iliad, it is said, that from the position of Neptune on the woody Samothrace, *the whole of Ida appeared, and the city of Priam, and the ships of the Greeks;* and the vicinity of the objects may perhaps be collected by their being mentioned together †.

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although described by the poet as in the heavens, at an immeasurable height above the rest of the earth, was still on the actual summit of the many-headed Olympus—

Ἀκροτάτῃ κορυφῇ πολυδειράδος Ὀλύμποιο—

in order to scale which, the giants heaped Ossa on Pelion, two mountains also in Thessaly. Even the celestial properties of Olympus were those of a mountain, not of any region in the sky detached from the earth. "It was never shaken by the wind, nor hidden by the tempest, nor approached by the snow, but was in a cloudless atmosphere, encircled with a pure splendour." I find the variety in the Homeric descriptions of Olympus, noticed by Mr. R. P. Knight in his Carmina Homerica, p. 26, not after Mr. Bryant's manner, but as a proof that in the inventive parts of poetry congruity is not to be expected.

* Κατὰ δ' ἦερα πολὺν ἔχευεν—Il. Θ. l. 46, 52.

† I see that in the Observations on Mr. Le Chevalier's Treatise (p. 22), this passage is adduced in proof of the same point. The sentence does not, how-

The part of Ida called Lectum, stretched down to the sea, for there Juno and Somnus, on their passage from Lemnos, first left the waves.

Ἴδην δ' ἱκέσθην πολυπίδακα, μητέρα θηρῶν
Λεκτόν· Ὄθι πρῶτον λιπέτην ἅλα. Il. Ξ. 283.

But not only the promontory, but part of the hill towards the summits of the mountain was so called; since *the woods of Lectum trembled under the feet of the deities as they ascended;* and these woods were not far beneath Gargarus, for in them Somnus concealed himself on a pine-tree, to assist the machinations of the goddess, who advanced swiftly to the seat of Jupiter.

Ἥρη δὲ κραιπνῶς προσεβήσατο Γάργαρον ἄκρον
Ἴδης ὑψηλῆς. Il. Ξ. 292.

Somnus may be supposed to have been at hand, and not far from the top of Ida.

Now would Juno have gone from Imbros to Lectum, in order to arrive at the seat of Jupiter, who was looking down upon the plain of Troy, if that plain had been near Sigéum, which is almost as far from the promontory Lectum, as it is from the mountain which is the summit of the Idæan range? Strabo indeed calls Gargarus the top of Ida*, notwithstanding he gives the name of Cotylus to the hill where the Scamander, together with the Granicus and Æse-

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ever, admit solely of such an interpretation: it may imply, that the god could see the whole range of Ida, *and could see also the city of Priam and the ships of the Greeks.*

* Lib. xiii. p. 583.

pus*, has its source, which is found by actual observation to be the highest point of the whole Idæan chain, and about seven hundred and seventy-five toises above the level of the sea. The town Gargara was on a high promontory, twenty-seven Roman miles from Lectum, and at the mouth of the Adramyttian gulf, properly so called. The summit Gargarus may have been above it, on the ridges either to the north-north-east in the direction of Cotylus, or to the north-west towards Lectum. Antandros, the town, was not far from Gargara, for it was only thirty-five Roman miles from Alexandria Troas; but a mountain called Cilleum was between the height Gargarus and Antandros†; so that Cilleum most probably may have been the ridge in the northern direction from Gargara, and Gargarus the north-western summits.

On the whole, there seems no positive authority for supposing Cotylus and Gargarus to be the same mountain‡, notwithstanding the decisions of Hesychius, Vibius Sequester, and Macrobius, and the dreams of the grammarians, who, to strengthen their hypothesis, had recourse to the last resource of criticism, an absurd etymological conjecture §.

* Lib. xiii. p. 602.

† Lib. xiii. p. 612.

‡ Pococke says, that "Gargarum was *another* summit of Mount Ida, probably more to the south than Cotylus."—Observations in Asia Minor, p. 107.

§ Vid. not. Phil. Jac. Mausacci. in Plutarchi Fluv. p. 76, vol. ii. Plut. Op. Om. edit. Paris, 1624. "Γαργαρον, ita dictum quasi Καρκαρον caput capitis ut somniant grammatici."

Another passage of the same annotator, quotes Vibius Sequester, the author of the Treatise *de Montibus*, mentioned above, as saying that the Xanthus or Scamander flows into the Propontis (Xanthus Troiæ, Ilio proximus, ex Ida

Again—Jupiter seated on Ida, turns his eyes from the scene of action towards the land of the Thracians and Mysians. By which, as Strabo in his seventh book observes*, Homer must be understood to mean the *Thracians separated from the Troad by the Hellespont, and the European Mysians.*

Αὐτὸς δὲ πάλιν τρέπεν ὄσσε φαεινὼ
Νόσφιν ἐφ' ἱπποπόλων Θρηκῶν καθορώμενος αἶαν
Μυσῶν τ' ἀγχεμάχων . . . . . Il. N. ver. 3.

Under correction from better judgments, I venture, however, to hint, that when the geographer explained πάλιν, *back*, by ὄπισθεν αὐτῶν (sc. τῶν Τρώων) *behind, or at the back of the Trojans*, it was in conformity with his notion of the site of Troy, but that the more apparent interpretation of the passage is, that Jupiter looked *back, behind him*, or at least in a direction entirely different from that of his usual object. The expression τρέπεν ὄσσε, "*he turned his eyes*," the word πάλιν, "*back*," and νόσφιν, in the Latin version *seorsum*†, and in our translation "*apart*," will be hardly thought to signify that he "lifted his eyes and looked *over and beyond* the Trojan plain;" which must have been the case if the scene of action was on the shore of the straits. But

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monte defluens Simoenti junctus in Propontidem funditur—not: ad Scamandrum, ibid.); by which a judgment may be formed of the reliance to be placed on his decisions in any topographical nicety. He may possibly mean what is called the Propontic Hellespont, above Abydus, but is wrong even in that case.

* Page 295.

† "Se versum."—See Dr. Clarke's note to verse 349, Il. A.

supposing the god to be looking towards Lectum, he must then have turned his eyes *back*, and *apart* from Troy, in order to take a view of Thrace and Mysia. This consideration, if it had been suggested by any better authority than my own, I should regard as decisive of the conclusion that Homer's plain of Troy cannot have been farther north than the country near Alexandria Troas, and that it lay a little to the south of west from Cotylus, beneath Gargarus, a height of Ida, the roots of which formed the promontory Lectum.

Let me add that, whatever was commonly thought respecting the pretensions of the Rhœtean shores, we find a trace of the main Grecian army having been near Lectum; for an altar to the twelve gods, raised by Agamemnon, was shown on that promontory*; and as the king of kings remained stationary before Troy, and did not undertake any expeditions against the tributary cities†, it is not likely that his altar should be at Lectum if his troops were at Sigéum. It may be asked, if the Scamander of Strabo is not the Scamander of Homer, why should his Lectum be the promontory of that name in the Iliad? I do not see how this question is to be answered; but the conclusion cannot establish any thing in favour of the river, although it may destroy the pretensions of the mountain. The arrangements of the Helladian Greeks, in fixing the scenes of the Homeric poems, were extremely fanciful: for example, Ægе, where was the palace of

* Strab. lib. xiii. p. 605.

† "For the chief expeditions made to other places were under Achilles, which are mentioned Iliad, I. 326, Odyss. T. 105; and at these times we are told in express terms, that Agamemnon, and consequently the main army, remained before Troy."—Bryant, Observations, p. 6.

Neptune, and from which some thought the Ægean took its name, according to them was in Eubœa, at the place afterwards called Carystus * ; so that the god of the sea, when he took four strides from Samothrace to Ægæ †, went fifty leagues out of his way to mount his chariot, since he might have reached the deep cave between Imbros and Tenedos, where he left his horses, in one-fourth of that distance, and by going in a direct line from his station on the mountain towards Troy.

Notwithstanding the objections which have been made to the citation of Virgil by Mr. Bryant ‡, as an evidence in this inves-

* Strab. lib. viii. p. 386.

† Iliad, N. ver. 15—35.

‡ It does not seem a necessary consequence, as that learned person thought, that Virgil's city was immediately under Antandros, because Æneas built his ships in that situation—

sub ipsa
Antandro et Phrygiæ . . . . montibus Idæ.

If it had been any where in the district of Antandros (for I do not find there was, as Mr. Bryant asserts, a mountain of that name*), it would have been to the south-east of Lectum ; nor could it be in face of Tenedos, nor burnish the Sigean straits with its flames. Virgil expressly informs us, that at the destruction of the city the Trojans were dispersed ; and that a number of fugitives collected under Anchises, who, when the fleet was ready, set sail at the beginning of summer. That Æneas and his Trojans did not depart from Troy, but from a post which they occupied on one of the summits of Ida, is part of the story which Dionysius of Halicarnassus thought most probable, and which the ancient writer Hellanicus followed in his history of the Trojans †; and there is no incongruity in supposing that, flying from the burning city, he went towards a region in a different quarter from that which was the station of the Grecian fleet

* See Strab. lib. xiii. p. 606. † Dion. Halicar. lib. i. cap. 40.

tigation, from the supposition that he was never on the spot, I cannot but consider the authority of the Latin poet as deriving the more weight from the very circumstance, on account of which it has been so much disregarded. Had he ever visited the shores of the Hellespont, it is probable that he would have followed the commonly-received opinion of the Greeks of Phrygia, and that, besides Sigéum and Rhœtéum, he would have introduced their positions and notorious objects. As it is, we must conclude that he supposed himself following his great prototype, in placing his Troy and Trojan plain opposite to Tenedos; and we may fairly think it of some importance to be supported by so great a name, in preferring the country about Alexandria Troas to that near Ilium, for the site of the Homeric city and the scene of the war.

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and army, and embarked at some distance from Troy. In the interpretation of the words of Æneas, "I leave the port and the fields where Troy stood"—

Portusque relinquo
Et campos ubi Troja fuit;"

we may reduce them to the language of prose, and understand the hero simply to say, "I set sail, and quit my country." There is by no means any necessity for connecting the "port" with "the fields where Troy stood." How Æneas came to raise a large tomb for Deiphobus on the Rhœtean shore, unless that shore was near his Troy, is indeed a question not easily to be answered; nor can it be very well accounted for, why the spot chosen for this monument was the very station of the Greeks, who might be supposed to interrupt the pious labours of the hero. According, however, to the compact between the Greeks and the Trojans under Æneas, the conquerors were to facilitate the evacuation of the country by the latter *, and might not have forbidden the funeral rites: or Virgil may have used the epithet Rhœtean, to signify the shores of the Trojan plain.

* Dion. Halicar. lib. i. cap. 39.

A very general persuasion in favour of this position obtained amongst the learned of modern times. Casaubon, in his commentary on Strabo, evidently shows that he thought the shores of the identical Trojan plain to be the land on the continent nearest to Tenedos; for he remarks, that Strabo gives a shorter distance between the main land and the island than Pliny, which, as the latter is talking of Sigéum, is perfectly reconcileable with fact, and would not have been noticed by any one who did not conceive Sigéum in front of Tenedos*. Indeed, the Sigean shore, although not Sigéum, is said by Pliny to be opposite to Tenedos†; and the spot occupied afterwards by Alexandria Troas was named, so we learn from Strabo, Sigia‡. A town, or district, between the Sigean and the Alexandrian territory, and in face of Tenedos, was called Achæum§; and Dr. Pococke conceived the port of the Greeks to be in that quarter: Mr. Bryant does indeed affirm, that it was so denominated from being the supposed station of the Grecian ships, and the place of the encampment, quoting Strabo as his authority‖. Here, however, it does not appear that he is held out by the geographer; at least I have not been able to fix upon any thing in the three places where it is mentioned in his thirteenth book, conveying such a meaning. Strabo does seem to make it the boundary of the plain country of the Troad to the

* Ὀυ πλέιϑς τῶν τετταράκοντα σταδιών διέχουσα τῆς ἠπέιρϑ. Plinius ait abesse Tenedum a Sigeo XII. M et D pass: quæ stadia sunt aliquunto plura." —P. 226, Comment. et Castig.

† "Adversa Sigeo littori adjacet Tenedus."—Lib. v. cap. 30.

‡ Σιγια.—Lib. xiii. 604.

§ Αχαιιον.—Sic leg. Casaub. Com. et Castig. in lib. xiii. pp. 596, 604.

‖ Observations on a Treatise, p. 24.

south*; but having placed the port of the Greeks before the Sigean promontory, expressly puts Achæum after that headland†.

It has been shown, I believe, that the ancient topographers looked for the scene of the Iliad on the shores of the straits; and that the present face of the country corresponds sufficiently with their accounts, to enable us not only to understand, but to form a judgment on the accuracy of, their conclusions respecting the city of Priam and the plain of Troy. Whether the fable of the poet was founded on fact, or was altogether fiction (a point which it has been my wish entirely to leave out of this enquiry), I see no necessity for allowing, with Mr. Blackwell‡, that Homer, although he may have been acquainted with Phrygia, had a personal knowledge of the precise site of his war, or had fixed upon any distinct spot for the scene of his action. It is true, indeed, that an inimitable air of truth is to be found in his description; that he is simple, distinct, and every where consistent with himself; but this is a portion of his art, this is the characteristic of his genius: it is an excellence less likely perhaps to be found in a painter of real scenery, than in one who trusts altogether to his invention and is not encumbered with an adjustment of actual localities; and the poet is equally minute, particular, and, it may be almost said, credible in his detail, when he conducts his delighted guests into the coral caves of the ocean, or the silver palaces of Olympus. It is hardly necessary to add, that he cannot be affected by any of the difficulties attendant upon the examination of the question, and that there is no confusion in the

* Lib. xiii. p. 596.

† Ibid. pp. 603, 604.

‡ An Enquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer, Sect. xii. p. 293.

descriptions of the Iliad, except when they are compared with the topography of the Troad.

This confusion began to arise the moment a question was instituted on the actual identity of the plain before Ilium with the plain of Troy. The first enquirers were the first to start objections. The conjectures of all were combated, and if Demetrius of Scepsis attacked the claims of Ilium, doubtless some critic of that town showed those of his Village of the Iliéans to be equally unfounded.

The author of the Enquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer, talking of Demetrius's commentary, says, " there he ascertained the real places of Homer's descriptions, and pointed out the scenes of the remarkable actions. He showed where the Greeks had drawn up their ships; where Achilles encamped with his Myrmidons; where Hector drew up the Trojans; and from what country came the auxiliaries*." It is astonishing with what boldness these things are said, and with what facility they are admitted. If any judgment is to be formed of Demetrius's whole work from the allusions to, and extracts from, it in Strabo, he destroyed rather than established the received opinions on this subject, and as for the particular points above mentioned, excepting the last, we have no hint that he touched upon them at all, but may rather conclude that he did not, since they are not noticed by the geographer as being topics of controversy. The last seems to have been the sole object of his thirty books, although it is here put at the end of, and as a secondary adjunct to, the other parts of the detail.

* Sect. xii. p. 295.

Those who have seen the plains near Cape Janissary, or even have looked at the map of the country, may, with Homer before them, be able to find objections to the supposed site of the war which have escaped Mr. Bryant and other enquirers, but they may perhaps be inclined to think, that if the Greeks of Phrygia were wrong in their conjectures, no such discovery will be ever made of the true positions as shall be allowed on all hands to be unobjectionable. The present plain of the Mendere towards Cape Janissary, is certainly the plain of Troy of those Greeks; but the only resemblance which a three weeks residence on the spot, with the poet in my hand, enabled me to find out between that plain and Homer's scene, was that which in the eyes of Fluellen, made the native country of Alexander so like the birth-place of Henry the Fifth—"There is a river in Macedon, and there is also moreover a river at Monmouth.*." Yet the river, whose doubtful fountain makes us hesitate before we follow its course, after appearing to guide us in its progress, runs us into a labyrinth just as we come to the end of the clue: for the same description of its mouth which shows that the Mendere is the Scamander of Strabo, convinces us that the Scamander of Strabo was not the Xanthus of Homer, or that the Rhœtean promontory was not the station of Ajax†. But notwithstanding this insuperable discrepancy, the Greeks, as we have seen, pointed out not only the port of Agamemnon's army, but their naval station and the place

* Henry V. act iv. scene vii.

† "Homer intimates very clearly and repeatedly, that it (the river) was to the left, and served as a barrier to the north." . . . . . "Whoever, therefore, places Achilles upon the Scamander, and Ajax and his troops at a distance from it, is greatly mistaken."—Bryant's Dissertation, pp. 148, 149, 150.

of their encampment*; the last of which at least was a landmark that one might have thought would have disappeared, when the seven rivers overwhelmed the Grecian intrenchment. These objects were created by the same enthusiasm which believed that the *beech-tree* near the tomb of Ilus was still to be seen more than a thousand years after the Trojan war; and there is no reason why we should join with the Phrygian Greeks in their belief in the one instance rather than in the other. Throughout the whole of this region, there was not, as Lucan tells us, a rock without a name.

. . . . . Nullum est sine nomine Saxum. Pharsal. Lib. ix.

Whatever could bear the least resemblance to any object of the Homeric landscape, became at once a distinguished feature in the future delineations of the Troad; and thus there was given a locality to all the transactions of that grand event, in the establishment of which the Greeks of every succeeding age were so much interested, that almost the last of their countrymen, when recording the real victories of Salamis and Platæa, still persevered in calling it the most glorious and the greatest deed of Greece—κάλλιστον καὶ μέγιστον τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἔργον†. These resemblances might be found in almost any part of the Hellespontine Phrygia, and no conclusion can be drawn from any such accidental coincidences.

When Mr. Horace Walpole had finished the story of his famous romance, he looked into the map of the kingdom of Na-

* Ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ ναίσαθρον, καὶ ὁ Αχαιῶν λιμὴν, καὶ τὸ Αχαϊκὸν στρατόπεδον. Lib. xiii. p. 595.

† Plutarch. See Censura, &c. Observations on the Author, prefixed to Dictys Cretensis de Bello Trojano.

ples for a well-sounding name, whence it should take its title, and fixed upon Otranto. Some time after the appearance of the book, a lady who had travelled in Italy, sent him a picture of the castle at Otranto, in which there were two small windows one over the other and looking into the country that suited exactly to the small chambers from one of which his heroine Matilda heard the young peasant singing beneath her. Now Mr. Walpole had not been aware that there was any castle at Otranto*.

A little ingenuity and a good deal of enthusiasm would find the wished-for objects in any spot where there was a wide plain, extending to the shore backed by high mountains, and watered by two streams. In the present case, points of resemblance are triumphantly noticed and insisted upon, whilst irreconcileable diversities are easily explained away, and referred to the change caused by the revolution of ages. The modern supporters of the hypothesis make the sea feel their power, and roll obedient rivers through new channels, with greater facility than Cyrus or the soldiers of Alaric. Mr. Wood finding none of the scenes of the Iliad below Bournabashi, adds nearly twelve miles of solid land to Phrygia †; and a late author marks out the bed in which the Mendere once flowed, being pushed by the rivulet of Bournabashi towards the Rhoetéan promontory, and not as it now does, and did in Strabo's time, near the Sigean side of the plain ‡.

Not less liberty has been taken with the human frame than

* Lord Orford's Works, Miscellaneous Letters, No. 15, to Lady Craven vol. v. p. 663.

† Great part of the plain below Bournabashi must have been created since Homer's time.—Description of the Troad, p. 340.

‡ Topography of Troy, pp. 42, 43.

with the land and sea; and the modern topographers appear to feel the same as the artist Bouchardon, who told Count Caylus, that after reading Homer men seemed to him to be fifteen feet high, and all nature enlarged*. Lycophron confined the stature of the hero of the Iliad to nine cubits, and in Quintus Calaber†, Achilles was the only giant of the Greeks; yet not only this warrior, but the whole of the army have, like the spectre which appeared to Apollonius‡, grown upon the moderns, and become capable of fighting over a distance of at least forty miles in a day: an astonishing faculty in our eyes—*οἱ νῦν βροτοί εἰσιν ἐπιχθόνιοι*—but only in proportion with the other physical powers of those who could make their exhortations heard distinctly one mile off, and could distinguish a man's voice at three §.

* Tableaux tirés de l'Iliade, et de l'Odysse d'Homer, p. 227. Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope, vol. i. sect. vi. p. 365.

† Ὅιος ὑπερφίαλος Τιτυὸς πέσεν.—Lib. iii. ver. 391.

‡ Philostratus, in his Life of Apollonius (lib. iv. cap. 5) relates, that the spectre of Achilles appeared to that sophist, and was at first five, but grew to twelve cubits high.—See Bayle, article Achilles, note N.

§ These difficulties were first started by Mr. Bryant, and have been since unrelentingly followed up by the author of an essay in the Edinburgh Review, No. XII. July 1803, p. 237, Vol. 6. In the day on which Patroclus was killed, the Greeks passed four times over the space between Troy and their camp.—(Observat. on a Treatise, pp. 2, 3, 4.) Mr. Le Chevalier's Bournabashi or Troy, is at least twelve miles from his naval station,—multiply that distance by four, and we have forty-eight miles—deduct the eight, "not to overrate the distance, and the Greek and Trojan armies fought over a space of forty miles in one day." Now it is not saying too much to aver, that no whole army of one hundred thousand men ever actually fought over half of that distance in a day; and it is needless to add another word against the pretensions

It has been remarked as a singular fact, that the map which Mr. Pope composed, merely from the perusal of the Iliad, is no

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of Bournabashi.—Pausanias indeed relates (lib. i. p. 66), that when the sea broke into the tomb of Ajax, the knee-pan of that hero was found to be as big as a quoit or discus, yet these Greeks were nothing to those with whom Nestor fought. Every thing has been undergoing a continued degeneracy since the creation, and well did Gil Blas' master, Don Pacheco, observe—Les pêches du tems d'Adam devoient être d'une grosseur merveilleuse. Attempts have been made to render the account of Agamemnon's voice being heard from the centre to the two extremities of the camp, and of Achilles distinguishing Hector's voice at his station of Ajax (Il. Θ. v. 222, and Π. v. 127), somewhat probable by contracting the breadth of the supposed place of encampment; but wherever the ships of Ulysses were, we are told that the reputed station of Ajax was at Rhœtéum (stad. xxx. intervallo a Sigæo, et *ipso in statione classis suæ*, Plin. cap. xxx. l. 5), and that of Achilles at Sigéum (*ubi classis ejus steterat in Sigæo*, Plin. ibid.) and no contraction of the Port of the Greeks will affect the distance between the stations of the two heroes on the promontories, which, it is allowed, have not altered their positions since Pliny wrote. If any accretion of soil has been caused by the river, the distance from the middle of the bay to the two extremities was, as the essay in the above-mentioned Review observes (p. 264), of course greater formerly than now; and the power of Agamemnon's voice more extraordinary than even present appearances would suggest. After every possible shuffling of the positions, the Scamander will flow into the port of the Greeks, making first a marsh (Dein Portus Achivorum, in quem influit Xanthus Simoenti junctus Stagnum prius faciens, Plin. ibid.) between the two promontories, and consequently through some part of the station of the Greek army, which can never be reconciled with any thing said by Homer of that river. It is with no less dismay than astonishment, that I find in the Carmina Homerica (p. 52) a direct eulogy of Le Chevalier, Morritt, and Gell, somewhat at the expence of the ancient geographers, and to the utter discomfiture of those "*hawkers of trifles*" (nugarum venditatoribus) Bryant and Richardson. For noticing this opinion of Mr. R. P. Knight's, I should perhaps be coupled with "*the fairest of critics*," did I not hint

bad representation of the plain of the Mendere. It would be singular if it was a fact, but it is not. The author of the Topography of Troy* says he has not "*erred much*" in placing his Callicolone near Tchiblak; but Mr. Pope's map has no modern names; and if he did not make any considerable mistake, why do we find the Callicolone of Mr. Gell at Atche-Keui, four miles from Tchiblak by his own map? The fact is, that Mr. Pope's picture (for it is not a map) bears not the least resemblance to the spot in question. Mr. Wood thought the change of position between Sigéum and Rhœtéum, must have been caused by the inversion of the engraver's plate; but there is no necessity for adopting such a notion. Our great poet was not sensible of the difficulty or objection, which, as there was a consistency of error in his plan, was of so little importance, that he explained his own descriptions to the perfect satisfaction of himself, and also of his readers until the discovery made by Mr. Wood.

This is a sufficient proof, in my mind, of the facility with which these plausible arrangements may be made, and is an argument against the ready adoption of any theories applied to the spot in question, however ingenious, and at first sight satisfactory. If Mr. Pope's chart answers to the descriptive part of the Iliad, without having the least likeness to the Trojan plain of Strabo and the moderns, the consequent inference must be more fa-

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at the same time, that were my conclusions drawn solely from an investigation of the subject in a library, and not from an actual survey of the disputed country, I should not of course presume to set them in contrast with the decision of that distinguished critic.

* P. 55.

vourable to the ingenuity of our poet than to the conjectures of the topographers. The praise and the blame bestowed upon him by Mr. Le Chevalier, who has devoted a chapter to the examination of his map, are equally futile and unfounded. He censures him for not having given a good representation of the plain of the Mendere, when Mr. Pope had only endeavoured to follow Homer. He praises him, by saying "his notion is perfectly right respecting the situation of the Grecian camp between the two promontories, the confluence of the two rivers at no great distance from the ships, the general shape of the plain; the course of the Simois of greater extent than that of the Scamander, the distance of the city from the sea, and the two sources of the Scamander in the neighbourhood of the city*."

Now it is really laughable to observe, that in the map the camp is not between the two promontories; that there is in the actual plain no confluence of two such rivers as are traced by Mr. Pope; that the general shape of the plain is nothing like that in the plate; that in making the course of the Simois of greater extent than that of the Scamander he was entirely wrong; that as to the distance of the city from the sea, the translator's plan gives no scale, but represents it not far from the shore; and Mr. Le Chevalier could know as little about its actual site as Mr. Pope; and lastly, that the poet, as well as the traveller, having, if the plain of the Mendere is the plain of Troy, mistaken the comparative length of the Simois and Scamander, was consequently quite erroneous in his delineation of the sources of the latter river.

* Description of the Plain of Troy, p. 170.

It may fairly move our spleen to behold the author of the English Iliad, the model of severe taste and just criticism, enlisted by a French enthusiast, to fight under the banners of ignorance and presumption.

Lady M. W. Montague declared, that, viewing from Sigéum the celebrated plains and rivers, she admired "the exact geography of Homer, whom she had in her hand;" she found "almost every epithet he gives to a mountain, or a plain, still just for it*;" and "passed several hours in as agreeable cogitations as ever Don Quixote had on Mount Montesinos." We may by this passage form an estimate of this pleasing writer's actual knowledge of Homer, and appreciate the real value of her testimony in favour of these famous plains. Had, however, every subsequent traveller contented himself with such cogitations, and launched into these elegant and indefinite encomiums on the poet, without endeavouring by researches and surveys, to illustrate, and, if I may use the expression, authenticate the Iliad, the doubts of the learned had never been awakened; Bryant had never written.

Trojaque nunc stares, Priamique arx alta maneres.

Having ventured upon debateable ground, I beg leave to conclude these remarks by touching upon a question so much connected with the subject in hand, that a satisfactory decision of it would be of the utmost importance, in arranging a chart of the ancient Troad. Much of the whole question relative to Homer's Hellespont, (which has been as grievous and bitter a river to the topographers, as it was to Xerxes—δολερὸς καὶ ἀλμυρὸς

* Letter XLIV.

ποταμὸς) must be necessarily affected by, and indeed depend upon, the spot which we may suppose he chose for his plain of Troy. If the stations of Ajax and Achilles were intended by h im to be on the promontories afterwards called Rhœtéum and Sigéum, the "broad," the "boundless," the "rushing" Hellespont, was the embouchure of the straits of the Dardanelles, and the view of the expanse of waters from the station of Achilles, might justify all the above epithets. However we may attempt to dispose of the word ΠΛΑΤΥΣ, "broad," which has been considered the great difficulty, ΑΠΕΙΡΩΝ, "boundless," will still remain, and it is worth while to observe, that Virgil saw no reason for altering the common signification of the first word, which he appears to have translated when he calls the very sea in question the "*broad Sigean straits*"—

. . . . . Sigea igni freta lata relucent. Æn. lib. ii.

Mr. Bryant asserts, that "in none of the instances (quoted by him) in which the word Hellespont is used in Homer, did the poet allude to the canal of Abydus*." Perhaps he did not allude to the strait between Abydus and Sestos; but when, in a passage not referred to by that author†, he calls "*the rushing Hellespont the boundary of the Thracians whom Acamas and Peirôs led to Troy*," the canal does seem to be referred to; for that is the only portion of the sea which, with a reference to Asia, can

* Dissertation, p. 134.

† Αὐτὰρ Θρήϊκας ἦγ' Ακάμας καὶ Πείρως ἥρως
Ὅσσους Ἑλλήσποντος ἀγάῤῥοος ἐντὸς ἔέργει.
Il. B. ver. 845.

be properly said to *confine* Thrace; and in this sense it is understood by Strabo, in his seventh book*, who uses the very epithet so much canvassed, in the following sentence: "*The Mysians (the Asiatic)—being in the quarter of the Troad—and separated from Thrace by the "broad" Hellespont*†." This seems to show that the canal of Abydus was the Hellespont, and that it was thought worthy of the appellation given to it by the poet, but it does not fix the termination of that canal, or sea, at Sigéum. It does appear that in latter times, the strait beginning from Sestos and Abydus, and extending towards the Propontis as far as Callipolis on one hand, and Lampsacus on the other, was called the Hellespont, and in this sense it is always taken by Pliny‡.

According to this arrangement, the Ægean sea would come up as high as Abydus. Herodotus gives a length of four hundred stadia to the Hellespont, and appears to allude to the canal only§; but although in one place he talks of that one of Xerxes' bridges *which was towards the Ægean*‖, yet he does not say that the strait did not reach below Abydus; nor do I find that Thucydides un-

* Page 295.

† Μυσῶν . . . . ὁμόρων τῇ Τρωάδι . . . . διεργομένων δ' ἀπὸ τῆς Θράκης πλατεῖ Ἑλλησπόντω.

‡ Primas angustias Hellespontum vocant. Hac Xerxes Persarum rex, constrato in navibus ponte, duxit exercitum.—Lib. iv. cap. xii. p. 58. Et Hellespontum, septem ut diximus stadiis Europam ab Asia dividens, quatuor illic inter se contrarias urbes habet. In Europâ Callipolim et Seston, in Asia Lampsacum et Abydon.—Lib. iv. cap. 11, p. 55; see also lib. vi. cap. 32, p. 80.

§ Lib. iv. cap. 85; lib. vii. cap. 35, 36.

‖ Κατὰ δὲ τὴν πρὸς τὸ Αἰγαῖον.—Hist. lib. vii. cap. 55.

derstood that city to be at the mouth of the Ægean, and consequently the south-western boundary of the strait*.

From several places in the first book of Xenophon's Hellenics, and particularly in the opening of it, the mouth of the Hellespont seems to have been at least as low down as Rhœtéum†; for after Dorieus had entered the Hellespont, the battle between him and the Athenian Triremes was fought in sight of Mindarus, who was at Ilium.

The naval actions mentioned in this book, which took place after the twenty-first year of the Peloponesian war, are generally allowed to have been fought in the Hellespont; and in one of them, when Thrasyllus and Thrasybulus beat Mindarus, the Athenian fleet manœuvred along the shore from Eleus to Sestos, and the Lacedemonian from Sigéum to Abydus.

A later author, Diodorus Siculus, although he calls the strait where the armies of Xerxes and Alexander crossed, the Hellespont‡,

* Ἄβυδος ἐν τῷ Ἑλλησπόντῳ ἀφίσταται πρὸς Δερκυλίδαν καὶ Φαρνάβαζον.—Thucyd. Hist. lib. viii. cap. 62, p. 94, vol. v. Bipont. edit.

Σηστὸν πόλιν τῆς Χερσονήσου . . . . καθίστατο φρούριον καὶ φυλακὴν τῶ παντὸς Ἑλλησπόντου.—Ibid. p. 95.

Οἱ δὲ Αθηναῖοι καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ Ἰωνίας καὶ Ἑλλησπόντου ξύμμαχοι.—Lib. i. cap. 89, p. 124, vol. i.

Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο (taking Sestos) ἀπεπλευσαν ἐξ Ἑλλησπόντω.—Lib. i. cap. 9, p. 16, vol. i.

† Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. i. p. 428, et seq. edit. Leunclav.

‡ Αλέξανδρος δὲ μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως πορευθεὶς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλησπόντον διεβίβασε τὴν δύναμιν.—Lib. xvii. cap. i. p. 570.

Χέρξες δὲ ὡς ἐπύθετο τὸν Ἑλλησπόντον ἐζεῦγχθαι . . . . . and just afterwards, ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντου τὴν πορείαν ποιησάμενος.—Lib. ii. p. 243.

does not determine any thing as to the length or boundaries of the canal. Arrian's Hellespont was near Arisbe*.

The authorities here quoted do perhaps appear to confine the extremity of the Hellespont to the Sigean canal; but a good deal may be said to show, that it was the part of the Ægean sea which washed the shores of Phrygia Minor, beginning from Abydus and ending at Lectum. We cannot suppose with Mr. Wood, that Homer thought the Hellespont to be actually a river, any more than Xerxes who called it so.

In the account of Æneas, copied from Hellanicus, a very ancient historian, by Dionysius of Halicarnassus†, that hero is said to sail from the Trojan shores *over the Hellespont* to the peninsula of Pallene in Thrace. In after times he would have been said to sail over the Ægean sea, or the gulf Melas. Some of the Mysians were called Hellespontine‡. Mysia was not near the canal of Abydus, but to the south-east of the Troad; so that when any of its people were called Hellespontine, it was, probably, because they lived towards the shore of that sea afterwards named the Ægean. The passage quoted below from Pliny, may have been the reason why Macrobius, in a sentence given by Mr. Bryant§, calls Mysia a province of the Hellespont. "Gargara sunt in Mysia, quæ est Hellesponti Provincia‖."

Let us appeal to Strabo. I am surprised to find Mr. Bryant

* Ἐξ Ἰλιοῦ δὲ ἐς Ἀρίσβην ἦκεν, ἧ πᾶσα ἡ δύναμις αὐτῷ διαβεβηκυῖα τὸν Ἑλλησπόντον ἐστρατοπεδεύκει.—Lib. i. cap. 12, p. 27.

† Lib. i. cap. 39.

‡ "In Mysia Abretini et Hellespontii appellati."—Plin. lib. v. cap. 78.

§ Dissert. p. 134.

‖ L. v. c. xx. p. 362.

allowing, that this geographer favoured the opinion of the Hellespont being the canal from Abydus to Lampsacus *; for it will appear by the following passages that he, on the contrary, makes Abydus the boundary towards the Propontis, and not towards the Ægean. "*It lies (Abydus) on the mouth of the Propontis and the Hellespont* †."

"*It is that part of the coast of the Propontis from the straits of Abydus to the Æsepus* ‡."

"*In this quarter (the Thracian Chersonese) is the strait of seven stadia at Sestos and Abydus, through which the Ægean and the Hellespont empty themselves to the north into another sea called the Propontis* §."

It will be seen also from these passages, that the Hellespont is not solely the Abydean strait, but that it is a sea which has one of its outlets through that strait. This notion is further supported by the following places in the same author. Talking of an opinion of Strato, the geographer says that naturalist thought that the Euxine had burst its way through an isthmus to Byzantium ‖, "*and had thence fallen into the Propontis and*

* Dissert. p. 133.

† Ἐπίκειται δὲ τῷ στώματι τῆς Προποντίδος καὶ τῷ Ἑλλησπόντου.—Lib. xiii. p. 594.

‡ Ἔστι δὲ αὕτη (subaud. παραλία) μὲν τῆς Προποντίδος ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ Αβυδὸν στενῶν ἐπὶ τὸν Αισηπον.—Lib. xiii. p. 583. See also lib. xiii. pp. 581, 584, where the same coast is decisively called the coast of the Propontis.

§ Κατὰ ταύτην ἐστὶ τὸ ἑπταςάδιον τὸ κατὰ Σηστὸν καὶ Ἀβυδὸν, δι' οὗ τὸ Αἰγαῖον καὶ ὁ Ἑλλησπόντος ἐκδίδωσι πρὸς ἄρκτον εἰς ἄλλο πέλαγος, ὃ καλεῦσι Προποντίδα.—Lib. ii. p. 124.

‖ Εἶτ' ἐκπεσεῖν τὸ ὕδωρ εἰς τὴν Προποντίδα, καὶ τὸν Ἑλλησπόντον.—Lib. i. p. 49.

Hellespont." If the Hellespont had been the strait or canal, it would probably have been said, "into the Propontis, and *through*, or *by* the Hellespont into the Ægean." In his second book, p. 124, enumerating the seas, he has these words: "*The next is the Ægean, with the gulf Melas and the Hellespont* *." By a passage in page 92 of the same book we learn, that the gulf Melas was that northern end of the sea loosely called the Ægean, included by a line drawn from the Sunian promontory to Cape Mastusia, the point of the Thracian Chersonese, which did not consequently take in any of the sea that washed the shores of Phrygia Minor. The division of the sea Melas from the sea Hellespont, may be collected also from the excerpts of the seventh book: "*The Thracian Chersonese makes (or is bounded by) three seas, the Propontis to the north-east, the Hellespont to the east, and the gulf Melas to the south-west* †." Now that the canal of Abydus is not here alluded to, will be seen by looking at the map, for that canal is in the same line with the Propontis, and would not therefore be put in a different quarter of the compass. We may add also, that the Hellespont of Strabo was the western limit, or, as has been said above, the sea that washed the shores of the lesser Phrygia, which was on that account called the Hellespontine. Mentioning the boundaries of Troas, he says, "*But the sea to the west is the Hellespont, in which quarter is also the Ægean* ‡." It is clear that no one could call the canal of Aby-

* Τὸ δὲ συνεχὲς τὸ Αἰγαῖον ἐστίν ἤδη σὺν τῷ Μέλανι κόλπῳ, καὶ τῷ Ἑλλησπόντῳ.

† Ἡ ἐν Θράκη χερρόνησος τρεῖς ποιεῖ θαλάσσας, Προποντίδα ἐκ βορρᾶ, Ἑλλησπόντον ἐξ ἀναταλῶν, καὶ τὸν Μέλανα κόλπον ἐκ νότου.

‡ Ἡ δὲ ἑσπέρια θάλαττα, ὅ τε Ελλήσποντος ἔστιν ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὸ Αἰγαῖον πέλαγος.—Lib. xiii. p. 583.

dus the sea to the west of Phrygia. In another place he is enumerating the districts of Asia within the Halys, which he says contain towards the Pontus and the Propontis, the Paphlagonians, Bythinians, and Mysians; "*and Phrygia, called Phrygia on the Hellespont, in which is the Troad; and Æolia and Ionia, upon the Ægean and the following sea**." By which it appears, that the Hellespont is brought as low down as Lectum, the northern boundary of Æolia; and (unless any contradictory passage has been overlooked) that the whole line of coast to this point from Abydus, was considered by Strabo as being the shores of the Hellespont, not of the Ægean: which was what was undertaken to be proved.

Dionysius Periegetes supports this notion: he puts the mouths of the strait or Hellespont between Imbros and Tenedos†; and he conveys the same meaning in verses 536, 537, 538, and expressly in verses 820, 821, and calls the Hellespont *great*‡. The ancients seem to have overlooked the angle of Phrygia at the Sigean promontory; for Strabo § talks of the shore from Abydus to Lectum, as if it had been from one end to the other entirely in the same direction. This will, in some measure, account for the uncertainty respecting the southern limits of the Hellespont.

* Τὴν ἐφ' Ἑλλήσποντῳ λεγομένην Φρυγίαν, ἧς ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ Τροάς: πρὸς δὲ τῷ Αἰγαίῳ καὶ τῇ ἐφεξῆς θαλάττα τήν τε Αἰολίδα καὶ τὴν Ιωνίαν.—Lib. ii. p. 129.

† Οὖρον δ' ἐς Τένεδον τεκμαίρεται ἐσχατόωσαν
Ἴμβρον ἔχων ἐτέρωθεν ὅθεν στενὸς ἔργεται αὐλών.
Ver. 138, p. 8, edit. Hillam, Lond. 1679.

‡ Τήν δὲ μέτ' Αἰολίδος παραπέπταται ἤθεα γαίης
Αἰγαίε παρὰ χεῖλος ὑπὲρ μέγαν Ἑλλήσποντον.

§ Lib. xiii. p. 581.

LETTER XLIII.

The Frigate leaves Cape Janissary—Sails into the Mouth of the Straits—The Port of Eleus—Cape Berbieri—An English Country-House in the Chersonese—Attempt to pass the Dardanelles—Anchor in the Bay below Chanàk-Kalessi—The old Castles of Roumelia and Natolia—The Town of the Dardanelles—A remarkable Superstition—Nagara-Bornou—The Bridge of Xerxes—Abydus and Sestos—Swimming across the Hellespont—The Current—The Frigate passes the Dardanelles—The Passage of the English Fleet in 1807—*Ak-Bashi Liman—Zemenic—The Practius and Percotas—Ægos-Potamos—Note on the Meteoric Stone—Lampsacus—Gallipoli—The Island of Marmora—Approach to Constantinople—Anchor under the Walls.*

OUR Firman arrived from Constantinople on the 30th of April, on which day the frigate, by the advice of two Greek pilots who were on board, changed her anchorage to a mile further from the shore to the north-west. At ten o'clock on the 1st of May, we weighed anchor, and, after beating up near the island of Imbros, in order to take the best advantage of the wind, which was northerly, passed close under the castle

on the European side of the strait. We saw the entrance of a little circular port, scooped out as it were from the foot of the hill, which was probably the ancient harbour of Eleus, and which, although now admitting only the small caïques or trading boats of the islands, received the Athenian fleet of one hundred and eighty sail, six days before the battle of Ægos-Potamos *. As we advanced, the bleak white cliffs of the Chersonese diminished in height, and presented a succession of hanging woods and hedge-row fields cultivated to the water's edge.

On the Asiatic side, the banks beyond the barrow In-Tepe appeared more high and abrupt, but occasionally interspersed with retreating bays of flat sandy soil. About nine miles from Koum-Kale, the shore became again flat, and swelled forward into the strait, forming a large circular projection, called by the Turks Kepos-Bornou, and by the Frank navigators Cape Berbieri.

The road from Koum-Kale to the Dardanelles, which we once traversed, after winding amongst woody precipices for two hours beyond In-Tepe, leads along the base of this flat promontory. There are no villages on the route, except a small hamlet near the point of the Cape; yet the country where it is cleared is divided into corn fields, cotton lands, and green pastures abounding in flocks. A stream issuing from the roots of the great Idæan chain which project towards the strait, and in some places border upon the shore, runs through the flat, and falls into the sea near the village on the Cape. A small farm-house further inland towards the Dardanelles, was pointed out to me as the place where the preliminaries of the late peace between Great Britain and the

* Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. ii. p. 455, edit. Leunclav.

Grand Signior were signed by his Excellency Mr. Adair and the Minister of the Porte. The Mahometan Plenipotentiary was not, we may suspect, aware that Sylla and Mithridates had concluded a similar treaty on the same spot* ; for he could not have known that Berbieri is the ancient Dardanian promontory. A little before we approached the Cape, we passed some marshes which, in all probability, are those formerly called Pteleos, near the town Ophrynium, and the grove of Hector†. The strait at Berbieri has the appearance of being narrower than at the Dardanelles.

At three o'clock the breeze failed us, and we were obliged to anchor in a bay, off a narrow valley in Thrace, about eight miles from the Dardanelles. We remained there the whole of the night, and part of the next day, during which time we took the opportunity of going on shore. We proceeded up the valley on a beaten path by the side of a brook, through a grove of thickset trees, the hills impending on each side, and with their woody summits almost closing over our heads. After a short walk, we came in sight of a chiflik or country-house, surrounded by a small pleasure-ground and gardens, laid out in the Frank taste and adorned with clumps of trees evidently not the natives of the soil. On approaching the spot, our surprise was increased by the sight of a neat building, with attached offices and a court-yard, fitted up with many of the implements and appurtenances of an English farm; and we were at a loss to account for so many exotic elegancies, until we learnt that the place had been made by Mr. Richard Willis, an English gentleman, who, having chosen this valley for his retreat, purchased the land, and at the expence of

* Strabon. lib. xiii. p. 595. † Strabon. ibid.

transporting some fruit and garden trees from England, and of employing an English gardener, created on the shores of the Hellespont, a country seat not to be rivalled by any villa on the banks of the Thames. We were farther informed, that neither his attachment to the spot, nor the pains bestowed upon its embellishment, prevented the Turks, who did not choose to have a Frank landholder amongst them, from obliging Mr. Willis to part with his purchase; and some signs of approaching waste and desolation were sufficient to show us that it had reverted to a Mahometan master.

At two o'clock we weighed, hoping that a slight breeze which blew from the high lands of Thrace, would be strong enough to carry us through the strait of the Dardanelles. We were obliged, however, to drop anchor about a mile below the European fort, but made another effort at five in the evening, which was not more successful than the first, as it only drifted us over to the other side. We were not the only persons disappointed on the occasion, for the shores were lined with spectators; the Pasha of the Dardanelles, accompanied by his chief officers, was seated on the wooden projection of the battlements, and the guns of the battery were primed and manned to salute us as we passed. Every strip of canvas was set, and the breeze brought us more than once to the very lips of the strait. The stern of the frigate was already in a line with the castles, and our first gun was on the point of being fired, when the sails began to flap; the spectators on the walls diminished to our view, the castle and the town seemed gradually to recede, and we shortly found that we were dropping down towards Berbieri point. Having our hopes renewed by some faint rippling on the surface of the water, which

seemed to agitate every spot except where we were struggling with the current, and to die away just as it reached the ship, we anchored at last within the sweep of a wide sandy bay, about a mile below the Asiatic castle and town.

During our unavailing effort, a large Turkish frigate passed us under crouded sail, in her passage down the strait, and our sailors were not a little amused to observe, that for the sake of showing the good trim of the vessel, and the smartness of the crew, the flag-staff of the maintop gallant-mast-head was manned by a Turk, whose sole occupation it was to keep the pendant clear.

The castles Chanàk-Kalessi or Sultanie-Kalessi, on the Asiatic side, and Chelit-Bawri or Kelidir-Bahar, "*The Lock of the Sea,*" on the European shore, are called by the Turks Bogaz-Hessarleri*, and by the Franks, the old castles of Natolia and Roumelia. The town of Chanàk-Kalessi is the place properly called the Dardanelles, which name has been extended to the strait itself. Chelit-Bawri is but a small town, inconveniently built on the side of a jutting hill, nor is the castle considered of such importance as that of Chanàk-Kalessi, although the cannon of its batteries are as numerous, and of the same enormous bore. The barrow of Hecuba is a hillock not very distinguishable, in the high ground above the town, but within the walls. Chanàk-Kalessi castle is on a flat point, immediately opposite to the European fort; so that the two batteries, as the guns are immoveable, and are laid on each side at right angles with the strait, must, in the time of action, bombard each other, and I was indeed shown in the streets of the Asiatic town, and in the neighbouring fields, seve-

* Bibliotheque Orientale, Artic. Bogaz.

ral of the granite masses which had been discharged from Chelit-Bawri during the passage of the English fleet. The interior castle was built by the Greeks. Above the fortress there is a battery of German field-pieces, behind a redoubt of earth and fascines erected by French engineers. These guns are used in saluting, and would be more serviceable than the monsters of the castle.

We landed several times at the Dardanelles, and were hospitably received by Signor Tarragona, a Jew, whose family have for a century been in possession of the English Consulate. The language spoken in his family and familiar to all those of his nation in this part of the country, which was a mixed Spanish, informed us that he was descended from one of the families who settled in Turkey after the impolitic expulsion of their nation from Spain. The principal inhabitants of the place are also Jews, trading chiefly in wine supplied by the neighbouring vineyards, which are in much repute.

Chanàk-Kalessi has been thought to have about two thousand houses, and is a very miserable town; but a large pottery which is on the east of the suburbs, supplies not only Constantinople but Alexandria with earthen-ware. We were led through the various sheds (for such they are) appropriated to the different branches of the preparation; and when we saw the warehouse of the finished jars and other vessels, I cannot say that we discovered them, with Dr. Chandler*, to retain the old shape, or that they were formed on ancient models.—A river, a considerable stream, which, from its situation between the Dardanian pro-

* Travels in Asia Minor, cap. 4.

montory and Abydus, has been thought to be the ancient Rhodius, washes the western suburbs of Chanàk-Kalessi, and near its mouth, not far from the castle, is crossed by a long wooden bridge.

At the back of the town there are many cemeteries belonging to the Turks, Jews, and Christians; and further inland there is a tract of enclosed country extending to the Idæan mountains, in a high state of cultivation. In a pleasant shady green near the burying-ground, I remember to have remarked a low stunted tree, enclosed within a wall, the boughs of which were hung round with little shreds or bags of cloth and cotton, enclosing each a single para. On enquiry, it appeared that the tree was considered sacred to some demon, the inflictor of diseases; that the appendages were either votive offerings, or charms by which the malady was transferred from the patient to the shrub; and that Turks, Jews, Armenians, and Greeks, alike resorted to this magical remedy. Another instance of this union of religions has been before mentioned.—It may appear at first singular, that sects, whose separate faiths constitute their chief national distinctions, should ever amalgamate, and be united in any belief or practice; but the coincidence is by no means strange; nor need we be surprised that, having sprung from the same source, they should revert to their common principle, and combine in doing homage to Fear, the cause and origin of every superstition.

To the north-east of the town is a long retreating bay, taking a sweep of three or four miles, and terminated on the other horn by Nagara-Bornou, or Pesquies Point, a promontory of low land, which Sir George Wheler, rectifying the mistake of Sandys, and those who had called the castle of Natolia, Abydus, supposed

to be the site of that celebrated city*. Near this spot he saw some considerable ruins, as also did Mr. Tournefort†, but some way within the Cape on the road to Chanàk-Kalessi, and even at this day there are a few scattered vestiges of an ancient town. A fort has been raised near the point of land.—Mr. Le Chevalier, who seems to have measured the distance between Cape Berbieri and Nagara-Bornou, pronounces it to be seventy stadia; precisely that assigned by Strabo between Dardanus and Abydus‡.

The Thracian side of the strait, immediately opposite to Nagara, is a strip of stony shore projecting from between two high cliffs§; and to this spot, it seems, the European extremity of Xerxes' bridges must have been applied; for the height of the neighbouring cliffs would have prevented the Persian monarch from adjusting them to any other position. There is certainly some ground to believe this to have been the exact point of the shore called from that circumstance *Apobathra*‖; since there is, within any probable distance, no other flat land on the Thracian side except at the bottom of deep bays, the choice of which would have doubled the width of the passage. Here the strait appeared to us to be narrower than in any other part, although to those on board our frigate, who might be supposed skilled in judging of distances, it no where seemed to be less than a mile across: the ancient measure-

* A Voyage, &c. book i. p. 74.

† Voyage au Levant, lettre xi. p. 456, edit. Paris, 1717.

‡ Voyage de la Propontide et du Pont Euxin, chap. iii. p. 16, vol. i.

§ Ἔστι δὲ τῆς Χερσονήσου τῆς ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ, Σηστῶ τε πόλιος μεταξὺ καὶ Μαδύτου, ἀκτὴ τραχέα ἐς θάλασσαν κατήκουσα, Ἀβύδῳ κατακτίον.—Herod. Hist. lib. vii. cap. 33.

‖ Strab. lib. xiii. p. 591.

ments, however, give only seven stadia, or eight hundred and seventy-five paces.—Sestos was not opposite to the Asiatic town, nor was the Hellespont in this place called the straits of Sestos and Abydus, but the straits of Abydus. Sestos was so much nearer the Propontis than the other town, that the ports of the two places were thirty stadia, more than three miles and a half, from each other*. The bridges were on the Propontic side of Abydus, but on the opposite quarter of Sestos; that is to say, they were on the coasts between the two cities, but nearer to the first than to the last; and supposing the few ruins before-mentioned about a mile from Nagara to belong to Abydus, that point answers sufficiently to the spot on the Asiatic coast to which the pontoons were affixed.

The passage of Xerxes is not more suggested to the traveller who sails through these straits, than the enterprise of Leander. It was the custom for those who would cross from Abydus to Sestos to incline a mile out of the direct line, and those making the contrary voyage were obliged to have recourse to a similar plan, in order to take advantage of the current. The lover, therefore, had a perilous adventure to perform, who swam at least four miles to meet his mistress, and returned the same distance in the same night; and Mr. Tournefort had good reason to allude to the story with some little levity. His countryman Le Chevalier, asserts that the exploit is looked upon by the inhabitants of the Dardanelles as nothing extraordinary†; but the young Jew, whom he mentions as having traversed the strait to obtain the

* Strab. lib. xiii. p. 591.

† Voyage du Levant, lettre xi. p. 455; Voyage de la Propontide, &c. chap. iii. p. 18.

hand of his mistress, is already forgotten. We could hear nothing of him in the year 1810; and, on the contrary, we were told that no such deed had ever been done. It is very possible, however, to swim across the Hellespont without being the rival, or having the motive, of Leander. My fellow-traveller was determined to attempt the passage, and the ride from Koum-Kale to the Dardanelles on the 16th of April, before alluded to, was undertaken for that purpose.

Having crossed from the castle of Chanàk-Kalessi in a boat manned by four Turks, and accompanied by the Secretary of the Signor Tarragona, we landed at five o'clock in the evening, half a mile above the castle of Chelit-Bawri, and my friend, together with an officer of the frigate, depositing their clothes in the boat, began their passage. We kept near them, and the boatmen gave them such instruction from time to time as appeared necessary for them in taking advantage of the current. For the first half hour they swam obliquely upwards, rather towards Nagara point than the Dardanelles, and, notwithstanding all their skill and efforts, made but little progress. Finding it useless to struggle with the current, they then went rather with the stream, but still attempting to cross. We lay upon our oars, and in a few minutes were between the castles. The swimmers were close to us. We were not then half over the passage, and were every moment falling into a wider part of the channel, but notwithstanding the exclamations of our Turks the effort was still continued, and it was not until the swimmers had been an hour in the water and found themselves in the middle of the strait, about a mile and a half below the castles, that they consented to be taken into the boat.

Although the excessive chillness of the water had so benumbed

all their limbs, that they were at first unable to stand, and were otherwise much exhausted, yet they were determined to make another attempt in warmer weather, and accordingly on the third of May following, at a little past ten in the morning, having left the frigate at her anchorage below the Asiatic castle, they got into the water nearly a mile and a half above Chelit-Bawri, at a point of land forming the western bank of the deep bay or inlet in which stands the town of Maito, on the site of the ancient Madytus. I did not accompany them in the boat, but watched their progress from the frigate. They swam upwards as before, but not for so long a time, and in less than half an hour came floating down the current close to the ship. They then swam strongly to get within the bay behind the castle, and soon succeeding, reached the still water, and landed about a mile and a half below our anchorage. Lord Byron was one hour and ten minutes in the water, his companion, Mr. Ekenhead, five minutes less.

I see by a note in my journal, in my Friend's hand-writing, "that they found the current very strong, and the water cold; that some large fish passed them in the middle of the channel; that they were not fatigued although a little chilled, and performed the feat with little difficulty."

My fellow-traveller had before made a more perilous, but less celebrated passage, for I recollect that when we were in Portugal, he swam from Old Lisbon to Belem Castle, and having to contend with a tide and counter current, the wind blowing freshly, was but little less than two hours in crossing the river.

The strait between the castles is computed to be about a mile and a quarter in breadth, yet our four boatmen were twenty-five

minutes in pulling us across from point to point. Pietro Della Valle, surnamed *The Illustrious Traveller* *, asserted that the current in the Hellespont flowed both ways, for which he is corrected by Wheler; who observes, what is the fact, that "the current is indeed stronger when the north wind blows, than when the south, or when it is calm; but still it cometh out of the Black Sea by the Bosphorus, into the Mare Marmora, and thence into the Archipelago †". It is true that the stream, setting as in other straits in a direct line from point to point, and not following the waving line of the passage, is not perceived in every part of the channel, nor always in the same part of it. At the Dardanelles, where it runs in mid-channel obliquely towards Berbieri Point, it forms what is technically called a back-water on the Thracian side below Chelit-Bawri, which, when aided by a south wind, has itself the appearance, and somewhat the power of a current. The same effect is produced in other parts of the strait; and the boatmen of the Hellespont, by taking advantage of this circumstance, contrive to cross it at almost every season of the year.

The north-east wind blows down the strait for nearly eight out of the twelve months, and in the summer lasts sometimes nine or ten weeks without intermission. We thought we had arrived at that period, and began to despair of reaching Constantinople in the frigate. On the third of May the wind was foul; on the fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh, it was still from the north-east; on the eighth there was a calm; on the next day the Etesians again blew, and we had a gale of wind. The current rushed round the

* His book is entitled "*Les fameux Voyages de Pietro Della Valle Gentilhomme Romain, surnommé l'Illustre Voyageur.*" Paris, 1670.

† A Journey into Greece, &c. book i. pp. 74, 75.

stem of the frigate with the rapidity of the stream at London-bridge, and the foaming spray was scattered by the hurricane on either shore of Asia and of Thrace. The fruit-boats from the Dardanelles, which plied round our sides on other days, did not dare to approach us; for we were riding in so rough a sea, that we should have dashed them to pieces. Expecting that the ship would drive from her moorings, we lengthened our cables, and let go another anchor.

The next day the stormy weather was much abated, but it still blew very freshly from the same quarter. We went on shore in one of the ship's boats, and in returning, as our coxswain would not haul down our sail until we were nearly alongside of the frigate, we had so much weigh, both from the current and the breeze, that in attempting to grapple we lost our boat-hook, carried away our bowsprit, and breaking through some fruit-boats, were borne off in an instant so far astern, that we were an hour rowing up to the frigate, which we should not have gained so soon, had not a towing line been floated down to us from on board. This may show the actual rapidity of the torrent. The south winds also blow very violently up the straits, and the English fleet passed the castles at the rate of eleven knots within the hour.

We had nearly given up all hope of proceeding through the straits, when, on the evening of our accident, it began to rain, and our pilots predicted a change of weather. We had heavy showers all night, and in the morning a drizzling mist. The wind blew gently from the south. We weighed anchor, and at ten o'clock sailed at last slowly between the castles, which we saluted with seventeen guns, and had the compliment returned to us by the battery at Chanàk-Kalessi, where the red standard of

Turkey was unfurled to receive our homage. We stood over to the coast of Thrace, and passed by the mouth of the bay of Maito, and afterwards in view of another deeper inlet called Koilia, which is most probably the Cœlos of the ancients. We sailed close under the cliffs, and came opposite to Nagara-Bornou.

In the bay within the point, we were shown a large wreck a little above water. This was the remains of a Turkish sixty-four destroyed by the Repulse, and the boats of the Pompée, during the passage of the Dardanelles on the 19th of February, 1807. Sir S. Smith in the Pompée, with the Thunderer, Standard, and Active, brought up in the bay within Chanàk-Kalessi, where the sixty-four, four frigates, four corvettes, one brig, and three gun-boats were at anchor, and in four hours destroyed or captured the whole squadron. The sixty-four ran on shore on Pesquies Point, and a frigate drifted over towards the Thracian coast, where she was blown up by Captain Mowbray in the Active. A battery of thirty guns, and a redoubt on the Point, were carried and destroyed by the marines of the Standard.

One other vestige of this memorable expedition was pointed out to us; this was a cannon shot-hole in the front of the house at the Dardanelles belonging to the French Consul, who, during the second passage of the fleet, hoisted the tri-coloured flag, and received that attention from our gunners, which he had, it seemed, intended to attract.

Even when we travelled, the events of the two actions were fresh in the memory, and were still in the mouths of the inhabitants of the Dardanelles. The Turks, notwithstanding the warning which the Captain Pasha had received six days before from His Majesty's Ambassador, Mr. Arbuthnot, that the at-

tempt would certainly be made, could not at first believe their senses, when they saw the approach of the fleet round Berbieri Point; and when the van ship, the Canopus, passed between the castles, were altogether stupified, and looked upon the adventure as the fatal breaking of a charm which had hitherto bound them in security, and protected the holy city from the insults of the infidels. The burning of the flotilla filled them with consternation and rage. A person attached to our Consulate at the Dardanelles was concealed in an outer room of a house at Chanàk-Kalessi, which was entered by an officer of a Turkish frigate, who had just lost his ship. He informed me, that the Turk raved for an hour at the English dogs. The woman of the house did not let slip a word of her guest in the next room, who lay concealed under some rubbish, and although a jackass tied up in the shed, trod and kept his foot for some time on his finger, did not, like the citizen of Perugia* under similar circumstances, cry out and discover his retreat†.

No considerable opposition was made to the advance of the

* Boccac. Decamer. Giornata Quinta. Novella Decima.

† Lest such a forbearance in a suffering by no means trifling though ridiculous, should appear improbable, I beg leave to insert a most extraordinary instance, in another inhabitant of Turkey, of patience under acute pain. A *Capidgy* or porter belonging to the seraglio, opening hastily the small iron grating of a door-way through which the Sultan was to pass, caught his hand in the hinges between the wicket and the wall. The Bostandgys and other attendants immediately formed a line with their backs against the grating, and during the passage of the Sultan and of all his suite, the *Capidgy* suffered not a murmur or a sigh to escape him, but fainted immediately afterwards, when on closing the door-way, his four fingers dropped to the ground.—Notice sur la cour du Grand Seigneur, &c. Paris, 1809, page 67.

fleet*, nor to the destruction of the flotilla. The material injury sustained by the English, was, as is well known, received on their retreat, when the batteries, some of which had been repaired, and others been recently constructed at every turn of the straits, were superintended by French officers belonging to General Sebastiani's suite. Yet even at that time the Turks at the castles were thrown into the utmost terror and confusion; and an inhabitant of Chanàk-Kalessi informed me, that when one of our three-deckers, instead of passing through at once, hauled up a little, and bringing her whole broadside full on the fort of Asia, opened all her batteries at once, she appeared like a vast body of flaming fire, and showering upon the walls and mounds a storm of shot, drove the garrison at once from their guns. The women and children and all the unarmed population of the town fled to the foot of the mountains, five miles distant from the strait, yet some cannon-balls fell near them in the villages to which they had retired. This report I received not as a fact, but an evidence of their fear. Notwithstanding common opinion, it is not true that the English character suffered on that day. The Turks were astonished at the cool valour and undaunted skill of our sailors, nor did they know the disastrous effects of their granite globes.

I was informed by the second in command, that when he was blowing up their flotilla at anchor, some of the captains, as their ships struck, came on board, and being served with coffee in his cabin, made excuses for being so easily taken—" Hussein," they said, " is dead; Smit-Bey is gone—what can we do?" They

* The only spars that were injured, were the sprit-sail yard of the Royal George, the gaft of the Canopus, and the main-top-sail yard of the Standard.

alluded to the famous Capudan Pasha, and to himself who had fought with them in Egypt.

The breeze freshened, and the current was scarcely perceptible when we passed the point of Nagara. We skirted the mouth of a bay, Ak-Bashi Liman, reasonably conjectured the ancient port of Sestos, and a little farther saw a hill crowned with a scanty ruin called Zemenic, where (without taking into account the passage of the eight thousand Turks in the reign of Othman) the standard of the Ottomans was, for the first time, raised in Europe by Solyman, son of Sultan Orcan, in the year 1356 *.

A rocky strand or mole two or three miles farther down the strait, preserves also under the name of Gaziler-Iskelessi—"The Victor's Harbour," the memory of the landing of the Mahometan invaders. Zemenic is called also Choiridocastron, or Pig's Fort. *The besotted Grecians*, says Sandys, *jested at the loss, and said they had but taken a hog-stye* †. At this point, Leunclavius asserts that the Hellespont is evidently narrower than in any other part ‡. From beyond Nagara we had entered into that part of the strait which it seems was properly called the Propontic Hellespont. For several miles the channel did not appear to widen. Cultivated hedge-row fields, green with high corn and flourishing vineyards, and enlivened by frequent villages, presented, on either side, a succession of scenery altogether enchanting, but rather rich than romantic, and of which those who have visited

* Voyage au Levant, lett. xi. p. 457, edit. Paris, 1717.

† Lib. i. p. 26, A Relation of a Journey, &c. It was said by John Paleologus, and, according to Tournefort, applied to the magazines of Gallipoli.

‡ Ad Chiridocastron quo loco . . . . . plane angustissimus est Hellespontus latitudine sua Græcum unum miliare non superat. not. E. p. 1066, edit. Leunclav. in Append. Xenophont.

the banks of the Menai have seen an exact, perhaps a flattering resemblance. The imposing presence of Penmaun-Mawr more than compensates for the distant prospect of Ida. We glided past headlands and bays on both shores, each of them rendered memorable by the poets, or illustrated by the historians of antiquity; and we passed without attention the mouths of two streams, which are now the Bourghas-Su, and the Moussa-Keui-Su, but were the river of Percote* once, and the Practius.

Above them, dividing the higher shores of the Chersonese, we skirted the outlet of a stream, the Kara-Ova-Su, which, although now undistinguished, would, if called as in former days, the Ægos-Potamos, be never passed without notice: the name alone is a history. The naturalist might assist the topographer in identifying the site of that memorable stream, by discovering on its banks the monstrous stone foretold by Anaxagoras, and remaining in the days of Pliny, which fell from the sky, and the existence of which, although it would have been denied by the inexperienced scepticism of former times, the occurrence of similar prodigies in our own age, would very much incline us to believe†.

* Le Chevalier supposes Percote the name of a river (Voyage de la Propontide, &c. p. 19, vol. i.); but it was a town, or region, near the more modern Parium. See Strab. lib. xiii. p. 590; and Plin. lib. vi. cap. 32.

† "Celebrant Græci Anaxagoram Clazomenium, olympiadis septuagesimæ octavæ secundo anno, prædixisse cœlestium literarum scientia, quibus diebus saxum casurum esset e sole. Taleque factum interdiu in Thraciæ parte ad Ægos flumen. Qui lapis etiam nunc ostenditur, magnitudine vehis, colore adusto, comete quoque illis noctibus flagrante. Plin. Hist. lib. ii. cap 58, page 18, edit. Paris, 1532. The naturalist adds, that there was a small one at the Gymnasium at Abydus, which was worshipped, foretold also by Anaxagoras. Plutarch, in his life of Lysander, has dwelt somewhat more at large on this extraordinary stone, which was, as he tells us, considered by some as porten-

At Ægos-Potamos the Hellespont, according to Xeno-

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tous of the fatal battle of Ægos-Potamos—κατηνέχθη γὰρ ὡς ἡ δόξα τῶν πολλῶν ἐξ ὐρανὲ παμμεγέθες λίθος ὡς ἀιγὸς ποταμὸς. κ. τ. λ. in vit. Lysand. p. 439, op. om. "There fell from the heavens (as many believe) a large stone at Ægos-Potamos, which is even yet shown as an object of veneration by the people of the Chersonese." The comet mentioned by Pliny is, on the authority of Damachus, called by Plutarch "a large body of fire like a blazing cloud," seen for seventy-five days previously to the fall of the stone. The like meteoric appearances have attended the descent of stones from the sky in modern times, and the phenomenon seen in 1620 in the Punjaub, one hundred miles east of Lahore, answers in description very exactly with the detail in Plutarch. In that instance, "a luminous body was observed to fall from above on the earth, suggesting to the beholders the idea that the firmament was raining fire." A cursory inspection would inform any mineralogist whether this specimen, if such should be discovered at Ægos-Potamos, is of true celestial origin; since all those hitherto seen, in whatever part of the world, have been found of the same composition. The stones from Benares, from Vienna, from Bohemia, and the one found in Yorkshire, "all contained pyrites of a peculiar character; they had all a coating of black oxyde of iron; they all contained an alloy of iron and nickel; and the earths which serve to them as a sort of connecting medium, corresponded in their nature, and nearly in their proportions*."

Although we may believe these stones to be meteoric formations, yet the prediction, or rather the solution, of the phenomenon by Anaxagoras, by the supposition that the sun and stars were ponderous bodies, revolving in a luminous atmosphere; and that one, or part of one, of these bodies might fall to the earth, is a most extraordinary anticipation of modern systems and hypotheses. The discovery that the sun was as big as Peloponesus (mentioned before, in note, p. 611 of this volume), to our ears may have a ridiculous sound, but it was making a vast step beyond the bounds of former ignorance; and to this great philosopher may be applied the converse of what was said of Milton—"He was a modern born two thousand years before his time."

* See an Account of some Stones said to have fallen on the Earth in France, &c. &c. Phil. Trans. 1803, part i. paper vi. p. 200.

phon*, is about a mile and three quarters wide. A little way above the mouth of the river, on the opposite shore, we saw the town of Lamsaki, on a tongue of low land which seems to be the promontory called Abarnis, whence Conon the Athenian set sail with nine ships after the fatal battle†, having seized the sails belonging to the Lacedemonian fleet. The modern Lampsacus, although but a small town of two hundred houses, with one handsome mosck, would still be a present worthy of a king. Its territory is rich at this day in vineyards of a superior quality, inclosed in hedges of pomegranate trees, and, as far as could be judged by a transient view, there is nothing wanting to complete the beauty of its situation. The mountains approach within a few miles of the back of the town, and their sides are clothed with woods, which shelter the villages and kiosks of the inhabitants of Lampsaki. Inscribed marbles, and other remains, were found in the town by Sir G. Wheler, which, together with its name, show it to stand on the ancient site‡. It was five o'clock when we passed this place. Our pilot informed us that a shoal runs out from this part of the Asiatic shore, and we stood nearer to the Thracian side.

Two miles farther on we had the large town of Gallipoli on our left. The channel seemed about five miles wide from this part of the Chersonese to Chardac, a headland in the region of Lamsaki; but beyond this point the receding shores of Asia opened to our view the expanse of the sea of Marmora. Gallipoli, the

* Hist. Græc. lib. ii. p. 455, edit. Leuncl.

† Κόνων δὲ ταῖς ἐννέα ναυσὶ φέυγων . . . . . κατασχὼν ἐπὶ την Ἀβαρνίδα τὴν Λαμψάκου ἄκραν.—Xenop. Hist. Græc. lib. ii. p. 457, edit. Leunclav.

‡ A Journey into Greece, &c. book i. p. 75.

Callipolis of ancient geography, which was an important position after the transfer of the empire to Byzantium, and was taken by the Turks nearly a century before the fall of Constantinople*, is still a very considerable town, containing perhaps fifteen thousand inhabitants, half of whom are Turks, and the remainder divided between Greeks and Jews. The latter people have been established in the place since the twelfth century†. It has given a name to the Hellespont, which the Turks call the sea of Gallipoli (Galiboli Denghizzi), and is the chief station of the Capudan Pasha‡. Standing in a peninsula, it forms two harbours, and not unfrequently receives the imperial fleets §.

A little beyond the town we noticed some perpendicular rocks, having the appearance of regular fortifications, surmounted by an old tower; and still farther on passed by a light-house, placed to point out the mouth of the strait, and the position of a long shoal which runs towards the Asiatic coast. As we advanced through the broad entrance of the straits, the breeze died away, and the minarets of Gallipoli were but just out of sight when the sun sank behind the hills, and closed a day which had been passed in viewing a succession of prospects, more interesting by their natural and associated attractions, than are perhaps to be met with in any other part of the world.

* Voyage au Levant, pp. 461, 462, 463, lett. xi. edit. Paris, 1717.

† Voyage de Benjamin fils de Jonas, p. 14; Voyages faits principalement en Asiè, &c. edit. The Hague, 1735.

‡ D'Herbelot Bibliotheque Orient. Galipoli.

§ Gallipoli, after the Latin conquest, fell to the share of the Venetians, but was retaken by Vataces in 1235, and possessed by the Catalans in 1306, who raised the fortifications, after being besieged by Antony Spinola, in 1307. The Turks took it in 1357.—Tournefort, letter xi. vol. i. pp. 461, 462.

We made very little progress during the night, but found ourselves in the sea of Marmora, yet not far from the coast of Thrace, which was here a line of high lands, more barren than the borders of the Hellespont, but in many parts verdant with pastures and vineyards. We discovered many villages in the nooks near the water's edge and on the side of the hills. We had light and baffling airs through the whole of the day, and had not advanced by half after five farther than to be off the rocky island Proconesus, whose modern name of Marmora has been extended to the surrounding sea.—The marble quarries which supplied many of the public buildings in Constantinople, and furnished the great mosck of Sultan Achmet with all its ornamental architecture, are now no longer worked; the population of slaves formerly employed in those labours has, therefore, been withdrawn. Passing to the north, we saw the only town now to be found in the island. The general appearance of Marmora is barren, but we discerned a few spots of vine and corn lands, with heathy downs, affording a scanty pasturage to a few goats. A little to the west is a long low island, apparently uninhabited, and round it there are two or three rocks, which are sometimes, together with Proconesus, called the Isles of Marmora.

About eight o'clock in the evening a breeze sprung up, which carried us five knots within the hour during the whole night, and in the morning of Sunday, May 13th, we found ourselves near the low green land of Thrace, with a view of three long bridges over a marsh, called Buyuk Chekmedjee, or Ponte Grande, six hours by land from the capital.

The mountains of Asia were just apparent in the farthest distance, and, in fact, the shore on every side is said to be visible from

the middle of this Mediterranean sea. We looked out eagerly to catch the first view of Constantinople, and at two o'clock saw some white columns, arranged much in the same order, and having the same appearance, as the distant turrets of King's College Chapel at Cambridge. These we were told were the minarets of the great moscks of Sultan Achmet and of Santa Sophia.—It now came on to blow hard from the north, and as we were obliged to beat up against the wind, we approached the city but slowly. The weather became very hazy, and obscured the surrounding view; but object after object dropped into the prospect; and the endless dwellings of a vast capital, rising from forests of cypresses, and overtopped with innumerable domes and slender spires, were indistinctly shown behind the clouds of driving mist.

In the course of our tacking we were sometimes at no great distance from Princes' Islands in the sea of Marmora, and at others we had a glimpse of the Seven Towers—a name formidable to the ears of Christians, and coasted under the gloomy walls of the eastern Cæsars, which seemed to inclose the fabled city of the dead, as no distant hum or murmur was heard from within, and not a human being could be seen without their solitary circuit. At sunset the frigate anchored near the headland immediately preceding the Seraglio point; and as no lights were visible, the silence and, in a short time, the darkness, were so complete, that we might have believed ourselves moored in the lonely cove of some desert island, and not at the foot of a city which, for its vast extent and countless population, is fondly imagined by its present masters to be worthy of being called *the Refuge of the World**.

* Alempena.

LETTER XLIV.

Difficulty of obtaining information concerning the Turks, even in Constantinople—Separation of the City and the Suburbs—Foreign Missions at Pera—Departure from the Frigate—Land at Tophana—Ascent to Pera—Dogs—The Hotel—City Watchmen—Police of Pera—The Custom of Parading the Streets incognito—Palaces of Ambassadors—Inglese Saraï—The Armenian Cemetery—The Amusements there—Customs called Oriental—in great measure those of the Ancient World—Seclusion and Treatment of Women—Coincidence of Turkish Manners with those of the Byzantine Greeks—Principal Difference between Ancient and Modern Manners—State of Turkish Women—Female Slaves, or Odalisques, of the Imperial Harem.

I HAD at one time resolved to make my chapter on Constantinople much the same as that called in Hakluyt **The Voyage of William Wandeville to Jerusalem,** the sum of which is this—"**William Wandeville, Earl of Esser, with divers English Lords and Knights, went to the Holy Land in the 24 yere of Henry the Second***. For without having recourse to the expedient of the Earl's namesake, I despaired of

* The English Voyages, &c. p. 17, vol. ii. edit. 1599.

telling any thing not before too well known to require repetition. Thinking, however, that each person must see some objects, or views of objects, not noticed by preceding, or even contemporary travellers, and that to dilate on various parts of Turkey, and to say nothing of its famous capital, would scarcely be forgiven, I shall endeavour to prepare some remarks, which, although not altogether a new composition, will not be the contents of one phial poured into another. It is not my intention, however, to pourtray the general appearance, or the several quarters, of Constantinople; innumerable plans and pictures, and two lively representations, which have amused the inhabitants of our principal English towns, have rendered the first attempt unnecessary; whilst the many travels, surveys, and itineraries, descriptive of the Turkish capital, with which every one at all in the habit of investigating the countries of the east must be already acquainted, cannot but dissuade me from hazarding a new topographical detail of this celebrated city. Enough, and perhaps too much, will be said on the subject, by extracting from my journal, in the manner before followed, a narrative of the manner in which our time was passed during the two months of our residence at Pera; since such an account will necessarily include a notice of several interesting objects to be met with in the capital and its environs.

One of the chief advantages which every man proposes to himself by travelling, especially by visiting large towns, must be to mix with the best native society to which he can have access, or, as Mr. Locke has it, "to get into the conversation and acquaintance of persons of condition*." But it is in vain to expect that

* Some Thoughts on Education in Lond. duod. p. 272.

benefit in the Levant, where the traveller has little employment left except that which (although Lord Hardwicke pronounced it a charming exercise, subservient to morality) has, methinks, when unmixed with other matter, no very great attractions either for writers or readers, namely, "to draw just conclusions concerning the uncertainty of human things from the ruinous alterations time and barbarity have brought upon so many palaces, cities, and whole countries, which make such a figure in history*."

A stranger at Constantinople would naturally wish to live amongst the Turks, as he would amongst the French at Paris and the Austrians at Vienna; but the differences of manner, custom, and language, render it absolutely impossible to become domesticated in a Mahometan family, or, at a short residence, even to join in the very little social intercourse enjoyed amongst the natives themselves. Thus those varieties, and nice distinctions of character, which must subsist in some degree between the individuals of every nation, and which a more intimate scrutiny might discover, cannot be noticed by passing travellers in their partial communications with the Turks, who seem to them to have so entire a monotony, not only of manner but of mind, as to induce a belief, that he who has observed one amongst them has seen the whole people, and may form an estimate of them nearly as well by the inspection of a week as by the acquaintance of a year. With this persuasion, a traveller passes through the country without forming an intimacy, or even an acquaintance, with a single Turk; and there is no part of the empire in which he will find himself less inclined to make such an attempt than at the capital

* Spectator, No. 364.

itself.—The water of the Golden Horn, which flows between the city and the suburbs, is a line of separation seldom transgressed by the Frank residents; and an English stranger, if he waited for the suggestions of his fellow-countrymen of the Levant Company, would pass many weeks at Pera without paying one visit to Constantinople.

No foreigner is now allowed to reside in the city itself, not even the minister of a friendly nation; a regulation which does not arise from any ancient usage, but from the policy of later times. In the days of Busbek, the King of Hungary's minister resided within the walls, and Eltchi Han (the Ambassador's Inn) is shown as the place in which that accomplished scholar is said to have written his letters. Notwithstanding the beauty of its situation, on which he dwells with much complacency, he seems to have considered it a sort of state-prison, and complains of not being permitted to purchase a house and garden at his own expence*."

So late as the beginning of the last century†, the Hungarian minister, and those of Poland and Ragusa, lived in Constantinople; but in the reign of Achmet the Third, who mounted the throne in 1703, a proposal was made to the Divan, to confine all the Ambassadors to Princes' Islands. Such is the dislike of the hat, the distinction of the Frank, that the prudent always think fit, and in our time it was absolutely necessary, in visiting the city, to procure the protection of a Janissary. An English gentleman who, contrary to advice, whilst we were at Pera, ventured across

* Cum vero me tæderet inclusionis in eodem diversorio, &c.—Epist. iii. p. 97, edit. Oxon. 1660.

† Voyage du Levant, lettre xii. p. 508, vol. i.

the water accompanied only by his servant, was, for some unintentional offence, immediately knocked down, and his attendant coming to his assistance, met with the same maltreatment. No person interfered, and the strangers thought it adviseable to return to Pera. It is an offence against the state to insult any one protected by a Janissary; and it is so much expected that each visitor will avail himself of their service, that a complaint from an unattended person would be productive of no redress.—The distinction between the Mahometan and the Christian resident or settler, is perhaps no where so decided as at Constantinople; and it has of late years, since the wars with France and England, become somewhat dangerous to have an open intimacy with the agents or merchants of any foreign power.

After such a preliminary, it will not be expected that a traveller should insinuate himself into any Turkish company, or enjoy any other society than that which is to be found at Pera. The Franks have, as it were, engrafted themselves on that limb of the capital, and the shoot has many more characteristics of the exotic than of the parent plant.

I shall, before we leave the frigate, take some notice of this portion of the inhabitants of Pera. There were formerly twelve missions in Pera, which, with their respective diplomatic courts and their attached families, together with the visiting guests, formed a society not to be expected in the heart of Turkey; but the new order of things established in Christendom, has materially detracted from the comforts of the Frank residents. The absorption of so many European states by the power of France, is sensibly felt at Pera, where several of those governments whose former importance rendered the presence of a respectable agent ne-

cessary, having now no longer any independent interests to maintain, are in fact represented by the Envoy of the Emperor Napoleon, although they allow a certain number of Greeks in the quality of dragomans and physicians, still to avail themselves of the privileges of those attached to foreign embassies. As the present diplomatic ceremonial does not admit of mutual civilities between the English and French ministers, the former, and those belonging to his nation (that is to say, those protected by him), are in a manner excluded from every other company at Pera except that of their countrymen.

The ministers, the interpreters, and the merchants, some time ago formed three distinct classes of society. The first of these, under the above disadvantages, has been disunited and broken in upon by the second and the third description of persons, who, however, do not mutually amalgamate. I speak not of our own legation, which, with the exception of a few gala days, seeks no other company than those travellers whom its hospitality domesticates at the English palace.

There has been, for more than a century, an establishment belonging to the French embassy, and there is one protected by the Austrian Internuncio, for the education of young persons of the nation in the oriental languages, and such qualifications as may enable them to take situations in the Levantine consulates; and, within a few years, the former power has employed these Giovanni di Lingua (for so they are called) as interpreters at the Divan. There was some remonstrance on the part of the Porte; but it was firmly advanced on the other hand, that the Emperor Napoleon did not choose to employ any agents whose very dress showed they were subjects of the Ottoman government; and that,

as he did not desire the Turkish Ambassador at Paris, or any of his suite, to change their costume, so he would not suffer any persons attached to his representative at Constantinople to wear any other dress than that of his own court. This is not the first time that the French have made a stand on a similar point of etiquette. The Marquis de Ferriol, after a long struggle, minutely detailed by Tournefort, quitted the Seraglio just as he was about to have his audience of the Sultan, who had come fifteen leagues on purpose, because they would not suffer him to enter the presence-chamber with his sword, which he said constituted a part of a Frenchman's dress, and should not be taken from him but with his life*.

The French have doubtless gained a great point in thus putting the executive part of their intercourse with the Porte into the hands of persons who, at the same time that an education in the country teaches them how to deal with the Turks, so as to advance the interests of their employers, are, by their condition as Franks, totally divested of the timidity and submissive habits inherent in the Greeks, or any subjects of the Turks. A rayàh or subject, wearing with his robes the badge of slavery, dares not to utter the sentiments put into his mouth, and discharge the duties intrusted to him by a foreign minister. A decisive sentiment, even when he is backed by the presence of his ambassador, can scarcely, or only with a pale face and trembling limbs, be forced from his lips. Most of the minor concerns of the embassies are carried on by the dragomans solely; yet even in these it not unfrequently happens, that after many provoking delays and incon-

* Voyage du Levant, lettre xii. pp. 539, 540, 541, 542, Paris, 1717.

clusive answers on the part of the Turks, the matter cannot be arranged without the personal application of the minister himself.

There are four dragomans attached to the English embassy. Mr. Pisani, descended, I believe, from an ancient Venetian family of Galata, is the chief interpreter: he speaks the English language with the utmost purity, an accomplishment I never met with in any other native of the Levant. It would be difficult, except perhaps from too minute and attentive a correctness and precision, to discover that he is not talking his mother-tongue. He enjoys no little consideration on both sides of the water, and has the manners of a man of ability and address.

The resident members of the Levant Company at Pera, have lately much diminished in number; as far as I recollect, they do not possess at this time more than five or six mercantile establishments. I presume that the number of persons protected by the English ambassador, does not in the whole amount to one hundred; whilst the French minister has, it is said, between two and three thousand dependants. On days of rejoicing and church festivals, the streets of Pera and the catholic chapel are crowded with his tumultuous train. Since the departure of General Sebastiani, the government of Paris have maintained only a Chargé d'Affaires at the Porte, Mons. Latour Maubourg, the brother of the general of that name.

Something has been before said of the singular regulation by which the Turks permit the existence of independent jurisdictions in their ports and principal towns, in a greater degree perhaps than the Greek emperors admitted the interference of the magistrates deputed by the powerful republic of Genoa to watch over their trading colony of Galata. The privileges granted in the year 1580

by the Sultan Amurath to the English merchants and their consuls and governors, give an entire controul over all those of his nation, to the minister, who is to protect them and settle all their differences, without the interference of the Turkish police or courts of justice*. For the purpose of their security and dignity, a large body of the Janissaries, who nearly three centuries ago were at the same time the formidable foes and the delegated protectors of the Christians†, is put under the orders of every minister. The duty has attached a disgraceful name to these Janissaries, who are sometimes called, by way of derision, the Christian pig-keepers, as Pera goes by the name of the Pig quarter‡. The French and the English have each a whole *oda*, or chamber of Janissaries, set apart for their service; and although there are not more than four or five in constant attendance, yet the whole body is always at hand, and can be assembled upon any requisite emergency. The oda of the British embassy is the fortieth, consisting of about two hundred men.

A disturbance taking place one evening whilst we were at Pera, between some English and Genoese sailors, which the patrole endeavoured to allay, by knocking both parties down with their long clubs, fifty of the English Janissaries being dispatched to the spot, immediately secured the parties, with the exception of the

* See the Charter of the Privileges granted to the English, and the League of the Great Turk with the Queene's Majestie, in respect of traffique, dated in June 1588.—Hakluyt, English Voy. vol. ii. p. 141, edit. 1599.

† Per omnes fere ejus imperii fines, vel præsidio munitionibus adversus hostem, vel tutelæ Christianis Judæisque adversus injurias multitudinis, spargun-tur.—Aug. Busbeq. epist. 1, p. 9, edit. Oxon. 1660.

‡ Reidesel, Voyage au Levant, p. 347.

offender, who having stabbed a marine of the Salsette, had fled to the French palace, and they also apprehended the whole guard; one of whom, but for the interference of the Captain of the frigate, would have lost his head for his indiscriminate assault, and, as it was, received a severe bastinade. Pera may thus be said to be abandoned to the foreign ministers, in whose favour even hogs (the abhorrence of the Mussulmans) are admitted once a year, during carnival, into the suburbs; and yet these ministers experience on their visits to the other side of the water, every humiliation which Ottoman pride can contrive to inflict. Nothing is more true than that the Turks are a people of Antithesis*, and they show the contradiction of their character as much in their commerce with the Franks, as in their behaviour amongst themselves and to their own subjects. Although the most haughty, and, in their own eyes, still the most powerful nation in the world, they consent to see, in the suburbs of their very capital, the ministers of foreign powers exercising an authority which the most petty potentate in Christendom would consider as a surrender of his sovereign rights, and they require at the same time, from these same representatives of the first monarchs in Europe, certain other submissions in point of conduct, which no other people but themselves would demand even from the agents of the most inconsiderable states. Some change, however, must have taken place in the feelings of the Turks since Prince Repnin, in 1774, rode through the city, attended by six hundred men with drawn swords, after the signing of the treaty between the Empress Catharine and the Porte†.

* Voyage au Constantinople, chap. xvi. p. 143, edit. Paris, 1805.

† Const. Anc. and Mod. p. 73.



VIEW of TOPHANA or the ARTILLERY ARSENAL at CONSTANTINOPLE.

London, Published by James Cawthorn, 24, Cockspur Street, 1813.

At twelve o'clock, on Monday the 14th of May, we left the Salsette in the Captain's boat, and rowed against the stream until we came near Yeni-Kiosk, or the New Kiosk, on the next point of land, where some sturdy fellows, who are always in waiting, threw a couple of rope-lines into the boat, and towed us for at least a mile under the walls of the Seraglio. The wind blew strongly from the north-east, and the current rushing violently down the Bosporus, we had some difficulty to prevent being dashed against the rocky projections of the shore. The entrance of the port and the mouth of the straits, which in fine weather is covered with boats, was whitened with breakers, and showed only a solitary skiff driving across us towards the sea of Marmora. The sensations produced by the state of the weather, and leaving a comfortable cabin, were in unison with the impressions which we felt, when, passing under the palace of the Sultans, and gazing at the gloomy cypresses which rise above the walls, we saw two dogs gnawing a dead body. When we had got beyond the immediate influence of the current, we pulled across the mouth of the harbour to the principal stairs leading to Pera, which are at Tophana, a suburb so denominated from a cannon-foundry and artillery ground. Several horses are kept ready saddled, and attended by boys, under the shade of a large Chinese fountain, near the landing-place; some of which we mounted, and rode up a steep hill to the part of the town in which we intended to lodge. The streets through which we passed were as narrow as those of Ioannina, and not so clean. At the corners of them were heaps of dust and filth, the refuse of the quarter, on which several thin gaunt dogs were lying asleep.

These animals abound in every region of the capital; and, though not admitted into any house, and considered unclean, are never destroyed by the Turks. On the contrary, their multiplication is rather encouraged than checked, for I have more than once seen a litter of puppies warmly nestled in a mat or rug, placed for the purpose of their protection by some charitable inhabitant of the neighbourhood. They render a walk by night not a little perilous. It is allowable to beat them off with sticks, but not to use any other weapon; for a formal complaint was made, that the dogs near Tophana had been wounded by some persons going in the evening to the English frigate.

Nassuff Pasha, Grand Vizier to Achmet the First, had the courage not only to repress the violence of the Janissaries, amongst whom he used to walk with a head in one hand and a drawn scimitar in the other, but in the year 1613 transported all the dogs over to Asia. He would have destroyed them, but the Mufti, on being consulted, told the Sultan that every dog had a soul*. Whether it is from this supposition, and the prohibition of the Koran, or from the notion that they clear the streets of the filth and offal which is thrown before the butchers' houses, they are still as much protected as at Lisbon, where one of the complaints I heard made against the French was, that they had killed ten thousand dogs, and supplied their office by night-carts. There seems a prejudice against cleanliness in the peninsula. Those attached offices, which are thought indispensable in England, are not to be found at Lisbon; nor were they introduced until 1760 at Madrid, when the physicians petitioned against the inno-

* Continuation of Knolles by Edward Grimstone.

vation, as prejudicial to the health of the inhabitants. The better-most Turks, however, never neglect the construction of such appurtenances to all their dwellings, and have not therefore the same reason as the Portugueze for fondness to their dogs.—It has been observed *, that these animals have divided the city into districts; and that they deliver an intruder from one to another quarter, as an English beggar is transmitted from parish to parish. I did not ascertain the existence of this precise regulation, but I have been frequently disturbed at night by their howling, and have seen a pack of them hunting a strange dog beyond their boundaries.

We had not much less than a mile to ride, the whole way on an ascent, before we came to our inn. This was situated at the corner of the main street of Pera, where four ways meet; all of which were not less mean and dirty than the lanes of Wapping. The hotel, however, (kept by a Mons. Marchand) was a very comfortable mansion, containing many chambers handsomely furnished, and a large billiard-room, which is the resort of all the idle young men of the place. Our dinners there were better served, and composed of meats more to the English taste than we had seen at any tavern since our departure from Falmouth; and the butter of Belgrade (perfectly fresh, though not of a proper consistency) was a delicacy to which we had long been unaccustomed. The best London porter, and nearly every species of wine, except port, were also to be procured in any quantity. To this eulogy cannot be added the material recommendation of cheapness.—There is another Frank hotel at a little distance in the same street, which in this respect is preferable, but is in every other point of view inferior to that of Mons. Marchand.

* Present State of Turkey, p. 288, 4to. edit.

Immediately opposite to my bed-room window was a Turkish coffee-house, and a wooden bench under the wall near the door was constantly occupied by four or five of the patrole, sleeping at their length or smoking. These watchmen, called Passevend*, belong to the Topges, or gunners' corps, and the Topge-Bashe is their immediate superior: they carry a long pole shod with iron, which they beat violently against the ground in going their rounds during the night, and employ with no little dexterity in tripping up the feet of those whom they wish to overtake, by flinging them along the ground.

There is no preventive police in the place; and, in the punishment of offenders, those who are caught suffer for those who escape. A severe beating or bastinade is inflicted without any previous enquiries, upon the first person whom, in any disturbance, the patrole happens to seize. Either no pains are taken to discover the guilty, or when discovered he may prove to belong to the Janissaries or some other corps, and will then be protected by the whole body of his comrades. A single oda will sometimes refuse to surrender a culprit, even when demanded by the Janissar-Aga, the General of all the Janissaries.

I was at a little distance from the watchman's station one day at noon, when a young woman, belonging to a class of which there are but few in the place, made use of an abusive expression to a galiondge, or sailor of the fleet, who, without answering, drew his attaghan and stabbed her to the heart. One of our Albanians was

* The famous Passwan-Oglu was, as his appellation denotes, the son of one of these watchmen. Many Pashas are what we should call nick-named; a species of raillery at which the Turks are very ready: thus Topal-Pasha, is lame Pasha; Kusch-Pasha, bald Pasha; Kior-Pasha, one-eyed Pasha.

on the spot, and came up to me with the story. It happened close to the guard-house, and the sailor walked deliberately down the hill towards the port without any attempt being made to apprehend him. The wearing of arms is prohibited in Constantinople, but in Pera many Turks, especially the galiondges, during the passage of troops to the armies, under pretence of being prepared for service, carry pistols and daggers in their belts. I have seen one man run after another with a drawn sword, without the least effort on the part of the bystanders to interrupt the fray.

Notwithstanding, however, this state of insubordination, it might be supposed that no little pains were taken to preserve the peace, or at least to enquire into the state of the city, by the continuation of a practice which has furnished so many agreeable incidents for the authors of the One Thousand and One Nights and the Arabian Tales. I have more than once observed a grave looking personage in a mean habit, sitting on the bench amongst the Passevend opposite our hotel, playing with his comboloio, or string of beads, apparently lost in meditation, now and then turning up his head for a moment, and then again resuming his solitary game. This I was informed was the Bostandge-Bashe in disguise. This officer is a person of the highest dignity in the imperial household, second only to the Selictar-Aga or royal sword-bearer: he is the chief of the Bostandges, who, from being originally the gardeners of the Sultan, are now a domestic guard, although without fire-arms, composed of five or six thousand men. He is at the head of the police (not including Constantinople), from Gallipoli to the shores of the Black Sea, and is Governor of Adrianople. It might be thought that the duties of the Bostandge-Bashe render in his case this species of mas-

querading of some service, but the other great officers of state, by no means connected with the internal regulation of the country, indulge in the same practice. I have met the Capudan Pasha on horseback dressed like a common sailor, and unattended. The Grand Signior himself sometimes parades the streets, as it is called, incognito, but is nevertheless so accompanied, as to render it not only easy, but necessary to recognize him. The purser of the English frigate Sea-horse and a woman, walking in Galata crossed the street before the late Sultan Selim as he was going one of his rounds: he ordered them both to be bastinadoed; but being informed that the man was an English subject, contented himself with the cudgelling of the woman. Many stories are told of summary vengeance being taken on petty offenders, and of bakers and butchers having been hanged at their shop doors, but I never learnt that the peace and good order of the state were any way advanced by the administration of this furtive justice.

A fire which had burnt down nearly the half of Pera, rendered it difficult to procure lodgings; but in three days we were settled at a house in the main street, and immediately opposite to a small convent of nuns, and a lane leading to Frantzoos-Seraï, the mansion-house of the French embassy.

The word seraglio, so often confounded with harem, the dwelling of the females, although used by distinction to signify the imperial residence in Constantinople, means in the original Persian word *Saraï**, no more than a house belonging to any person of distinction, and thus the Turks have the expression Inglees-Saraï, and Frantzoos-Saraï; the English palace, or the

* D'Herbelot, Bibliotheque, Orient. Artic. Sarai.

French palace. The first of these is a large stone building, very handsome in its external appearance, and containing several long and lofty rooms, one of which is fitted up like an audience-chamber, with a throne under a velvet canopy. It was built lately, at the expence of the Sultan; and the contractor, to make the most of his bargain, completed the work so imperfectly, that some of the suites of apartments are almost uninhabitable from the damp. The palace is surrounded by a piece of waste ground inclosed by a high wall, and stands at the edge of Pera, on the verge of an extensive burying-ground which slopes down towards the Golden Horn, and opens a view, from the upper windows of the house, of that part of the port where the Turkish fleet is usually at anchor.

The vicinity of a cemetery is not in the capital of Turkey judged by any means disagreeable, and no spot is so lively and frequented as the Armenian and Frank burying-ground at the outskirts of Pera, called MNEMATA, or the Tombs. It is shaded with a grove of mulberry trees, and is on the edge of some high ground, whence there is a magnificent view of the suburb of Scutari, and a great portion of the Bosporus. Between it and the town there is an open space, having on one side, towards the north, a handsome structure of very considerable extent, inclosing a square, which is the Topges, or gunners' barracks, and furnishes quarters for several odas of artillery-men. The flat before the barracks, is on Sundays, Saturdays, and Fridays, but more particularly the first, the scene of a hundred childish amusements. There may be seen *arabats* or light waggons drawn by a pair of oxen painted in spots, and horses saddled ready for hire, together with swings, *ups and downs* (Αιώρα*), tee-totums, and most of our

* Mr. De Guys hints at the antiquity of this see-saw (Letter xiv.), and not less gravely than the sire of Scriblerus approves also of *Myinda*, or blindman's-buff, as a classical pastime.

common games of chance; besides a number of coloured tents, and moveable stands, containing sherbets, ices and fruits.

The Mahometans seem to enjoy the leisure of the Christian and Jewish Sabbath, no less than that of their own holy day, and leave Constantinople to lounge amongst their fellow-subjects of the suburbs. Groupes of Turkish ladies stroll about the walks, or seat themselves on the tomb-stones, or within the tents, surrounded by their children and attendants, and spectators of an amusement which has at least the recommendation of ancient authority—this is the wrestling, which has been often described at length, and may be understood from the following short sketch.

A ring is generally formed by Turks seated on the ground (although two antagonists will sometimes commence the sport unobserved, and apart), who contemplate the mutual efforts with sedate eagerness, and now and then withdraw the pipes from their mouths to applaud any unexpected exertion. The wrestlers, excepting a pair of tight leather drawers, are completely undressed, and their dark naked limbs and shaved heads shine with the oil with which they are plentifully besmeared. They advance slowly towards each other from opposite quarters of the ring, shouting and clapping their hands forcibly on their thighs, at the same time inclining their bodies, as if with the purpose of obtaining the undermost grasp in the subsequent grappling, and they continue at this kind of manœuvre, cautiously surveying and circling each other for some time before they join. They do not attempt to strike each other, but lay hold of the arms as a prelude to the serious encounter. When they are locked together, the chief effort of each seems to be to pass the arm between his opponent's legs. They soon bring one another to the ground, which does by no means decide, but rather commences the ardent part of the struggle. Then it is that the combatants present a complete

picture of the ancient ΑΝΑΚΛΙΝΟΠΑΛΗ, or incumbent wrestling. They become so interlaced that it is difficult to tell to whom the arms, legs, and heads belong, and the limbs are occasionally twisted together more uncouthly than it would be thought the utmost suppleness of joints would permit. They roll over and over repeatedly, and continue the contest until the head of one of them is decidedly under the body or grasp of the other, and he is unable to regain a commanding position.

The Turks originally may have borrowed this art from their conquered subjects, by whom, however, it is no longer practised, for the Greeks never wrestle. The exercise would perhaps be esteemed too manly for slaves, and might render them suspected by their masters. Yet it is possible that this game was not adopted by the Turks for the first time at the conquest of the Greek empire, but was a part of those habits which, although they were found amongst the civilized Greeks, may have had their origin, or have been practised of old amongst the barbarous nations of the east. Sandys, with his usual gravity, deduces the wrestling from the Trojans *.

The Byzantine ceremonies were some of them borrowed from those of the court of Persia; and the Frank who witnesses the audience of an ambassador at the Seraglio, may fancy himself another Luitprand, at the court of Nicephorus Phocas, astonished by the obscure splendour and mysterious magnificence of the presence-chamber of the Imperial Greek. It is more probable, however, that the Ottoman princes had observed the same form at Brusa, than that they adopted it from a court which, after the taking of the capital, had ceased to exist. The Byzantine Greeks esteemed being

* Relation of a Journey, lib. iii. p. 205.

on horseback a sign of dignity; for no Jew but the first physician was allowed to ride in Constantinople*. The same notion has been before remarked as prevalent amongst the Turks; but it had been transmitted to them by their Tartar ancestors; they did not learn it from the Greeks. The fact seems to be, that the customs called oriental, were not exclusively possessed by the inhabitants of any particular region or country, but were diffused over the most civilized portion of Europe as well as Asia, and reigned without a rival until the rise and predominance of another and, as it were, a distinct race of mankind.—With respect to general customs†, the Greeks and Turks had little to learn of each other at the fall of the eastern empire. It is not meant to be advanced that there was a perfect similarity between them. The former people may not have mounted on the right side of the horse, nor have turned their toes inwards, nor have bowed, by dropping the head on the shoulder, like the Janissaries. The arbitrary regulations of religion or of law, fashion, and what may be called chance, have at all times made considerable changes in those points which are looked upon as the characteristic distinctions of nations; yet, on the whole, the system of manners belonging to the civilized ancients of the West and East, seems to be nearly the same as that of the modern Orientals, and entirely distinct from that of the Franks and of Christendom. If the Russians, Poles, and Hungarians, have any peculiarities which distinguish them from other Frank Christians, it is because these nations are of Oriental origin, and have not long adopted,

* Voyage de Benjamin fils de Jonas, p. 13.

† The conquerors being the more ignorant of the two, might imbibe some of the opinions of the Greeks, and such habits as depended upon those opinions. See Letter xxxi. p. 508, of this volume.

and still only partially, the manners of the part of the world in which they are now settled.

The beard*, the loose robe, the recumbent posture, the use of the bath, distinguished the old inhabitants of Italy and Greece no less than those of Asia.

In that most important of all points, the condition of the female, the polished ancients approached much nearer to the

* This distinction of manhood was universally worn by the first Greeks and Romans, as it was in early periods by all the Turks. It did not begin to be left off until the time of Demosthenes at Athens, and no man was seen without one in Rome before the year of the city 454. A smooth chin was a prodigy amongst the Saracen warriors, for the young Elemir, the son of the great Saladine, was frighted at a man without a beard. Notwithstanding the discontinuance of this usage before mentioned, the beard was again introduced by Hadrian; and although Julian was ridiculed on that account at Antioch, it was worn by all the generals of Justinian, and by every person of any rank amongst the Greeks, to the latest period of their empire. The state of manners in a nation amongst whom such a habit could be renewed after having been laid aside, must have been entirely different from those of Christendom in our own days. It may be asserted, that this appendage was worn not very long ago by some amongst the most polite Frank nations; but this, as well as the robes belonging to those of the learned professions, and used on public ceremonies by the chief personages of the state, was a custom not derived from our ancestors of the north, but from an intercourse with, or perhaps a pedantic imitation of the civilized inhabitants of the south of Europe†. Tacitus remarks, that of the German nations, there were some, amongst whom no one was allowed to cut off his beard until he had killed an enemy‡. The Lombards received their names from the singularity of wearing this distinguishing mark on the face, and their appellation may show us, that the custom in question did never obtain amongst the ancient Franks, in the same manner as amongst the Greeks, Romans, and Orientals.

† The Professors of the University of Paris wore beards until forbidden by edict in 1534; in England the habit was continued much later.

‡ Et aliis Germanorum populis usurpatum rara et privata cujusque audentia, apud Cattos in consensum vertit; ut primum adoleverint crinem barbamque summittere, nec nisi hoste cæso exuere votivum obligatumque virtuti ovis habitum.—De Morib. German. cap. 31.

Orientals than to ourselves. It was, indeed, the boast of civilization to confine one man to one woman, and to check the promiscuous intercourse of the sexes—

"Concubitu prohibere vago, dare jura maritis;"

but the frequency of divorce both in Greece and at Rome*, must, as far as the respectability of the female was concerned, have been productive of much the same effects as a plurality of wives. As to the general treatment of women, the resemblance between the Orientals and the Greeks and (it may perhaps be added) the Romans, is too striking to escape observation. The ladies of Athens were confined as rigorously, and were as reserved in their manners, as those of a Turkish harem. The orator Lysias apologizes for the widow, whom extreme distress had prompted to state her case in person to some male relations; and Demosthenes could no other way prove that Orestes and his sister lived in the same house, than by an examination of the female slaves, and the evidence of a physician. These are decisive instances, and are quoted as such in that one of Mr. Hume's Essays called a Dialogue.

A perusal of the fifth book of Xenophon's Memorabilia, will show that the best Athenian wives were mere domestic drudges; for the lady of Ischomachus is recommended kneading, baking, and shaking clothes and carpets, as gymnastics productive of health, and a better colour than the paint with which the faces of the females were usually bedaubed†. The Theban ladies,

* De l'Esprit des Lois. Liv. xvi. cap. 16. "Coriolan, partant pour son exil, conseilla à sa femme de se marier à un homme plus heureux que lui."

† Ἀγαθὸν δὲ ἔφην εἶναι γυμνάσιον καὶ τὸ δεῦσαι, καὶ μάξαι, καὶ ἱμάτια καὶ στρώματα ἀνασεισαὶ καὶ συνθηναὶ.—Xenophon. Memorabil. lib. v. p. 848, edit.

when in public, showed no part of their faces but the eyes*. The singular institutions of Sparta are not to be quoted against those of every other part of Greece. The females in the time of the Greek empire were so secluded, that even their brothers were allowed access to them only twice a year, and the higher classes never went abroad except in covered litters†.

Mr. Hume‡ is inclined to think that the Romans, until the establishment of the empire, lived with their women much in the same manner as the English, that is, without jealousy, and with no other gallantry than that of complaisance. Yet it appears that the people of Rome could not be compared with us either in generosity or the want of jealousy; for, not to mention other points of dissimilarity, they esteemed adultery so heinous a crime, that until the time of Theodosius, the female culprit was publicly prostituted in the capital of Italy, a bell ringing before her as she passed through the streets.—It has been allowed on all hands§, that the respectful attachment to the other sex, of which the first principles are to be found amongst our German ancestors‖, and which, from the

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Leunclav. There are some variations in the reading, which may be seen by consulting the above edition.

* Dicæarchus, Βιος Ελλαδος, Anacharsis' Travels, Voyage au Thèbes.

† Philelphi. epist. ap. Hod. Philological Enquiries, chap. v.

‡ See a Dialogue, vol. ii. p. 394, and note 20, p. 503, Essays.

§ "The humanity which accompanies the operations of war, the refinements of gallantry, and the point of honour, are the three chief circumstances which distinguish ancient from modern manners."—Robertson, Charles V. vol. i. sect. 1, p. 85, 2d edit.

‖ Tacit. de Morib. Germ. cap. 18, 19.—The prohibition of polygamy amongst the Germans alone, of almost all the barbarians, must make us believe that they were instinctively convinced of the equality of the sexes, upon which

height of chivalrous frenzy, has subsided into the ready deference of European gallantry, was entirely unknown to the great nations of antiquity, and is the chief peculiarity of that cast of character which marks the difference between modern and ancient society. To this cause must it be attributed, that prudence, simplicity of manners, good sense and judgment, are not so much esteemed, as gaiety, politeness, taste, and delicacy*; and that a man of our day, whose character should be impressed with the hardihood of antiquity, might excite our wonder, and perhaps command our admiration, but would attract neither our love nor our esteem.

We may aver with Montesquieu, that many arguments may be offered for and against the liberty of women—"*il-y-a bien des raisons pour et contre la libertè des femmes;*" but notwithstanding the hesitation of that philosopher, the Christian zeal of our times would decide the case in favour of the sex, if we could persuade ourselves, with a lively and by no means unexperienced Mussulman of the last century, that the greater diffusion of Islamism has been prevented by the women†. When, however, a

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persuasion all modern gallantry is founded. The conjugal severity *(severa matrimonia)* of these savages has not, together with their attachment to the women, descended to their modern posterity. Female offenders are not now whipped through the streets.

* A Dialogue, p. 395, vol. ii. Hume's Essays.

† Mr. W. Montague stated this to the Duke of Hamilton, in presence of Dr. Moore at Venice.—See A View of Manners, &c. in Italy. Against this merit may be weighed the fact, that the Chinese proscribed Christianity on account of the liberty and equality which it granted to the female sex, and that, therefore, our religion will never be that of China. "Une chose bien triste," says Montesquieu, liv. xix. cap. 18.

late author declares that he would judge of the progress of civilization by the influence of females in a state*, he should surely have limited his remark to the nations of modern Europe, and to the present order of things; and the necessity of such a limitation is most distinctly shown, by the unfortunate reference which he has made to the urbanity of the Lacedemonians. No people in Greece were distinguished by so total a want of polished manners as the inhabitants of Sparta; and one of the first philosophers of antiquity comments upon the defective policy which gave such undue power and liberty to their women†. Allowing the complete superiority of their military character‡, we cannot but put them at the lowest rank amongst the professors and inventors of sciences and arts; nor do we find that when wealth and power had made them luxurious to a degree unrivalled by any other Grecian state, their debaucheries were accompanied with any signs of taste or ingenuity.

It would be as difficult to discover the cause, as to decide upon the merits, of the Oriental treatment of women. Polygamy, and the seclusion of females, are not, as Baron Reidesel§ (supported

* Thornton's Present State of Turkey, p. 311, 4to.

† Aristot. lib. i. Rhetoric; lib. ii. Politic. De Pauw, Philosophical Dissertations on the Greeks, vol. ii. sect. 10.

‡ Xenophon told the ten thousand, that it would be unseemly both in their eyes and his own, to appoint him general, when a Lacedemonian was present—Κυρ. Αναβ. lib. 5. p. 434; and this ascendancy was so much the more extraordinary, as the other Grecian states had at that time such a reputation for military skill, that Caryatides, a Theban, journeyed about, enquiring if any city or nation was in want of a general—στρατηγιῶν καὶ ἐπαγγελλόμενος, εἴ τις ἢ πόλις ἢ ἔθνος στρατηγῆ δέοιτο.—Ibid. lib. Z. p. 499.

§ "La polygamie et l'usage de tenir les femmes renfermées chez elles sont donc des effets des climats chauds," &c.—Voyage au Levant, chap. ix. p. 338.

by the authority of Montesquieu) supposes, the immediate effects of a warm sun, nor are they to be found alone in southern climates. "Usages are independent of latitude and longitude*." A plurality of wives is allowed amongst the Kamschatdales; and there is no less sensuality in their frozen huts than in the harems of the Turks. In Thibet, and some cold countries of Asia, a wife is permitted to have several husbands: this, says Montesquieu, is because in those places there are born more male than female children†: but whatever may be the cause, it is clear from this very instance, that the passions of the one sex at least, are as strong in cold as in warm climates. The Egyptians did not seclude their women until the time of Hakem, the third Fatimite Caliph, and rebelled when the order was first promulgated. The Assyrians allowed the women to feast with the men, although in the heart of a country whose inhabitants have been at all times most strict in that respect, and considered the custom as a strange corruption, and degeneracy of manners‡. The restraint severely observed one hundred and fifty years ago in the treatment of the Spanish women, was not produced by the sun, but was a relic of Moorish manners. The distinction between the hooded Theban women and the Spartan Phænomerides, was caused, not by the different aspect of the sky, but the separate institutions of the two states.

It may be inferred that the Turks, when they first issued from their mountains, and were like their other Tartar brethren a wandering nation, had not such ability of confining their women as their Ottoman descendants, who have fixed settlements, and have

* State of Turkey, p. 307, 4to.
† De l'Esprit de Lois. Liv. xvi. cap. 4.
‡ Decline and Fall, vol. ii. 4to. p. 351.

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A TURKISH WOMAN.

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deserted the camp for the city. Neither Carpin, Rubruquis, nor the other early travellers amongst the Oriental Tartars, advert to any seclusion of their females, although they notice the plurality and the buying of their wives*. We learn, however, that the delicacy of never speaking of their females, is ascribed in a much higher degree to the Turkish nations, than to the other Orientals†.

Whether we are to call their seclusion barbarous or not, the pity bestowed upon the Turkish women may well be spared. Lady M. W. Montague, who had the best means of forming a judgment, has given an enviable picture of their domestic life; and, as far as can be observed from their public appearance, they are in possession of the enjoyments suited to their taste. They can ride in their arabats, sail in their barges, and ramble at pleasure through the crowded streets of the city, or the walks in the environs of Pera. Persons of high rank may refuse themselves the latter gratification, but if they do, it is a voluntary restraint, as under disguise they may walk alone in any quarter; a liberty not enjoyed by the higher classes of our own capital. Not only the Armenian burying-ground, but the sloping gardens of Dolma-Baktche, a mile beyond on the shore of the Bosporus, are fre-

* Au reste, chacun peut avoir autant de femmes qu'il en peut nourrir . . . . Ils les achetent fort cherement de leur peres et meres . . . . Voyage de Carpin en Tartarie, article ii.—" Pour ce qui est de leurs mariages, il faut scavoir que personne n'a de femme s'il ne l'achete."—Voyage de Rubruquis en Tartarie, chap. ix.; Voyages faits principalement en Asie, &c. à La Haye, M.DCC.XXXV.

† The common delicacy of the Orientals in never speaking of their women, is ascribed in a much higher degree by Arabash to the Turkish nation.—Decline and Fall, &c. cap. 65, note 31.

quented by many parties of ladies, who seat themselves on silken cushions and rich carpets, the furniture of their houses, and view the djerid playing in the flat below, or the humours of a Jewish mountebank under a spreading mulberry-tree. A little boy, called a Dolop-oglassi, generally accompanies them, and plays on a mandoline whilst they are sipping their coffee and sherbet, and attending to the gambols of their infant children.

No one has written on the character of this nation without noticing the reciprocal affection of the mother and the children in a Turkish family, and this feeling, tender in the one, respectful in the other, and constant and indissoluble in both, must of itself secure for the women a happiness which the artificial regulations of European society have perhaps a tendency to interrupt and annihilate. The Valide, or Sultan-Mother, possesses a maternal power, and has sometimes exercised an unpropitious influence over the Grand Signior himself. The law which forbids the Mussulman to mourn for the dead*, still allows the mother to weep three days over the tomb of her son. The woman has an absolute controul in her household, and enjoys a domestic power which, amongst ourselves, it is often the fruitless aim and labour of a whole female life to attain. Though the "benden dosol," or two words of divorce, can dissolve a marriage, they cannot deprive the wife of her portion, which remains at all times, and under every circumstance, inviolable.

The plurality of wives, which the spirit of an European lady cannot even reflect upon with patience, is not in Turkey so terrible, nor so common a calamity as is generally supposed. The wives, even if there are four, live in separate suites of apartments,

* Bobovius on the Turkish Liturgy, sect. 5.

and command their separate establishments. The daughters of Sultans, or such as bring large portions, will not allow of a rival; and those who are not wealthy cannot afford an expensive establishment of wives any more than of horses or slaves. The same observation may be made respecting concubinage. The use of female slaves is not, perhaps, more common in Turkey, than the promiscuous amours of the husbands of Paris or London: the difference is only in the institution, which avowedly admits of such a practice. It should be recollected, that the female attendants usually belong to the mistress, and not to the master of a family. Former writers have corrected the errors of Christendom, which encouraged a belief that the Mussulmans considered their females made solely for the gratification of believers, and denied them souls, and a place in the future Paradise*.

* "Mahomet was not so hard-hearted towards the women as to exclude them from Heaven." There are passages in the Koran which decide the matter—"Whosoever doth good works, either man or woman, and believeth, shall enter into Paradise." "They shall enter gardens of pleasure, together with those of their fathers or wives that have done good." "Believing men and believing women shall enter into the heavenly Paradise."—See Surat, xl. v. 43; xvi. v. 95; xiii. v. 23; xlviii. v. 5; lvii. v. 12; lx. v. 12; lxvi. v. 11. See a Short System of the Mahometan Theology, collected from the Arabic Authors by Adrian Reeland, Lond. 1712, sect. 18. Add to this, that the learned Dr. T. Hyde, commenting on the Turkish Liturgy of Bobovius, says, "the sensual pleasures of Paradise are reckoned allegorical by the wisest Mahometans, that they may be better conceived by human understanding; just as many things are said in the Holy Bible, after the manner of men. For, writing to the Morocco embassador, when I mentioned a pleasant garden like that of Paradise, he answered me by a reproof, saying, *Paradise was such a place to which nothing could be likened in this world, to wit, which neither eye had seen, nor ear heard, nor entered into the heart of men.*"—A Treatise concerning the Turkish Liturgy, sect. 5, note d, p. 142.

These absurdities may be credited by some of the vulgar, although the same funeral service is performed over the defunct of both sexes; but Sir Paul Rycaut was entirely mistaken, when he attributed the depravity of the Turkish women to their disbelief in a future state*. He was also going too far, in describing them as destitute of all principles of virtue. Examples of sensualtity are no doubt to be found amongst them, and many travellers, who perhaps have only been served by the procurers of Pera with Armenian females, will be ready to vouch for, and magnify the fact. They have, it is true, as great a scope for the indulgence of any evil inclination as the beauties of Christendom; but Lady M. W. Montague can not have been serious, when she hints that they are equally licentious. I heard several tales similar to those told in books, of assignations formed at the shops of Jewish merchants and jewellers, some of which had terminated tragically. An Italian, who kept a trinket shop in Pera, disappeared suddenly, and a body was found in his house entirely stripped, which was afterwards discovered to be that of a female of distinction, who, to gratify her lover, had robbed the harem of her husband, and had been murdered to prevent detection. The same motive has sometimes been fatal to the other party. The courtesans of the suburbs are chiefly Greeks, although there are some Armenians, and a few of the lowest class are Mahometans. I should doubt whether there is in the character of the Turkish women, ignorant as they are, more voluptuousness than in the spiritual females of our own luxurious metropolis.

* Hist. of the Ottoman Empire, 8vo. p. 271, quoted in the above commentary.

It is roundly asserted by Busbek, Sandys*, and other writers, that they are tainted with that which the author of the Present State of Turkey has overshadowed in the delicacy of his phrase, "as an incorrectness of taste, and irregularity of conduct†." The charge must have been founded on individual instances, but these enormities cannot, from any thing I heard, be called characteristic of the Turkish women.

The external appearance of the females does not promise any very superior personal beauty. Their form is unwieldy and flaccid, but their large black eyes surmounted with an arched brow on a forehead of dazzling whiteness, would be sufficiently attractive, if the appearance of the same features in almost every woman did not lead one to suspect those beauties to be artificial, which is generally the case. The other parts of their faces are of a regular make, and of a polished smoothness. Their died nails, and some other personal peculiarities, are no more agreeable to an European taste than their custom of smoking. Nothing can be more dissimilar than the appearance of a Turkish lady at home and abroad. Her envelopement is thrown off within doors, and, as Sandys says‡, her under are then her upper garments, which, although covered with gold and other heavy ornaments, are certainly not contrived for the concealment of her charms.

Travellers are at this day under disadvantages not experienced in former times, if, as Mr. Tournefort asserts, the interior of female baths was once open to the inspection of the curious§. These retreats are at present absolutely inaccessible; nor does it

* Epistol. iii. A Relation of a Journey, p. 69, lib. i.
† P. 355, edit. 4to.
‡ Relation of a Journey, lib. i. p. 68.
§ Voyage du Levant, lettre xiv. p. 93, tom. ii.

now happen that the women take, as it is reported they formerly did*, any interest in the conversion of unbelievers.

The purchase of females was at one time permitted to the Christians: at present, none but Mahometans are allowed that privilege, or can even be present at the inspection of the slaves. Aurat-Bazar, the former female slave-market, was burnt down in the last rebellion. The Imperial Odalisques, belonging to the Sultan's harem, are for the most part presents from the Pashas, procured from the merchants who trade in Circassia and Georgia. They are the attendants of the Khâduns, or favourites of the Sultan, the household of each of whom is composed of 150 or 200 of these beauties. This is a more probable relation than that the whole of the Odalisques live and sleep in two large dormitories, as is commonly reported. It is amongst the secrets of the mysterious interior of the seraglio (the dévlet juréck, words never pronounced without respect by the Turks), which, in spite of all research, are even yet preserved, that the number of the Khâdûns is not precisely known: the last account of the harem limits them to seven†. This calculation, one way or the other, must be much over-rated, as it would furnish the Sultan with between thirteen and fourteen hundred concubines: Sultan Achmet the First is said, in the Continuation of Knolles, to have retained three thousand; but Sandys, who was at his court, makes the number five hundred‡. It is reported, that the Odalisques of the present Grand Signior do not amount to more than three hun-

* Paroles Remarquables des Orientaux, par M. Galand.

† Notice sur la Cour du Grand Seigneur, Paris, 1809, p. 22. Dr. Dallaway says they were six until the time of Abdulhamid, the last Sultan but two, who added one Khâdun.—Const. Anc. and Mod. p. 27.

‡ Relation of a Journey, lib. i. p. 74.

dred. Mr. De Tott* seems to think that the annual expence of each female's dress does not exceed ten guineas, and concludes from that circumstance, that the harem may be supported without any vast revenue.—An effectual method of suddenly diminishing this establishment was adopted by the late Grand Vizier Bairactar, who drowned more than a hundred Odalisques of Sultan Mustapha's harem, instead of removing them, as is usually the custom, to Eski Saraï, the Old Seraglio.

The idle tales relative to the amatory ceremonies of the Imperial harem require no farther contradiction than they have before met with from well-informed writers. It appears that the Sultan's selections are made during his visits to the Khâduns, or sometimes the Valide, and that his choice is notified by the Keyayah-Khâdun, or Intendant of the harem. The story of throwing the handkerchief, which was so established a fact, that it was introduced with no little success upon the English stage†, and became proverbial, is not so entire a fiction as has been lately imagined, but originates in the oriental practice of accompanying a visit with a gift, and generally of shawls worked in gold or silver. The Keyayah, on delivering the notice, presents the Odalisque with a piece of muslin, containing usually some night garments and embroidered handkerchiefs.

Every epithet of commiseration has been attached to the ladies of the harem; but as no writer was ever able to speak from per-

* Vol. i. p. 131.

† His Majesty withdrew with the fair one to the interior; "which," said a writer in a periodical paper of the day, "might be a subject of great content to the parties, although we that staid without, made, methought, but a ridiculous figure."

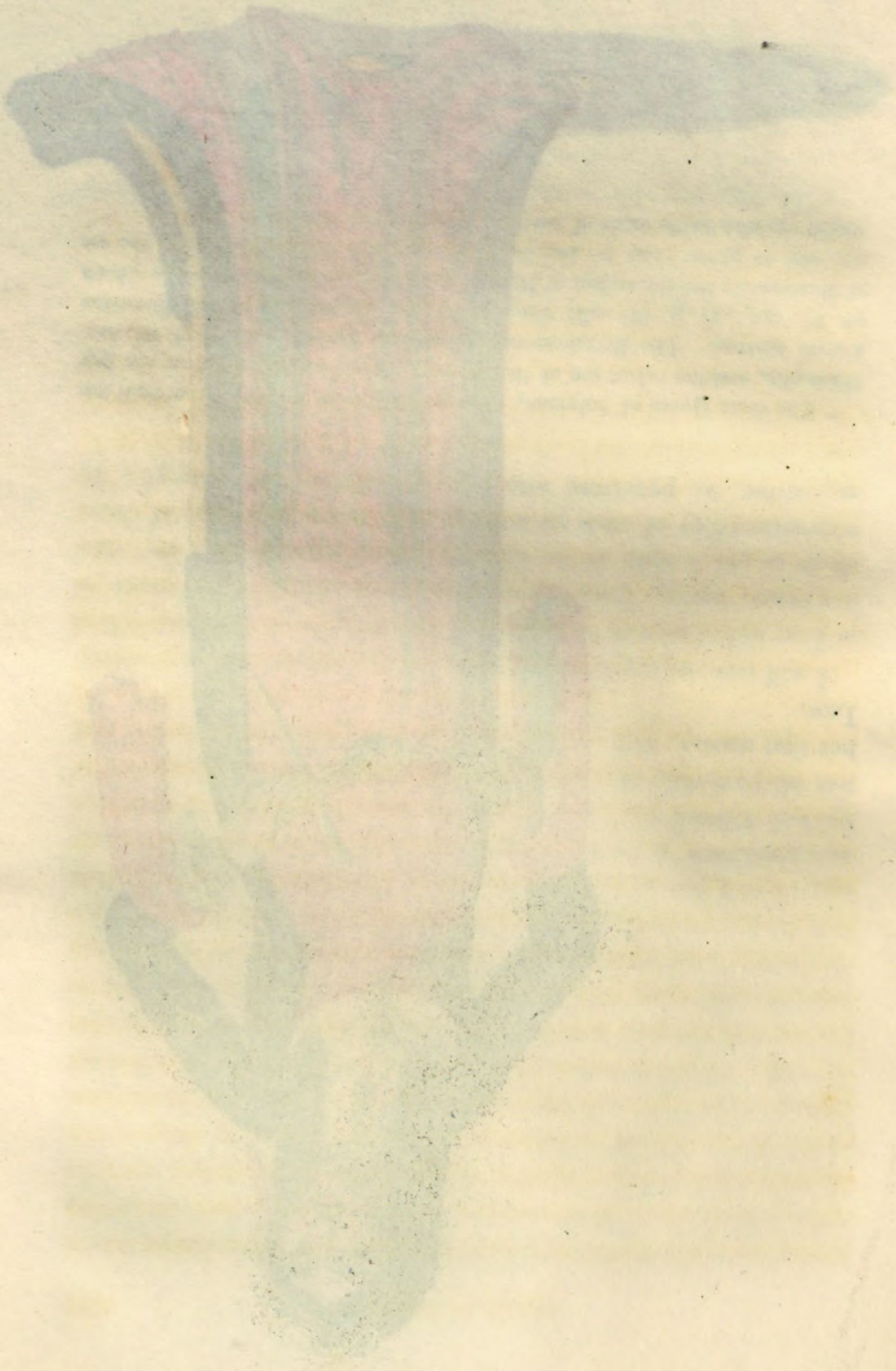
sonal experience, the pity may be gratuitously and unseasonably bestowed upon persons who are not, perhaps, at all sensible that they can be the objects of any other feeling than envy and admiration. It was saying more perhaps than was intended, when Mr. Tournefort allowed them to be, of all the slaves in the world, the least miserable*. Educated from a tender age within the precincts of the Seraglio, and feeling not a wish for that liberty which no female in the empire enjoys, they partake of all the amusements, and are educated in all the accomplishments of their sex; and the hopes of each are constantly cherished by the chance of her being the favourite of her Imperial master, and perhaps the mother of an Ottoman sovereign.

The Valide, or Sultan-mother, has revenues and a separate establishment: her influence has in some reigns been considerable enough to be highly prejudicial to the interests of the empire: such was the mother of Mustapha the First.

In the first alliance of England and the Porte, there was an interchange of presents and letters between Queen Elizabeth and the Empress-Wife, as she was styled, of Amurath the Third †, who possessed the importance always attached to the mother of the heir apparent, and indeed to any Hasseki, or mother of a royal son, and continued to enjoy her dignity and power as Valide, in the reign of Mahomet the Third. The Queens of the harem have been charged with the commission of every disgraceful violence; and the ferocious ambition of one female, whose character has been rendered notorious by the pen which has represented it in the most

* Voyage du Levant, lettre xiii. vol. ii. p. 20, edit. Paris, 1717.

† See Hakluyt, The English Voyages, &c. vol. ii. p. 311, edit. 1593.





A SULTANA.

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agreeable traits, has communicated itself to the whole succession of female Sultans. But Roxalana and the mother of Mustapha are not to cast a shade over all the Ottoman Princesses, any more than Catharine of Medicis is to be given as a fair specimen of a French Queen*. The powerful females of the harem have been allowed to possess in a superior degree a virtue which is of itself the characteristic of a noble and ingenuous mind—their early benefactors they never forget; and the rise of several great men of the Turkish empire has originated from the gratitude of a favourite, who did not fail to bear in mind the author of her introduction to the Seraglio. The Valide, in the time of the late Selim, was presented to Sultan Mustapha his father at the age of nine, by Veli Effendi the Mufti; and when, in the reign of her son she was all-powerful, she loaded with wealth Veli Vade, the child of her first master, and advanced him to the highest honours of the Law.

I will now conclude this notice of the Imperial harem, which, as Tournefort says of his account of Gallipoli, is all I can tell of it without having been there, with mentioning, that I made no effort to get a sight of its inmates, being persuaded of the total impracticability of such an attempt. It has not been at all times impossible to penetrate into the gardens of the Seraglio, by

* The cruel Queen of Solyman, who caused him to murder his gallant son Mustapha, and the infant son of that Prince, cannot be recognised in the gay French mistress. The Roxalana of Busbek (see Busbeq. epist. i. p. 29, usq. ad. 37; epist. iii. p. 121, edit. Oxon. 1660) and Cantemir is not the Roxalana of Marmontel; but the author of Moral Tales has recorded the manner in which she rose to power (and he founded his story on a fact), rather than the use which she afterwards made of her authority over the Sultan.

the assistance of a foreigner employed in their superintendance; but the time chosen for that enterprise must be when the Khâduns and the Odalisques have been removed to their summer palaces: even the adventurous Pouqueville beheld only an empty dormitory. When any of the ladies walk in the gardens with the Sultan, or move from the different dwellings of the Seraglio, the Black Eunuchs precede them; and at the redoubtable cry of "Helvet!" any gardeners who may be within the walls, abandon their work, and fly to the gates: even the White Eunuchs are excluded. A loiterer would be at once cut to pieces by the sabres of the Blacks—"Qui est ce qui voudroit mourir pour un coup-d'œil si mal employé* ?"

* Tournefort, Voyage du Levant, lettre xiii. vol. iii. p. 20, edit. Paris, 1717.

LETTER XLV.

The Valley of Sweet Waters—The Plain of the Barbysses—The Woods and Village of Belgrade—Road to Buyuk-dere—The Thracian Banks of the Bosporus—The Town and Meadow of Buyuk-dere—The European Side of the Canal to Fanaraki —The Cyanean Isles, and Ancient Altar—The Asiatic Shores of the Bosporus—The New Castles—The Hieron—Giant's Mountain—The Shore to Scutari—Bourgaloue—Fanar-Baktchessi—Kaddi-Keui on the Site of Chalcedon—Kis-Kalesi, or Leander's Tower.

STRANGERS at Pera are usually taken to see a certain number of spots in the vicinity of Constantinople; the chief of which are the valley of Sweet Waters, the villages of Belgrade and Buyuk-dere, the mouth of the Bosporus, the Giant's tomb, the mountain of Bourgaloue above Scutari, and the garden of Fanar-Baktchessi. At the head of the port is a large flat of low land, having very much the appearance of the meadows near the harbour of Portsmouth, which seems to have been created by the perpetual alluvions of the river Lycus, formed by the united streams of the ancient Cydaris and Barbysses. There are some paper-mills near the head of the port, which have given the spot the name of Kiat-Hana, or in Greek, Kartaricos. A mile and a half beyond the mills, the ground rises on each side, and

encloses a flat valley adorned with the pleasure-grounds and kiosk of Sultan Achmet the Third, which were constructed by a Frenchman on the plan of the gardens at Versailles and Fontainebleau. The river is there converted into a straight canal, running between avenues of tall trees. At the kiosk the stream runs over two flights of marble steps. Near the cascade is a grove of tall trees, which is the resort of parties from Pera and Constantinople. I have seen a circle of French gentlemen, with a cloth before them covered with bottles and glasses and cold provisions, much after the manner of our jaunting citizens, amusing themselves with a Jew conjuror, and bursting into loud fits of laughter; whilst the groupes of Turks, also spectators, and some of them in two little lattice-work boxes, built as *namasgahs*, or places of prayer, contemplated the scene with countenances of invincible gravity, forming a strong contrast with the obstreperous mirth of the noisy foreigners. Strings of females promenading between the avenues, sets of dancing Greeks, horses superbly caparisoned, add to the beauty and singularity of the spectacle which is to be seen on any fine day in the valley of Sweet Waters. At the kiosk of Kiat-Hana there is a line of field-pieces pointed up the valley, not intended for defence, but for the practice of the Topges. The kiosk was the favourite summer palace of Sultan Selim: it is a gaudy building, not very large, of lath and plaster; and not having been inhabited by the court for some time, is now neglected and in decay.

A mile and a half above Kiat-Hana there is a small village, which is at the mouth of the valley of Sweet Waters, and separates it from another long plain, enclosed on each side by a chain of hills. It may be about six miles in extent: the Barbysses runs through its whole length. The plain is the pasturage of the

Sultan's horses, which are turned out on the 23d of April; when the Grand Master of the Horse (Buyuk-Embrôkhôr), and his Deputy (Kutchuk Embrôkhôr), assisted by all the Squires of the Stable (Salahor), and attended by the chief officers of state, lead the horses from the royal stables at the gate called Ahour Capoussi, in procession through the streets of Constantinople to the valley of Sweet Waters; the Sultan himself inspecting the ceremony from the pavilion of Alay Kiosch, near the great gate of the Seraglio. During the season of their feeding, they are watched by parties of Bulgars, or Bulgarians, who live in black tents pitched on the spot, and render it dangerous to pass the valley alone, or after the night-fall, as they make no scruple of demanding alms in too imposing a manner to be refused, and sometimes fire upon travellers, under pretence of attention to their charge. A gentleman of the English embassy, attended by a Janissary, was one evening, on refusing to stop, saluted by several shots, and only saved himself from running the gauntlet down the valley, by galloping up one of the steep hills on the side of the meadows.—It is not surprising that the royal horses should be treated with such respectful attention, since the Imperial stirrup is still addressed by petitioners, as in the times when the city of the Sultan was a camp, his palace a tent, and his throne a saddle. The *Rikiab-Agaleri*, or officers composing the board of state which goes by the name of the Stirrup, are the Bostandge-Bashe, the two Embrôkhôrs, and the Intendant of the palace-porters, Capidge Kehayassi*.

* Mr. Eton asserted (Survey of Turkish Empire, p. 27) the preservation of this ancient form. Mr. Thornton, "after searching with some care," (chap. iii.

The country beyond the valley, as well as on each side, is an expanse of open downs, which, generally speaking, is the character of all the immediate vicinity of Constantinople towards the interior of Thrace. The forests of Belgrade commence about ten miles from Pera, extending in length from the village of Bourgas towards the shores of the Black Sea, not less than twelve miles, and ranging along the coast at intervals for at least a hundred miles. A rich vein of coal, which has not yet been worked, has been discovered in the woods near the sea-shore.

At Bourgas is a portion of the aqueduct built originally by Theodosius, or Valens and Valentinian; destroyed by the Avars in the reign of Heraclius; repaired by Constantine Iconomachus; and totally reconstructed by Solyman the Magnificent*. Pococke has given a very minute account of this structure†. The most ancient part of it, as to its appearance and materials, which are alternate layers of brick and stone, is that within the walls; the largest, that at Bourgas, which is a stupendous structure, four hundred and forty feet long and one hundred and seven feet high. The aqueduct at Pontcysyllty may very safely be compared to either of these works.—Bourgas is between four and five miles from Belgrade. The road passes through a forest on a gravel-walk, by a stream dammed up by high massive walls, and near Belgrade skirts two large reservoirs. The largest of these is railed

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p. 97) could hear nothing of the stirrup, which does however exist, since a firman of Selim's to Baron Hubschs, Danish minister at the Porte, relative to some French prisoners, was dated from the Rikiab-Agaleri.

* Le Chevalier, Voyage de la Propontide, &c. vol. i. p. 109.

† Observations on Thrace, pp. 136, 137.

off, and as the wood grows down to the water's edge, and is intersected by many paths and green rides, looks like a lake in a cultivated park, and has indeed much the appearance of the piece of water at Bowood Park, in the county of Wilts. The village of Belgrade itself is embosomed in the depth of the forest, a little above a streamlet (the ancient Hydraulis) which falls into the reservoirs, and supplies the whole capital with water. On a green knoll is the country-house of Mr. Pisani, the chief dragoman, which was built by Sir Robert Ainslie, on the site, as some assert, of the mansion which the residence of Lady M. W. Montague has rendered an object of curiosity to every traveller. Another site is also pointed out, but the first place has the advantage of being more beautifully situated than any other in the village, and it alone commands a view of the first lake through a vista of the neighbouring groves, which so conceal the termination of the reservoir, as to give the water the appearance of a broad river winding through the woods.

Some of the foreign ambassadors retire to this village during spring and autumn. The French Minister gave a sort of fête-champêtre whilst we were there, and several large tents were pitched on a green near the rivulet, for the accommodation of the party during their repasts, and to enclose a space which was each evening allotted to the dancers. The carousal lasted four days.

The repose of Belgrade is completely interrupted by the loud merriment of the Greeks, who often retire thither from the eye of superiority, and celebrate their marriages and church-feasts with discordant music and songs. Night after night is kept awake by the pipes, tabors, and fiddles, of their moonlight dances; and the fountains, resorted to by the nymphs which charmed Lady

M. W. Montague*, do not adulterate the beverage of the youths who assist at these continued Saturnalia.

The route from Belgrade to Buyuk-dere is through the woods, but after an hour's ride you burst suddenly upon the view of the Bosporus, and the mountains of Asia. At this spot an aqueduct, built in the beginning of the last century for the supply of Pera and Galata, and the villages on the Thracian side of the canal, crosses a narrow dell, and the road passes under one of the stupendous arches into a valley between sloping woods, which expands at last into a large meadow, or rather green plain, stretching down to the shore of a deep bay or inlet of the Bosporus, called formerly Bathykolpos, and still preserving its name in the Turkish appellation of Buyuk-dere.

It was numbered amongst the ancient glories of the Bosporus, that its banks were adorned with continued edifices; and the earliest of modern travellers remarked, that, after the desolation of many ages, they had risen again under the empire of the Turks, and covered the shore for ten miles, from Metopon, the point of Galata, to the promontory Estias†. The same peculiarity is still observable on the Thracian border of the strait; and from Tophana there is a succession of villages, or rather a street of wooden houses, skirting the water's edge, the intervals between which are occupied with royal palaces and their surrounding domains. The banks are every where high, and their declivities above the dwell-

* Letter xxxvi.

† "Collucebat olim ab initio Bospori ad finem ædificiis continuis, quæ longis bellis eversa iterum excitantur, &c. &c."—Pet. Gyllii, Præfat. ap. Banduri Imperium Orientale. Pars tertia, p. 255, edit. Paris, 1711.

ings are covered with wood, interspersed with vineyards and hanging gardens.

To the artillery barrack succeeds the village of Fondoukle, commenced by Hussein Aga, in the reign of Mahomet the Fourth, on the site of the place called Argyropolis, by Atticus, an Archbishop*. Beyond are the gardens and the pier of Dolma-Baktche, or the Kiosk of Melons. Many of the seraï, and summer-houses, have received these significant, or rather fantastic, names: one is the Pearl Pavilion; another the Star Palace; a third the Mansion of Looking-glasses.

The Imperial palace beyond Dolma-Baktche, at the following village of Beshik-Tash, was built for Bey-Khan, the sister of Sultan Selim, and is also a favourite retreat of the present Grand Signior. Mr. Melling, who was employed in fitting up the interior of the mansion, gave no favourable report of it to his friend Dr. Pouqueville†; nor is there any magnificence in the exterior appearance of the building. The white pannels and coloured pents, with gilded lattices, are, however, of a character more suitable to every surrounding object than the domes and colonnades which an European taste might have substituted for the present seraï of Beshik-Tash. At this village is shown the tomb of Bek-tash, the Saint who blessed the infant corps of Janissaries, by holding over them his mantle; a type of which depends from the caps of those soldiers. Dr. Dallaway, however, calls this square piece of felt an Egyptian ornament.

* Socrat. Ecclesiast. Hist. Melet. Geog. Θραϰη, p. 437.

† Voyage au Constantinople, p. 207. He calls it "mesquin et médiocre;" but the author of Constantinople Ancient and Modern, describes it in very different terms. P. 139.

The tomb of Chairathene-Pasha, the famous Barbarossa, is also found on the same spot.

Next to Beshik-Tash is the village of Orta-Keui, and beyond Tefterdar-Bornou, the succeeding point, that of Kourou-Tchesmè, where there is a string of large wooden houses, painted in dark colours, belonging to the Greek princes, and ecclesiastics of the Fanal, and also to the richest of the Armenians and Jews.

Arnaut-Keui, the Albanian village, is next to Kourou-Tchesmè, and a large palace of the Sultan's succeeds, near Effendi-Bornou, where the stream of the Bosporus, called in this part the Devil's Current (Cheitan Akindissi), runs with the violence of a mill-race; and the boatmen, who are before assisted by a counter current, formed by the fresh water of the port, are obliged to tow the wherries for nearly a quarter of a mile. The depth of the water near the shore is in most parts so considerable, that the Turkish line-of-battle ships sometimes touch the wooden wharfs, and bear away their yards against the houses at the edge of the canal.

The succeeding point, Kislar-Bornou, is conspicuous by the old castle built on the site of some fortresses of the Greek Emperors, by Mahomet the Second, which, together with a fortress on the opposite shore, points out the exact part of the channel where the Persians, Goths, Latins, and Turks, successively passed the Bosporus. There are no houses near the fortress, which is in the midst of a thick grove, rising to a considerable height on the steep declivities of the impending hill. It is at this spot that the Bosporus appears like a majestic river, winding between banks as high and woody as those of the Wye, and not less lively and cultivated than the borders of the Thames.—I have seen, says Gyllius, the banks of the Peneus, and the shady dell between



A COLONEL OF THE JANISSARIES.

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the Thessalian hills of Olympus and Ossa: I have seen also the green and fruitful borders of those streams which flow through the rugged mountains of the Median Tempes: "but I have beheld nothing more lovely than the vale through which the Bosporus rolls its waters, adorned on either side by softly-swelling hills and gently-sinking dales, clothed with woods, vineyards, and gardens, and rich with a gay variety of shrubs, flowers, herbs, and fruit-trees*."

Nearly opposite to Mahomet's Tower, in the midst of a green meadow watered by two rivulets, and shaded with clumps of trees which give it the appearance of a park, stands a large country-seat, the property of the Grand Signior, but inhabited by the Bostandge-Bashe, with a centre and wings like an European mansion-house. The inspection of the canal, as the straits are called, is entrusted to this state officer; and he may not unfrequently be seen, in the dusk of the evening, in his eight-oared barge, skirting the villages on the banks. At this time the rayahs are careful to extinguish every light, and suspend the sound of music and dancing, which is often heard in passing under their gloomy-looking dwellings.

The towers of the castles have a mean appearance, as they are covered with conical roofs. At the bottom of Mahomet's Tower the boatmen point out to strangers the low doorways of dungeons, from which they say no one was ever known to return. They were, indeed, for some time the prisons of Christian captives of rank†. But the Towers of Oblivion (such was their name

* Præfat. ibid.

† Turribus ejus utuntur pro carceribus ad tuendos principes viros Christianos in bello captos.—Pet. Gyllii de Boss. Thrac. lib. ii. cap. 13.

in the time of the Greek Emperors) are now no longer a place of confinement for the condemned, nor for prisoners of war. The opposite castle of Anadoli, or Bogaz-Hissar, where the battery is more formidable than of Roumeli, or Eski-Hissar, is on a flat under the hills projecting into the strait, the breadth of which in this place is about half a mile. This spot, perhaps seven miles up the strait, is said by most authors to be midway of the Bosporus, and according to the ancient dimensions of the canal, may have been in that position; but it is commonly called at Constantinople by the boatmen, as far from Tophana as from Buyuk-dere, which corresponds with all the modern maps, and gives the whole canal, from the mouth at Fanaraki to the point of Scutari, a length of twenty or twenty-one miles. Mr. Tournefort's computation of sixteen miles and a half seems under-rated*.

Beyond the castle, and the point Kislar-Bornou, there is an inlet of shoal-water, called Balta-Liman, in which we saw many small trading vessels belonging to Frank merchants, stopped in their progress towards the Black Sea by an order of the Porte. A little river runs under a wooden bridge into the bay. From Balta-Liman to a bay, Stenia, there are no houses, but the remains of ancient foundations are to be seen near the water side. Yeni-Keui is a village a little beyond; and from this point the canal takes a sweep towards the north, after a mile of rocky shore. The long village of Terapia, where is the French minister's summer palace, ranges close along the edge of the canal. From a short distance beyond Terapia, boats going to

* Letter xv. p. 119, vol. ii.

Buyuk-dere cross the deep bay; and opposite to a point, "Keres-Bournou," you have the first view of the opening into the Black Sea*.

Buyuk-dere contains the country houses of the Franks of Pera, and the Russian, Danish, Swedish, Austrian, and other ministers. The façades of these mansions are most of them in the European taste, and range along an extensive strand a mile and a half long, in front of the sea, which is the evening promenade of the inhabitants and visitors. Behind them are large gardens, with groves of plane, lime, and walnut trees, overshadowing parterres of flowers and valuable plants. The meadow or plain,

* Mr. Le Chevalier (Voyage de la Propontide, &c. vol. ii. pp. 50—64) has taken considerable pains in arranging the comparative topography of the Bosporus, which may save the reference to Gyllius, and even to the learned detail contained in Mr. Tournefort's fifteenth letter (vol. ii. p. 118, et seq.), although he does not altogether agree with either of those authorities. According to his notice, Fondoukle is near the Æantéum, where the Megarenses adored Ajax; Beshik-Tash, *the site of the stone Thermastis;* Tefterdar-Bornou, *the promontory Clidion;* Effendi-Bornou, *Estias;* Kislar-Bornou, *Herméum*, near the Woman's Port; Balta-Liman, *the gulf of Phydalia;* the bay of Stenia, *Leosthenios;* the bay of Terapia, *Pharmacias;* Keres-Bornou, *the site of Petra Dicaia, or the Just Stone*, which resisted the robbery of one of two sailors who deposited their treasure there, with an oath not to invade it except by common consent (a story which Le Chevalier says is still in the mouth of the fishers of the Bosporus). It cannot but be remarked, that the modern have occasionally a reference to the ancient names, some of which are translated into Turkish, others into modern Greek, others only half translated, and others again not translated, but only having a relation to the old title. Thus, Buyuk-dere, is Bathy-Kolpos; Terapia, Pharmacias; *Kislar* Bornou, the *Woman's* Port; and Balta-Liman, the Port of the Hatchet, which seems to be so called from being thought the scene of a victory gained by the ancient heroine Phydalia.

the Kalos-âgros of the Byzantines, before mentioned, at the bottom of the bay, is mown into a smooth plain, and is also a favourite resort of parties from the village, who take coffee and sherbets under the shade of a large plane, or rather a clump of eleven trees growing from one root, commemorated in the Gardens of Delille. On every side this fine valley is embanked by high and waving acclivities, covered with verdure; and on the west and north inclosed with the woods of Belgrade, running like a park plantation along the verge of the hills.

There is at Buyuk-dere, upon the water's edge, an hotel kept by an Englishman, one Marriot, in which a stranger may find very comfortable lodgings and good fare.

On our first visit to this village, we went in the ambassador's barge to the mouth of the straits. Keeping on the Thracian side, we passed first a headland, and then a small bay, into which runs a river*. At another time I rambled over the hills above the river, where it is joined by another small stream, and found them a continued vineyard. The strait at this part contracts, and there is a battery on the European shore, at the foot of the hill anciently called Amilton by Dionysius of Byzantium†, erected by the French engineer Mounier in 1795, and containing twenty-five pieces of heavy ordnance. It is called Teli-Talian. Three quarters of a mile beyond we passed Roumeli-Kavak, the castle of Roumelia, on the banks of the small river Chrysorrhoas, where there is a battery, raised partly by Mr. Toussaint in 1783, and by Mounier in 1794. Above are some ruins of a castle built

* "Promontorium nuncupatum Simam prætergressos excipit Scletrinas sinus."—Dionys. Byzant. ap. Pet. Gyll. de Bosporo, lib. ii. cap. 19.

† Ibid. cap. 20.

by the Genoese, on the site of the Temple of Serapis, called by Strabo the Temple of the Byzantines. On the hill above the Chrysorrhoas, which commands a view of the Euxine and of the Propontis, of the Bosporus and of Constantinople, was placed the ancient light-house, to direct the vessels to the mouth of the straits*. As we advanced we perceived that the hills on each side became more high and rugged, terminating on the Thracian shore in dark rocky precipices, having no appearance of that culture and animated beauty which adorn the borders of the canal below Buyuk-dere. Mr. Tournefort remarked a suite of frightful caverns on this shore, the habitations of the pitiless Thracians, in passing which the ear was often saluted with echoes as loud as the discharge of artillery. The whole coast has been described with inimitable accuracy by Gyllius, to whom, for every classical information, the traveller should not omit to refer. We rowed by a battery of twelve pieces of cannon, constructed by Mounier and another French engineer, and also by the bay of Buyuk-Liman, and passing afterwards near the fortress of Karipché, built by De Tott in 1773, containing twenty-three guns, arrived at Fanaraki, or *Roumeli-Fener*, the European light-house, where there is also a battery and a village. We had been two hours on our passage from Buyuk-dere.

We rowed out to, and landed upon the Cyanean rocks, which are under the hills of Fanaraki. These rocks, rising in five pointed crags, bear a strong resemblance to the wood-cut in Sandys' Travels, although the Augustan column, commonly called Pompey's Pillar, is not as there represented, but shows only the

* Dionys. Byzant. ap. Pet. Gyll. de Bosporo, lib. ii. cap. 21.

original base, a fragment of white marble a little more than five feet high, and nine feet and a half in circumference. A festoon of laurel leaves, with the head either of an heifer or a ram, is still discernible round the marble; but the faint traces of the inscription are defaced by the names of travellers. On the upper surface are oblong grooves, the holes, most probably, by which the iron and leaden clamps united the shaft to the pedestal of the column. Mr. Tournefort talks of it as if he had seen it in its original state, with the Corinthian capital represented in Sandys, and about twelve feet high; and mentions it as a decided point, that the base and the shaft could not have been designed for each other*. This had been said by Gyllius† and by Sir G. Wheler‡; and Dr. Smith, who saw it before the last traveller, described the height of the pillar to be about eighteen feet, and the diameter three§. The present base may, as Gyllius conjectures, have been the altar which Dionysius of Byzantium says was erected by the Romans on the Cyanean rocks, and dedicated to Apollo, and it may also have been intended as a landmark, in the same manner as the statue of Apollo on the rock at the port of Prasiæ, or Raphti in Attica‖.

Supposing the shaft and base to be of different materials, yet the whole of the column was, it is probable, put in the present position of the fragment by the person who superadded the pharos,

* "Quand on examine avec soin cette baze et le fust, on convient que les deux pieces n'ont jamais été faites l'une pour l'autre."—Lettre xv. p. 151, vol. ii.

† De Bosporo, lib. ii. cap. 25.

‡ A Voyage, &c. book ii. p. 207.

§ A Collection of Curious Voyages, &c. tome ii. cap. 5, p. 48.

‖ See p. 424, of this volume.

and dedicated it to Augustus, since the original place of the altar was visible when Gyllius travelled. The column was standing in 1730*, and when it fell or was taken down, I have not been able to learn. It is remarkable enough, that two conspicuous objects at each extremity of the Bosporus, namely, this column, and the fort in the islet opposite to Scutari, should have received such inapplicable titles as Pompey's Pillar, and Leander's Tower.

We did not pass over to the Cyanean rocks of Asia, but rowed round the promontory of Fanaraki, the ancient Panium, that we might say we had been fairly in the Euxine. The land recedes much more suddenly than on the Asiatic side, so that to those beating along the Thracian shore, the entrance to the straits is abrupt, and has a fantastic appearance, like the mouth of some mighty sea-monster; the white castles on the dark-coloured hills having the resemblance of teeth.

The rugged rocks on each side of this strait, appear at this day as if fresh from the irruption of the waters which tore a passage into the lake of the Granicus and Rhyndacus, and creating new

* Lord Sandwich's Voyage round the Mediterranean, p. 136. It is worth while to remark that Meletius, writing about the time of Tournefort, seems to say that the pillar had fallen into the sea, unless he alludes to the position in the midst of the waters. Τὸ Φανάρι τῆς Ρούμελης, πλησίον τᾧ ὁποίᾳ ἀνωρθώθη ἡ Στύλη, ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχουσα Λατινικὴν, Οκταυϊανε, ἥτις τανῦν πεσμένη ἔνδον τῆς θαλάσσης κεῖται. αὐτᾧ πᾧ κεῖνται καὶ αἱ Κυανέαι Νησίδες—Θράκη, p. 438; which appears to bear this literal translation: "*the Phanar of Roumelia, near which was erected* (the word in vulgar Greek signifies *restored*) *he pillar, bearing the Latin inscription*, of Octavius, *which now fallen down, is in the midst of the seas, where are also the Cyaneans islands.*"

channels and seas, gave another surface to a vast portion of the western hemisphere*.

We tasted the waters of the Euxine, and it was not to establish any theory, but merely from a persuasion of the fact, that we all pronounced them to be scarcely brackish. The compara-

* The natives of Samothrace preserved in the age of Diodorus, a tradition of the times, when their ancestors trembled at the flood rushing from the Propontis through the broken channel of the Hellespont.—Hist. lib. 5, p. 322. Tournefort, Letter xv. p. 125, vol. ii. See also the first book of Strabo, pp. 49, 50, &c. and Casaubon's Comment. p. 32. Aristotle arguing upon these supposed facts, thought, that at certain intervals the sea necessarily changed its position; and Pliny mentions that the passages now called straits were forcibly made, "invitis terris."—Præfat. Hist. lib. vi. Naturalists have been convinced that the plains between the Caspian and the Baltic were once an expanse of water; but that any earthquake would effect such a mighty revolution, may not be so decidedly believed, notwithstanding the vestiges of great volcanic explosions still observable by travellers. External violence on the body of this planet, may cause that partial alteration of its position, which would drive the waters towards a new equator, and produce those changes on the face of the earth, which have dried the sea, and deluged the land. But the perpetual influx of rivers, which was supposed by the ancient naturalists to have caused the irruption of the Euxine, will not, according to modern theories, account for such a phenomenon. The Mediterranean loses by vapour 20,300,000 tons a day, which is very nearly three times as much as is supplied in twelve hours by all the freshes, reckoning those of the Euxine amongst them, which fall into that sea. Those who believe with Dr. Halley, that there is "an equilibre of receipt and expence in the whole sea," will doubt, perhaps, whether the formation of straits is to be ascribed to any such event as that alluded to above, nor will they be alarmed lest the prophecy which Polybius records in his fourth book, should be fulfilled, and the Euxine become one vast expanse of marsh and mud. See *An Estimate of the Quantity of Vapours raised out of the Sea, &c. Presented to the Royal Society by Mr. E. Halley, F. R. S.*

tive sweetness of this sea, which was remarked by the ancients*, but was confined by Ovid† to the surface of the water, has been indeed established by modern naturalists‡.

On returning to Buyuk-dere we kept nearer to the Asiatic shore, and being assisted by the current, were only an hour on the passage. There is a fort and a light-house on the Bithynian side of the entrance, upon the ancient promontory Ancyræum; and from this point to the Fanar of Europe is a little more than three miles. From the two Fanars the strait contracts; and at Porias-Liman, a mile and a half lower down, there is a fort of twenty-three guns, erected by De Tott in 1773. The succeeding headland, a mile beyond, now called Fil-Bornou, and formerly Cape Coracium, forms, according to Tournefort, the beginning of the narrows, for the width of the passage is there only a mile and a quarter. But the Bosporus runs into a retreating bay within Fil-Bornou, which having been distinguished by the ancients as the Gulf of Pantichium, now has the name of Ketcheli-Liman, and sweeps round for nearly three miles to the next headland, one of the three points of the ancient cape of Bithynia. Upon this point stands Kavak-Anadoli, the castle of Asia, nearly opposite to Roumeli-Kavak; and as the strait is not more than a

* Strab. lib. i. p. 50.

† "Il est certain que les eaux de la mer noire sont beaucoup moins salées que celles de nos mers."—Voyage du Levant, lettre xv. p. 129. 1717.

‡ Copia tot laticum quas auget adulterat undas
Nec patitur vires æquor habere suas
Innatat unda freto dulcis, leniorque marina est,
Quæ proprium mixto de sale pondus habet.

See Casaub. Comment. Strab. p. 327.

mile across, the first modern defences of the canal were erected in this place by Sultan Mahomet the Fourth, to stop the incursions of the Cossaks, Poles, and Russians.

A battery of thirty-seven pieces of cannon, and twenty mortars, constructed by M. Toussaint in 1783, and by Mons. Mounier in 1794, has now given the name of the New, to what was formerly called the Old Castle. The spot being considered the entrance of the Bosporus, was chosen by the Byzantines for the site of a strong-hold; and on the slope of the hill, above the new battery, there are considerable remains of a castle and wall, which appear to be minutely described by the topographers of the Bosporus, as the fortress and circular wall, ruined by the Gauls, but rebuilt by the Greek Emperors, and, as is generally supposed, put into a state of defence by the Genoese.

A village near the battery, called Ioro, or Yoro, has been mentioned by every traveller as pointing out the site of the temple and port of Hieron, and consequently deciding the spot on or near which Darius took his survey of the Euxine. Gyllius found the village on the European cape called Ieros-Romelias*, and Meletius says that the Turks call the castle Ieros-Kalessi†. I did not hear of such a name; but I find by my journal, which was not written under the impression of the spot being an object of so much controversy as by the detail in Gyllius it appears to be‡, that the best view of the embouchure of the Bosporus, and of the expanding sea, is to be procured not on the hill commonly

* De Bosporo, lib. iii. cap. 20.

† Τὸ ἐν τῇ Ἀνατολῇ καλεῖται ὑπὸ τῶν Τούρκων Ἱερὸς Καλεσὶ. ΠΟΝΤ. καὶ ΒΙΘ. p. 446.

‡ De Bosporo, lib, iii. cap. 5.

called the Giant's Mountain, but on a barren summit above the Genoese castle.

The temple of Jupiter Urius was under this castle, and as the Hieron, if not the actual temple, as is supposed by the latest authority*, was however an adjoining district, it may, like the TEMENOΣ, or sacred portion of Hercules at Marathon, have included the summit immediately above the fane, but scarcely the neighbouring hills. Tournefort, who, in alluding to the spot where Darius was seated, thought the expression of Herodotus, ΕΠΙ ΤΩ ΙΕΡΩ, *upon* the Hieron, could be brought to signify the port of the Hieron, might have extended the meaning to any portion of the sanctuary, whence the most extensive prospect was to be obtained. It is evident, that the preposition *upon* is not to be taken in its most precise sense, or in construing the whole passage, we must suppose Hieron, and the seat of Darius, to be on one of the Cyanean isles†; which no modern appearances will justify‡.

The headland Magiar-Bornou, fortified by the battery called Youcha, with twenty-three guns and twelve mortars, constructed by Mounier in 1795, is a mile and a half below Anadoli-Kavak, and under the towering Giant's Mountain. From this point, which corresponds with the Argyronian cape, the strait recedes

* Clarke's Travels, pp. 682, 683, 684, vol. i.

† Ἐνθεῦτεν ἐσβὰς ἐς νέα ἔπλεε ἐπὶ τὰς Κυανέας καλευμένας τὰς πρότερον πλαγκτὰς Ἕλληνές φασι εἶναι. Ἐζόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ ἱρῷ ἐθηεῖτο τὸν Πόντον ἐόντα ἀξιοθέητον.—Hist. lib. iv. cap. 85, p. 268, vol. iii. edit. Glasg.

‡ "Sed si templum aliquando in Cyaneis fuisset, quædam vestigia restarent, vel excavatorum fundamentorum, vel excisa via ad ascensum, ubi nulla apparent," &c.—Pet. Gyll. de Bosp. Thrac. lib. iii. cap. 5.

opposite to the gulf of Buyuk-dere, forming a bay overlooked by abrupt precipices, and terminated by a promontory two miles lower down, in face of Terapia. The canal bends inwards to the south, and the Sultan's Port, a bay of a mile wide, is closed at the other horn by Cape Stridia, or the Cape of Oysters, called by the Turks, Selvi-Bornou.

We sailed towards this bay from Buyuk-dere, and landed at a spot which is called the Grand Signior's Scale, having been the landing-place leading to a magnificent kiosk now in ruins, but of which the gardens still remain, at Sultanie-Baktchesi, near the village of Beicôs. We mounted some horses at a coffee-house, where there were several ready saddled for visitors, and passed by a large paper manufactory at the head of an extensive meadow, or smooth-shaven lawn, shaded by rows of tall straight oaks, and watered by two clear rivulets, where the ladies of the Imperial harem often take boat in the summer, and jaunt up the beautiful vallies in their arabats, to some artificial lakes or large reservoirs, where they fish, and amuse themselves with the dancing and music of their Odalisques. We wound up the hills towards Anadoli-Kavak, and had peeps of several woody dells divided by little rivulets, opening upon us from below. The most accurate observer of the Bosporus says, that it receives thirty rivers, and that its banks are adorned with more than fifty vallies*. In less than an hour we were on the top of the mountain above Magiar-Bornou, and repaired to the Tekeh, or Dervishes' chapel, where we were shown, in the adjoining garden, a flower-bed more than fifty feet long, rimmed round with stone, and having a sepulchral

* Pet. Gyll. Præfat. de Bosp. Thrac.

turban at each end, which preserves a superstition attached to the spot long before the time of the Turks or of the Christian Greeks of Byzantium; and which, after having been called the tomb of Amycus, and the Bed of Hercules, is still the Giant's Grave. A century ago the shore near Beicôs was named Amya, which suggested to Tournefort, that the village was on the site of the capital of the son of Neptune, slain by Pollux. Had that traveller been aware of the name of the hill above Magiar-Bornou, he would not have conjectured Amya to be the place of the hero's sepulture; but it appears that he too closely followed Gyllius, who omitted noticing the summit of the mountain, and the tradition attached to its gigantic grave, although he took considerable pains in rectifying the topography of this part of the coast.

The ride on the hills from the Giant's Mountain to the summit above the Genoese castle, gave us a view to the right of a large tract of dark forest country, intersected by deep dells, or green ravines, which, when contrasted with the luxurious banks of the canal rolling beneath us between a line of painted villages and gardens, appeared like a dreary wilderness. It is set apart for the Grand Signior's hunting.

The Bay of Beicôs, or the Sultan's Bay, formerly called the Round Gulf*, is succeeded by the ancient Catangéan gulf, which is terminated on the west by Kandlinge-Bornou, a promontory with two points, inclosing a small bay called Placa, supposed by Gyllius to be the port of Phryxus. Kandlinge is a considerable village. Anadoli-Hissar, the old castle of Asia, opposite to Mahomet's Tower, together with a village, is a mile and a half lower

* "Hic sinus jam Soltanicus prius Cyclaminus appellatus."—Pet. Gyll. de Bosp. Thrac. lib. iii. cap. 7.

down, at the western extremity of the Gulf of Manoli. A river, Yok-su, *the Green Water*, which is navigable by boats for a mile, and is the largest of the streams running into the Bosporus*, discharges itself to the south of the fortress; and the mouth of Kutchuk-su, the *Little River*, is above Candile-Baktchesi, a village on the site, as Gyllius and Tournefort thought, of the Bithynian Nicopolis; but Meletius places that town at Mutania, twenty miles from Brusa†. The Bostandge-Bashe's palace, and a long succession of royal gardens, occupy the plain and the sides of the hills between the rivers. Coule-Baktchessi, a village a mile and a half below Candile, on the plain formerly Cecrium, or Protos-Discos Major, is opposite to Korou-Tchesmè; and from this place the towns of Tchengel-keui, Stavros, and Cossourge, occupy with little intermission the whole shore, as far as the great suburb of Scutari. Tchengel-keui is on the site of Chrysokeramus; Stavros on that of a place of the same name, or Staurosis, so called from a golden cross which was raised on a church constructed on the spot by Constantine the Great, and now remarkable for a magnificent mosck built by Sultan Abdulhamid‡.

* Pet. Gyll. de Bosp. Thrac. lib. iii. cap. 8.

† ΠΟΝΤ. και ΒΙΘ. p. 448. In Gyllius, a promontory to the west of Candile-Baktchesi, is the Ακρα Ροιζοῦσα of Dionysius. The next headland is the promontory Helia, and the succeeding bay Protos-Discos Minor. The point between Chrysokeramus and Scutari, was in his time Hermonianum, but more commonly Nagalon.—See Anaplus Bosphori Thracii, ap. Banduri Imper. Orientale, tom. ii. chart. iii. Chrysokeramus was so denominated from a church with gilded tiles, built by Justin and Lobe.—See Anonym. Antiq. Constant. lib. iii. ap. Band. tom. i.

‡ Melet. ΠΟΝΤ. και ΒΙΘ. p. 447. Tournefort, lettre xv. p. 139, vol. ii. Between Stavros and Tchengel-keui is a large monastery of the Akoimeti, or

As the villages on the Bosporus are not, like the capital, inclosed in walls, the passage from Buyuk-dere to Tophana after nightfall is indescribably agreeable. As far as the castles only the Thracian border appears lighted, but below that point a thousand twinkling fires gleam upon the margin of the canal, and near the mouth of the straits the sloping hills on each side of the water glow with the brilliancy of a vast illuminated amphitheatre.

The hills on the side of the modern Chrysopolis are for some height one cemetery, or forest of cypresses. The prediction which foretells the subjection of Constantinople to a white or yellow-haired nation, has gained credit during the last century; and the Mussulmans, who choose a more secure repository for their ashes, prefer the burying-grounds on the Asiatic banks of the Bosporus to those of the capital.

We went more than once to the hill of Bourgalou, not quite an hour's ride above Scutari. Near the top is a fountain of clear water, which is much esteemed, and sold for five paras the half gallon in Constantinople; and the country upon the declivity, in the immediate neighbourhood of the hill, is covered with gardens, melon-grounds, and vineyards, supplying the capital with fruit. Northwards the ground is also well cultivated, and divided by

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sleepless monks. The spelling of the Turkish names by foreigners not acquainted with their language, is entirely arbitrary, and so different in different authors, as to cause much confusion in comparing their accounts. Wheler has *Bechikroash*, *Bartoliman*, *Therania*, and *Boindore*, for Beshik-Tash, Balta-Liman, Terapia, and Buyuk-dere. I have endeavoured to spell those names which I recollect, just as they sounded to my ears, although this does not give a very good chance of correctness. Mons. Bassompierre having occasion to mention York-House and Kensington, spelt the one *Iorchaux*, and the other, still more strangely, *Inhimhort*.

hedge-rows and frequent avenues and clumps of trees. The summit of Bourgalou commands a prospect of the windings of the Bosporus to Buyuk-dere, of Constantinople, Galata, and Pera, from the Seven Towers to the Topges' barracks, of Princes Islands, the Gulf of Nicomedia, and, in a clear day, the island of Marmora.

We rode down the hill across an inclosed country to Fanar-Baktchesi, on the point anciently Heræa, or Heræum*, distinguished afar off by some tall cypresses, and a tower yielding a very faint light. Some ruins of that which was first a church, and then a mosck, near the light-house, are by the native Greeks called the palace of Constantine, but were constructed out of the remains, it is probable, of some buildings erected by Justinian. On the south of the point is a fishery, where vast quantities of young tunnies, are annually caught. A man is perched upon a high pole, and when he sees the shoals of fish within reach, lets drop his net, which is suspended in the same manner as that commonly used for the ensnaring of singing birds. Behind the point are some gardens, and at the back of these is a raised terrace, overshadowed by tall venerable trees, and containing two reservoirs of water, about four feet deep, with a jet playing in the midst of each. One of these is used as a bath, and is made private by a canvas screen or curtain. They are remains of the baths of Justinian.

The grove of Fanar-Baktchesi is one of the many resorts of the Franks, Greeks, and Turks, of the capital. At one of our

* Εσι δὴ προπάροιθε κλυτῆς Χαλκήδονος ἄκρα
Ηράια τρήκεσα πολυσπιλάς.

Demosthenes de rebus Bythinicis, ap. Gyll. de Bosp. Thrac. lib. iii. cap. xi. In the time of Gyllius the point was called the promontory of John of Calamoti, and the church was, I suppose, dedicated to that saint.

visits we saw a party of French gentlemen and ladies carousing under the trees; and at another a Turk and three young Georgians, who were amusing themselves with bows and arrows, attended by several slaves, took their repast at the contiguous fountain. An old Bostandge, the tenant of a cottage in the gardens, furnished the company with pipes and coffee.

We returned near the shore, and by the bay to the north-west of the light-house, which is now called Calamoti, and was the ancient harbour of Eutropius, belonging to Chalcedon, notorious for the murder of the Emperor Maurice and his four sons*, and afterwards for that of the Empress his widow, and her three daughters. We crossed over a peninsula terminated by the headland of Mounde-Bornou, through lines of vineyards in a deep sandy soil, and passed by a village preserving no memorial of Chalcedon, except perhaps in its name of Kaddi-Keui—*the Judge's Town*, which may be thought to have some reference to the council that condemned the Eutychian heresy, and established by a majority of voices the two natures of the second person of the Trinity. Persians, Greeks, Goths, Saracens, and Turks, by turns despoiled Chalcedon†. The walls were razed by Valens, and much of their materials were employed in building the aqueduct which goes by his name, and which was, by a singular coincidence, as remarked by

* "Ad cædem Mauritii regis movetur Phocas, et in Eutropii portu primum ejus quatuor filios interficit, nihil aliud tum dicentes, quam hoc ipsum: Justus es Domine, et justum judicium tuum."—Zonaras, ap. Gyll. Περὶ τῦ Εὐτροπίου λιμένος.—Anonymi Antiq. Const. lib. iii. ap. Band. tom. i.

† "Hæc enim iterum, et sæpius vastata, primo a Persis, iterum a Valente Imperatore muris spoliata, deinde a Gotthis eversa, quam post Cornelius Avitus aliquâ ex parte restituit: postea a Saracenis, postremo a Turcis funditus delæta, ut duntaxat perparvus vicus restat."—Pet. Gyll. de Bosporo Thracio, lib. iii. cap. ix.

Mr. Tournefort, repaired by Solyman the Second from the remaining ruins of this devoted city.

Between Mounde-Bornou and the point of Scutari is a headland, dividing the shore into two bays, the first of which was the south-western port of Chalcedon. The headland is distinguished by a kiosk of Sultan Amurath the Fourth's, called Kavak-Serai, and now in ruins, the marbles having been taken by Sultan Selim in 1794, to adorn a mosck within the walls of the Seraglio. The second bay is partly occupied by the burying-grounds and suburbs of Scutari; and on a hill above, stand the ruins of the barracks erected by the late Selim, the exercising-ground, the mosck, and several wide regular streets, intended by that enterprising Sultan to have been allotted to manufacturers of silk and cotton, which, as it is, are sent from Smyrna to England, spun there, and again imported to Constantinople, to be worked into garments and household furniture.

In crossing from Damalis, the point of Scutari, to Tophana, we rowed a little way into the mouth of the strait, in order to stem the current, and passed within Kis-Kalessi, the Maiden's Fort, vulgarly called Leander's Tower, on a rock just large enough for the base of the building, and for a platform containing five cannons. This tower, with a wall crossing the sea to the point of Scutari, and a chain to a second fort on the European shore, was contrived by the Emperor Manuel to close the mouth of the Bosporus; but it is now a light-house, not a place of defence; since the guns are mounted only for saluting, and the garrison, as it was a hundred years ago*, is, like Tyrconnel's regiment, composed of one man.

* Voyage du Levant, lettre xv. p. 137, vol. ii.

LETTER XLVI.

Galata—The Tabagies, or Wine-houses—Yamakis, or Dancing Boys—The Tower of Anastatius—Conflagrations—The Size of Constantinople—Population—Jews—Armenians.

THE suburb of Galata (the Sycæ and Justiniana of the Byzantines, of which Pera has been considered as making a part*) covers the whole point of land and the hill on the north of the harbour; and the walls, raised by the Genoese in 1348, and repaired in 1446, are in circuit more than four miles†. The gates are always left open; and as houses are now built against the walls, the stranger passes through them imperceptibly. The outside ditch on the upper quarter is now a rope-walk. The streets are not so dirty, ill-paved, and narrow, as those of Pera; many of the mansions are of stone, and they contain the commodities and counting-houses of the Frank merchants. Three churches of the Greeks, and one of the Armenians, besides religious houses of the Dominicans and Capuchins, are to be found in this quarter; in which there is as much licence in the article of morals as of toleration in matters of religion.

* Sycena regio, jam vulgo nominata Galata, sive Pera, &c.—Pet. Gyll. Topog. Constant. lib. iv. cap. xi.

† Quater mille et quadringentos passus.—Ibid.

The use of wine is, as every one knows, prohibited by the Mahometan law; but it depends upon the humour of the reigning Sultan, whether this article of faith shall be strictly acted upon and observed. Selim the Second, and Amurath the Fourth*, indulged in this excess without scruple; some Grand Signiors have staved all the wine casks, and punished those who sold the liquor with death. The last Sultan Selim, contented himself with taxing the commodity; but I know not whether it was true, as some one has said of his court, that the Seraglio was more accessible to bottles than to grandees†. The present Sultan has not been very severe with offenders. When we were in the city, wine was to be had in all the tabagies or coffee-houses kept by Greeks, and as no Turk is a drinker without being a drunkard, I was witness to as much excess in this respect, as might be seen in the same time at the west end of the English metropolis. Tabagies are to be found in Constantinople, but Galata abounds with them, and you seldom fail of being saluted with music, or more discordant sounds, in passing through the streets of that suburb. These wine-houses, for so they are called by the Franks, are usually large halls floored with Dutch tiles, having

* Selim the Second was surnamed Mest, or the Drunkard. Some historians say that his frenzy caused by wine was religious, "which he himself declared to be drunkenness, and so chose rather to be accounted a drunkard than a hypocrite. But such colourings for the vulgar."—Cantemir's Ottoman Hist. book iii. chap. v. note 1, p. 218. Tindal's translation, edit. 1734. "In the year 1043 (A. D. 1633) a new and hitherto unheard-of edict is published by the Emperor (Murad IV.), by which not only the sellers of wine are allowed to exercise their trade, but also every one allowed to drink it freely, contrary to the Mahometan law."—Ibid. book iii. p. 240.

† Notice sur la cour du Grand Seigneur.—Paris, 1809, p. 138.

a fountain in the middle, and a wooden gallery for the guests running round the sides of the room, about half way between the ground and the ceiling. That part of the entertainment which is most to the fancy of the company, and which no Englishman would patiently contemplate for a moment, is the exhibition of the Yamakis, or dancing boys, who are chiefly insular Greeks and Jews, but never Turks. The wretched performers dance to the music of guitars, fiddles and rebeks; and what with the exclamations of the master of the dancers, and sometimes the quarrels of the Turks, so much noise and disturbance ensue at mid-day, as to bring the patrole to the spot. Rome itself, at the period of the famous edict of the Emperor Philip, could not have furnished a spectacle so degrading to human nature as the taverns of Galata.

We visited the tower of Anastatius, formerly the citadel of Galata, which was partly burnt down in 1794, but has been since repaired. The ascent to the summit is by 147 steps, and there is a wooden house at the top, which is inhabited by the man whose duty it is to beat a large drum at the discovery of a fire. The Janissaries' tower in Constantinople is used for the same purpose, and when the cry of Yangen-var—*There is a fire!* is heard from the turret of the latter building, the melancholy sound is repeated by the passevend, who patrole the streets, and awaken the inhabitants by the loud ringing of their staves. A fire that has continued an hour, and has been thrice proclaimed, forces the Grand Signior himself to the spot. At the conflagration in Pera, just before our arrival, Sultan Mahmoud posted himself at Galata Sarai, the college of the Itcholans or pages, and when the fire burnt up to the English palace,

sent repeated messages to assure the embassy that every necessary aid should be afforded to prevent a disaster. He distributed, according to custom, several bags of piasters amongst the assisting populace. The householders are by no means gainers by this singular usage, which has often been the cause, and has contributed to the continuance, of fires. The people, to communicate their discontents, become voluntary incendiaries, and the removal of an obnoxious ministry is accomplished, not by petitions, but repeated conflagrations. The person of the despotic monarch of the Ottomans is, on these occasions, accessible to all, and the Imperial Manslayer is then obliged to listen to the revilings of the meanest amongst his people, even of the women themselves*.

The Turks, who are very expert at pulling down the houses adjoining to those where the fire rages, often wait until the arrival of the Sultan ensures them payment for their exertions, and employ the interval in pillaging. The number of general fires in the capital and the suburbs, cannot be rated at less than three annually. A late writer says, that during a residence of three years, the annual average was five or six. The houses, of laths and unburnt brick, are soon rebuilt, and the inhabitants prepare for this frequent event, by lodging all their valuables in a chest.

The summit of the tower of Galata is the spot which was made the point of prospect, for taking the panoramic view of Constan-

* Hunkiar, *possessor of men's necks.* See Titles of the Emperor of the Turks; Bobovius on the Turkish Liturgy, sect. viii. Rycaut says, the Sultan may kill any number under a thousand a day, without assigning a pretext for his anger; but the Turkish casuists, Mr. Thornton observes, limit the number to fourteen.—Present State of Turkey, p. 95.

tinople exhibited in England. Those who have seen that accurate representation, will be able to decide whether the seven hills upon which this capital is said to stand, and which Pococke described to the satisfaction of Mr. Gibbon*, are discoverable in the present appearance of the city. For my own part, I could not, upon repeated trials, distinguish the eminences, although assisted by a plan which divided the town into seven quarters, with a relation to the same number of hills. Gyllius, however, in his topographical description, not only distinguished the seven hills, but averred that six of them were discernible to those sailing through the port, rising like brothers, and in regular succession, from the back of the same promontory †.

The tower of Galata does not present so complete a prospect of the city as that of the Janissaries (or Yangen-kiosk—the tower of fire): from that summit the spectator will at once be convinced of the exaggeration in which most writers have indulged, in speaking of the size and population of the Turkish capital. The base of the triangle on which the city is built, and which extends from the Seven Towers to the port, is perhaps one-fifth less than the side the sea of Marmora, and about a sixth larger than that towards the harbour; and it appears from this height of so inconsiderable an extent, that having heard of a comparison between Constantinople and Paris, and even London, I was induced to time myself, in passing under the walls from one point to another, and found

* Decline and Fall, vol. ii. p. 9, note 22.

† "Ex eodem enim promontorii dorso sex colles nascentur, eminentes in Sinum, ut fratres dicere possis, ita per ordinem locati sunt, ut alteri alterorum aspectum non auferant," &c.—De Topog. Const. lib. i. cap. v. ap. Band. Imp. Orient.

the walk to have lasted one hour and seventeen minutes. This will give about five miles for the breadth of the city on the land quarter, and will reduce the extent of the three sides to fifteen miles, the measurement of Mr. Spon, and three less than the computation of Bondelmontè, which has been esteemed the most correct: at the same time it must be recollected, that Chalcondyles limited the circuit to one hundred and eleven stadia*, and Gyllius made it less than thirteen miles†. It should be added, that the walls, which are treble on the land-side, and eighteen feet apart from each other, take away from the real dimensions of the town, and that the gardens of the Seraglio, and a multitude of other palaces, the large courts of the royal moscks, and the vacant spaces of the Hippodrome and other open spots, diminish considerably the extent of the ground actually covered with houses. There is no such determinate way of judging of the size of the suburbs of Galata, Pera, and Scutari, which, if they were not interspersed with vast burying grounds, would be at least one-fourth as large as the city within the walls, but cannot be said at present to be in the proportion of more than one-fifth to the capital itself. A late author, from a variety of calculations is persuaded, that there could never have been a population of much more than three hundred thousand souls within the walls‡. But this number must be under-rated, if the register of the Stamboul Effendissy, or Mayor of

* Melet. Geog. Article, ΘPAKH, p. 423. Mr. Tournefort, in making the Thracian side nine, and the whole twenty-three miles, could have hardly consulted his eyes.—Voyage du Levant, p. 465, vol. i. lett. xii.

† "Ambitus urbis non attingit tredecim milliaria."—De Topog. Const. lib. i. chap. iv.

‡ Survey of the Turkish Empire, chap. 7, p. 287, second edit.

Constantinople, showed, that in 1796 there were eighty-eight thousand one hundred and eighty-five houses* within the jurisdiction of that minister, that is to say within Constantinople, for the suburbs are under other officers. At least five persons must be given to each house, and making every allowance for the whole of the suburbs on the other side of the port and canal, five hundred thousand does not appear too large an estimate for the population of Constantinople and its environs. A stranger is told by the Turks, that there are many more than a million of inhabitants in the capital, and if he trusted to their accounts, would also believe that there are seventy-two thousand moscks, whereas the number of those buildings does not amount to more than two hundred and twenty, with three hundred mesdjidi, or public chapels.

I know not what numbers to assign to the different people composing this city, but should suppose that there must be three Turks for one person of any other nation. The most numerous, next to the Mahometans, are the Greeks; the Armenians must be reckoned after the Greeks, then the Jews, and last of all, and in a proportion comparatively small, the Franks. As the rayahs have separate quarters of the town allotted for their habitation, it might not be thought difficult to ascertain the actual proportion which they bear to each other, but no such computation, that I am aware, has hitherto been made.

The Jews have all the usual characteristics of their nation. The most considerable amongst them are brokers and money-

* Constant. Ancient and Modern, p. 16. Dr. Dallaway however reckons Pera and Galata.

changers, jewellers, physicians, surgeons, and apothecaries; the lower classes are sherbet-sellers, silk-twisters, druggists, boatmen, fishermen, confectioners, perfumers, tobacco-sellers, and mountebanks*.

Physicians have enjoyed the utmost favour and licence at the courts of the greatest Mahometan princes, and many of the remarkable sayings of the Orientals are put into their mouths. One of the Caliphs being seated on a couch with his favourite physician, amused himself, half involuntarily, with enlarging a rent in the bottom of the doctor's robe, and amongst other questions relative to his art, enquired, to what lengths those of his profession suffered a madman to go before they bound him. The other hesitated to reply, until he saw that his companion had extended the rent up to his waist, when he said, "Commander of the Faithful, we do not have recourse to the strait waistcoat before a man is mad enough to tear his physician's gown from the bottom as high as the girdle." The Caliph laughed at the rebuke, and,

* The present chief dentist to the Grand Signior is a Jew. When first introduced to the Sultan, he was ordered to examine a tooth, which, upon inspection, he found it was necessary to extract. He very naturally considered it a delicate matter to give such exquisite and sudden pain to an absolute monarch, and resorted to the following stratagem. Hiding the instrument in his long sleeve, he requested permission to re-examine his Highness's tooth, and fixing the steel and drawing out the tooth with one motion, instantly gave a loud scream, and fell, as if in a fit, upon the ground. The Sultan jumped from his seat in his instant surprise and anxiety to relieve the Jew, and thought nothing of the operation or his complaint, until he found the cause of it had been removed. Whether or not the fact was understood at the Seraglio is not told, but such is the reputation of this skilful Israelite, that he is in perpetual request, and his fee is not smaller than that of the most fashionable London dentist.

after the fashion of the time, rewarded his friend with a purse of money.

The first physician is a Turk, but the Grand Signior does not trust his health to any Mahometan; and the office of the Achim-Bashe, is only to receive money for the licences which he grants to the various practisers of medicine in the metropolis.

The taxes levied on the Jews are not greater than those of the other rayahs, and they feel the burden of them the less, by being allowed a tefterdar or treasurer of their own, who collects the whole sum, and settles with the ministers of the Porte. It is said that they pay so much annually to furnish the Sultan with tents. The origin of this obligation was, that a Grand Vizier having become acquainted with a decision of some Hebrew doctors, by which the Turks were placed on the outside of the walls of Paradise, averred, that in that case, the Jews should at least provide them with tents to shelter them in the winter *. This comment on the Rabbinical dogma was of more importance to the nation, than the opinion of the Mahometan theologians, who settled, that in the infernal regions the Jews will be a story lower than the Christians †.

The bankers of many of the Turkish grandees are Jews, and some of them have been involved in the fall of their employers, but this circumstance, and the address shown by them in the management of all pecuniary concerns, give their principal people a consideration in the eyes of the Turks, equal to that of any other subjects, although the common Turks, and more especially the Chris-

* Paroles Remarquables des Orientaux, Galand.

† "Les Mahometans mettent les Juifs dans un étage plus bas que les Chretiens en enfer.—D'Herbelot, Bibliotheque Orientale, artic. Jahoud.

tians, affect to treat and talk of them with every mark of contempt and disgust. They are distinguished by a high square cap of black felt without any rim or border, which the Constantinopolitans call in derision *hauroux*, a word signifying a certain chamber utensil. The lower classes are dirty, both in their persons and dwellings, and Ballata, the Jew quarter, is the most filthy of any in the capital, and not less nauseous than in the days of Christian Constantinople, when the tanners used to empty their pans before the doors of the houses inhabited by this persecuted people*. The wise tolerance of the Turks, has produced a great increase of this part of the population since the last conquest of the city. In the twelfth century, when the Jew of Tudela travelled, he found only a thousand of his countrymen in the place; and in the reign of Andronicus the Elder, the Patriarch Athanasius represented, in a formal petition to the Emperor, that the whole nation ought to be banished from the metropolis†. In the middle of the seventeenth century, a traveller was persuaded that there were between twenty and thirty thousand of that *accursed* and *contemptible* people in the city‡; and the smallest computation would rate them now at fifteen.

* Voyage de Benjamin de Tudela, p. 13. Voyages faits principalement en Asie, &c. tome i.

† Γράμμα πρὸς τὸν Αυτοκράτορα περὶ τῶν θεοκτόνων Ιεδαίων ἵνα ἐξέλθωσι τῆς πόλεως.—*A Letter to the Emperor concerning the god-killing Jews, that they may depart from the city.*

See Band. Comment. in Antiq. C. P. lib. ii. p. 614, Imp. Orient. tom. ii.

‡ The reverend and learned T. Smith, D.D. Fellow of Magd. Coll. Oxon, and F.R.S. A Collection of Curious Travels and Voyages, tome ii. cap. 5, p. 38.

The Armenians are the most respectable of the Christian inhabitants of the Levant. The depopulation of a whole country has often been effected by those monsters to whom the Author of all events has, at different times, delivered the universe, but no great and violent work of tyranny was ever attended with less excess, or has produced more beneficial consequences, than the laying waste of Armenia by Sha-Abbas the Great, and the partial deportation of its inhabitants from the frontiers to the interior provinces of Persia. By this decisive measure, the monarch prevented the encampment of the Turkish armies on the borders of his dominions, and by giving a new spirit and employment to the transplanted nation, increased the wealth of his empire, at the same time that he bettered the condition, and added to the importance, of a large portion of his subjects.

The Armenians, who, from being the most warlike of the Asiatics, had, after their subjection by the Persians, become the patient cultivators of the soil, from the period of this forced emigration substituted commerce for agriculture, and gave a striking, and perhaps a solitary example, of the competence of a powerful individual to change the habits and character of a whole people. Some of this nation were to be found in Constantinople in the latter periods of the Greek empire*; but the Armenian merchant, now so well known in every quarter of the globe, was created by that prince when he established the great colony of

* See the three Epistles of the Patriarch Athanasius to Andronicus the Elder, in which the Armenians are coupled with the Jews as profaning the city by their religious rites, and worthy of expulsion—Καὶ δὴ καὶ περὶ τῶν Ιεδάιων καὶ Αρμηνίων, ὅπως ἐξέλθωσι.—Anselm. Band. Comment. in Antiq. CP. lib. ii. p. 615, tom. ii.

Julfa, in the suburbs of Ispahan; and to the same act the European world is indebted for an increased and perpetual supply of the most precious and costly of all Oriental commodities. The growth of silk increased in every province of Persia, and the new settlers applying the same prudence and industry to the concerns of commerce, as they had before employed upon the labours of agriculture, not only enriched themselves and added to the revenues of the state, but by an intercourse with more civilized nations in their long and painful journies, and an interchange of their merchandize for the manufactures of Europe, improved the taste, and much increased the comforts, of all their fellow-subjects.

Of mild but persevering tempers, sober and patient in all their pursuits, honest although skilful in their dealings, accommodating in their habits and manners without losing their individual character, they did not fail to acquire a reputation in every country to which they were directed by the enterprise of traffic; and the preference shown for those of their nation in all commercial transactions, soon made them settlers in many of the flourishing cities of Asia and Europe. They had not to make any sacrifice of patriotic feelings, for they had no country, and they are now, no less than the Jews, a dispersed people, living in strange lands; and in Turkey, notwithstanding their numbers, they may be considered rather as a sect than a nation.

The above eulogy of the Armenians must be confined to their mercantile character. Living under despotic masters, being of a more saturnine and phlegmatic disposition than the Greeks, and not having, like their fellow-subjects, any interest in the soil, or desire of emancipation, they have the temperament of contented slaves, and their minds display no other activity than what is suf-

ficient to assist them in the pursuit of one only object—the attainment of wealth. Their boasted literal language, which is comparatively a late invention, although understood by only a few of their Vertabiets, or Doctors, has not contributed to the advancement of science, or any branch of learning. Like the Greeks, they are debased by their subjection not only to the Turks, but to their priests, and by the tyranny of a mean and absurd superstition. "All the world knows," says Mr. Tournefort (to whom the reader, without consulting the work of the Marchese Serpos, may refer for an account of this people) "that the Armenians are Christians, and that they would be very good Christians, were it not for the schism which separates them from us*."

It seems that their principal heresy consists in some misunderstanding of the hypostatic union, a sneaking attachment to the Eutychian doctors, Dioscores and Barsuma, and an avowed excommunication of the council of Chalcedon; in a belief of the lesser gospels, of the doctrine of Origen relative to the creation of souls at the beginning of the world, of the millenium; and lastly, in a denial of purgatory and a present paradise.

The practical errors of their church are, a scandalous participation of the communion by infants, an abominable adoration of the elements before consecration, a sacrilegious use of confession, the absurd administration of extreme unction to the dead, and, for the most part, only to priests, and an ordination of persons unprepared for the sacred office†. But neither these theological vices, nor the

* Voyage du Levant, tom. ii. p. 396, lettre xx.

† The epithets are Mr. Tournefort's, who writes *en bon Catholique*, but with a serio-comic air which it is impossible to mistake.

adoption of many Greek and Jewish ceremonies, nor the quarrels of the Patriarchs of Itchmiadzin and Jerusalem for the monopoly of the chrism* (or holy oil), can be so revolting to a Protestant Englishman as the dogma which comprehends all virtue, practical and religious, in a strict attention to the duty of abstinence.

Each Wednesday and Friday are fast-days. Besides the four great Lents, they have four other fasts of eight days each, preparatory to the feasts of Christmas, the Ascension, Annunciation, and St. George's day; during the whole of which they eat nothing but roots. The Bishops eat flesh and fish but four times a year; the Archbishops abstain from both altogether; and as ecclesiastical honours and fasting augment in equal proportions, it may be expected, as Mr. Tournefort observes, that the Patriarchs must almost die of hunger.

There is, however, a considerable portion of the Armenians to whom the above charge of heresy cannot apply. About the year 1320, the labours of Father Bartholomew, a Dominican Friar, converted many of this nation to the Catholic faith, and to subjection to Pope John XXII.; and since that period the missionaries have proceeded with unequal, but generally increasing, success. A Catholic Patriarch has been established at Racsivan, and an-

* Formerly the oil could only be manufactured by the Patriarch of Itchmiadzin: Jacob, a Bishop of Jerusalem, got himself appointed Patriarch of Jerusalem by the Grand Vizier about 1660, and commenced making the chrism also. "Voilà le sujet d'un grand schisme parmi eux. Les Patriarches s'excommuniérent réciproquement; celui des Trois Eglises forma un grand procés à la Porte contre celui de Jerusalem. Les Turcs qui sont trop habiles pour vouloir decider la question, se contentent de recevoir les presens que leur font les Parties a mesure qu'elles reviennent a la charge: en attendant chacun debite son huile comme il peut."—Voyage du Levant, p. 405, tom. ii. lettre xx.

other at Caminiec, since the union of the Polish Armenians with the church of Rome in 1666. Monasteries of religious of the Dominican order, are to be found wherever any of the nation are settled; and in some places they are enabled by their power, as well as inclined by their duty, to brand those of their original church with the name of schismatics. At Constantinople the churches are in possession of the latter, and the Catholics frequent the Roman chapel, although until lately they were more powerful than the other party, the Patriarch being a favourer of their persuasion.

The hatred subsisting between the two sects may be easily conceived: it frequently breaks out in violence and persecution. A late Patriarch punished a convert from his church to the Catholics with five hundred blows on the soles of the feet; a sentence which he was enabled to inflict, as the holder of the dignity is invested by the Porte with entire authority (except of life and death) over all Armenians. Neither bribery nor intrigues are spared to obtain such power, notwithstanding the accompanying obligation of abstinence; and there have been instances of two rival Patriarchs enjoying, or rather dividing, the office between them. In spite of the difference of their creed, the Roman Catholics, for the sake, it is presumed, of conversion, have assimilated themselves to the temper, and have in some measure adopted the severity, of the schismatics, to a degree not required by the Latin church. The first class of the Roman Armenians at Constantinople, assume the manners of the Franks, but in the other orders it is difficult to distinguish between the two sects.

Some of the customs of the Armenians are no less striking to a Frank stranger than those of the Turks. Their women are

equally enveloped when abroad, and are to be distinguished from the Mahometan females only by the colour of the square capes of the feredjès which hang behind their backs; and their marriage ceremonies are as tedious and fantastical as those of any of the Orientals. These lasting alliances, which are settled between the parents during the infancy, and sometimes before the birth, of the parties, are concluded and consummated before the bride-groom has a view of the face of his spouse, and the disguise is in some instances continued after the marriage; but unless the honest visitors at Pera are much deceived, the extreme delicacy of the females is reserved only for their husbands. Their constant use of the bath, and other personal habits, together with the little peril of an amour with a Christian compared with a Mahometan intrigue, render them the unsuspected and ready substitutes for the Turkish ladies, in the hands of a class of people which may always be met with in any large city.

Such of the settlers as have attained considerable wealth, although their appearance in Constantinople is that of the honest mechanic, live in much splendour in their villas on the Bosporus and at Belgrade, and, during the feasts of their church, indulge freely in the pleasures of the table; but a late writer was not a little seduced by the charms of a simile, when he declared, that "their festivity seems to consist chiefly in being intoxicated, and jumping about with the preposterous activity of an elephant*.

The Armenian cemeteries in the neighbourhood of the capital, and especially that behind the walls on the road leading to Selivria, present a specimen of one of the *scandalous* customs in which,

* Constantinople, Ancient and Modern, p. 83.

notwithstanding some pretensions to orthodoxy, these people continue to indulge*. At the tombs may be seen the relations of the deceased in all the attitudes of grief, from the torpor of mute despair, to the agitation of uncontrouled sorrow. The men stand at the foot of the grave, their arms folded, their heads upon their chests, and the tears rolling down their cheeks; whilst the women are seated on the ground, or prostrate on the flat tomb-stones, beating their breasts, and lamenting aloud. A solitary mourner is sometimes found weeping and praying amongst the sepulchres; but on stated days the ceremony is general, and the priests attend during the performance, which concludes somewhat unexpectedly for strangers, with music, dancing, and feasting.

The chief Armenians of Constantinople are, as well as the Jews, money-brokers (sarraffs), and they receive a small premium for examining the coin in the many bargains which go through their hands. They also buy the specie when cried down and at a low price, and re-issue it in the loans with which they accommodate the Turks, at the exorbitant interests of between twenty and thirty per cent. This is the chief source of their wealth. Many of their corn merchants are in good circumstances, and also their goldsmiths, as only a few of any other nation exercise that trade. There are Armenian surgeons, physicians, and apothecaries. The greater number of bakers are of

* *Notwithstanding they have some errors worth to be rejected, and some scandalous customs besides. So you shall see them here and there cry over the graves of their deceased friends*, &c.—Dr. Leonhart Rauwolf's Travels into the Eastern Countries, part iii. chap. 14, *Of the Armenians, and their Religion.* The said traveller was of the reformed religion, and a good herbalist, but a believer in Prester John and the Unicorn.

their nation. They are the chief house-builders, masons, joiners, turners, braziers, and locksmiths; and as porters, they show themselves the most laborious, and, perhaps, the strongest people in the world. Sixteen of them, eight before and eight behind, with their arms extended across on each others shoulders, will carry a barrel of wine slung on four poles, throwing three hundred weight upon each man*. They march in a quick lock-step, accompanying each pace with the groan of a pavior, and apparently in the last agony of exertion. The Armenians are also water-carriers, sherbet-sellers, boatmen, fishermen, silk-twisters, ribbon-weavers, and tent-makers, and are accounted the best farriers and horse-breakers in the country. As chintz-printers and muslin-painters, they surpass most European artists, but the blocks and patterns are French. Previously to figuring their linens or cottons, they polish them with a paste of fine flour, and, as has been noticed by a contemporary traveller, they wash their printed calicoes in sea-water, to cleanse them from the gum used in preparing the colours†. On the whole, the Armenians are the most industrious and useful subjects in the Ottoman empire.

* Constantinople, Ancient and Modern, p. 128.

† Voyages and Travels by John Galt, p. 275, 4to. Mr. Galt adds, that he has seen squares of muslin not worth ten shillings, raised in value by the labour of the painter to upwards of a hundred.

LETTER XLVII.

Ters-Hane—The Harbour and Docks—Visit to the Capudan-Pasha at Divan-Hane—Executions—Visit to the Ters-Hane-Emini—The Sultan's Cypher—Russian Prisoners—Visit to the Capudan-Pasha's Ship, the Sultan Selim—The Turkish Navy—Martial Music—Gratitude of the Turks—and other amiable Traits of their Character—A Notice of some Points relative to the Mahometan Religion, and to its Ministers—The Mevlevi and Cadri—The Turning and Howling Dervishes.

THE east side of the port beyond Galata is a line of public buildings, and of palaces attached to the state officers of the Turkish marine. The Ottomans had been for more than half a century in possession of the most advantageous spot in the world for the establishment of a navy, before they applied themselves to navigation, for they were not masters of a single ship of war until the reign of Selim the First. That monarch constructed a dock for the building of galleys, which is still seen in a bay of the port under the hill and cemetery leading to Pera and the English palace. A long wooden wharf runs along the edge of the water, at which small merchant ships are moored, but the galleys, now out of use, are removed to the inner part of the port. It is called the Galiondge's Wharf. The point of Divan-Hane, the au-

dience-chamber of the Capudan-Pasha, terminates this bay to the north. The long suite of buildings beyond Divan-Hane, belongs to the quarter of Ters-Hane, or the Arsenal, which owes its present appearance to the labours of De Tott, and of the French engineers Leroy and Lebrun.—The enterprising Hassan-Pasha, from a waiter at a coffee-house in Gallipoli, raised himself to absolute authority under Sultan Abdulhamid, and by one act of ferocious courage (when he blew up his own and a Russian line-of-battle ship at Tchesmè) established a reputation, which he maintained throughout his long continuance in office. He recovered Lemnos, quelled a rebellion in Syria, and totally subdued the Morea, exercising the most prompt and horrible vengeance on the insurgents. His favourite was a young lion, whom most travellers had the good fortune of beholding crouched down and serving as a footstool to this terrific Admiral. He had, however, discernment enough to give every encouragement to the French officers above mentioned, the latter of whom was patronized by Kutchuk Hussein, Capudan-Pasha, also a man of acknowledged abilities.

During the reign of Selim, whose projects will be hereafter noticed, the improvements of the marine still continued under Mr. Rhodez, a Swede, with a company of engineers of the same nation, and Mr. Benoit, a French gentleman; and even after the disastrous termination of his efforts, the external appearance of Ters-Hane, such as it is at this day, would do credit to the most civilized nation of Europe. Here there are large mast and block houses, brass and copper foundries, rope-yards, naval store warehouses, besides a dry stone dock constructed on the most approved principles. A stone facing lines the harbour; and such is the depth of water, that the sterns of the three-deckers hang

over the shore. Engines for masting ships and heaving down, contrived upon the usual plan, are ranged along the pier. The ships of the line of the first class are built near the shore, on a natural declivity, and slide at once into deep water. The galley harbour succeeds to the stone piers, and beyond are the cannon foundries, near Ain-Aleh-Kavak Sarai, *the Palace of Mirrors*, a deserted kiosk built by Achmet the Third. The ground rises from near the shore of the port; and the suburbs of Hassim-Pasha, Piali-Pasha, and Piri-Pasha, with intervening cemeteries, and spots of open land crown the declivities above Divan-Hane, Ters-Hane, and the galley wharf.

The officers of the English frigate wished to see the Arsenal and the Turkish Fleet, which was then in port. As a preliminary, we visited Ali, the Capudan-Pasha. He was in his kiosk of audience at Divan-Hane, a splendid chamber, surrounded by his attendants, and, contrary to custom, received us sitting. He is reported to be a ferocious character, and certainly had the appearance of being so. His capacity for his office may be collected by the following specimen of his conversation.

After the usual compliments, he told the Captain of the frigate he had never been at sea, but that he was very fond of it. He asked him if the wind was likely to continue long in the same quarter, and when he was answered that his Highness, from having been accustomed to the climate, was more likely to know than a stranger, was unable to comprehend the deduction. He enquired if the Captain had a man on board to manage the compass; and learning that every man in the ship was acquainted with that instrument, replied, pointing to a young Midshipman in our company, "What! does that boy know any thing of the compass?"

It was evident this was no legitimate successor of Hussein-Pasha; but in the choice of a High Admiral, it is as likely as not, that a person of total incapacity for the office should be selected; as this dignity, like every other under the Ottoman government, is obtained by bribery, intrigue, and favouritism; and every Turk is content with asking himself if the place is fit for him, without enquiring whether he is fit for the place. He looks upon the office of Capudan-Pasha as preferable to that of any other state minister under the Vizier Azem, because it conveys more power and wealth; but if he cannot obtain that situation, he will take up with being Tefterdar Effendy (Minister of Finances), or Jenycherry Aghassy (General of the Janissaries).

The Capudan-Pasha is supreme over all the islands subject to the Ottoman dominion, and of all the great sea-ports and some maritime districts: he is member of the great council of state; and presides at Ters-Hane like an absolute prince, with the attendants of a court; and, what is an important point in Turkey, an executioner. An Intendant and Judge of the Marine (Ters-Hane Emini, Ters-Hane Effendi) are subject to his orders, but the latter officer attends also to the police of Pera, under the Bostandge-Bashe.

The place chosen for the death of criminals condemned by the High Admiral, is usually a flat near the Galiondge's wharf. A horizontal motion of the hand from his master, is sufficient hint and warrant to the executioner, who usually stands near him. The prisoner is led out without any ceremony, pushed upon his knees, and beheaded with a short sword, or rather a long broad knife, which does not always perform the task at one blow. If the punishment takes place secretly, the prisoner is

strangled: sometimes he is hanged up on a nail, driven into any house in the street upon which the hangman may fix. Persons of condition are strangled first, and afterwards beheaded. I saw a body turned on its chest, the carcass covered, but the legs and arms bare, which had apparently suffered from burning or beating, and the head lying between the legs. This latter position is an indignity confined to the rayahs, as the heads of Turkish criminals are placed under their arms. The body was that of a Greek Cogia-Bashe of Triccala, who was charged with lading stores for the Russians; but, as a person acquainted with the case told me, was in reality found guilty of being rich, and having two or three handsome merchant vessels, which the Capudan-Pasha desired to appropriate to his own service.

On the day of visiting the navy, we waited first on the Ters-Hane-Emini, whom we found with a kind of painting apparatus, and a hair pencil, drawing a sprig or floweret upon small bits of written paper, and handing them off to the officers in waiting. What these billets were we did not learn, but conjectured that they were official, and that the ornaments were the signets which it was the Intendant's duty to affix*.—This manual skill may seem unworthy of so important an officer as the Second Minister of the Marine; but the Nichandgi-Effendi, a counsellor of state, corresponding with our Keeper of the Privy Seal, also draws with a brush, or hair pencil, the elaborate anagram which stands at the

* A traveller should be cautious of making any conjectures of the above kind, lest he should fall into an error like that of the Malabar merchant at the court of Calcutta, who mistook a pair of green spectacles, for a necessary precaution worn by those who approached Lord Minto, to ward off the effulgence of his Lordship's presence.—See Mrs. Graham's Journal.

head of all the Imperial firmans; and employs himself, as I have seen, in this mechanical discharge of his duty in the Divan. That the office requires some painful attention, may be seen by the annexed fac-simile of Sultan Mahmoud's cypher, taken on a scale one half less than that of the original, from our travelling firman. It is called Turrè, but is properly the Khati-Sherif (which gives a name to the whole mandate or public edict), signifying *the holy character*, or Khati-Humayun, *the sublime character*, and no Turk will touch it before he has ceremoniously kissed it with his mouth and forehead, and brushed away the dust from it with his cheeks. We learn from Cantemir, that it is held in reverence even after the death of the Emperor whose name it represents*.



* Ottoman History, Part I. Book iii. p. 160, of Tindal's translation.

The act of writing the Sultan's name, conveys therefore a sacred dignity, and it would be a sort of profanation to entrust it to common hands. In the same way, even the menial offices about his court are considered highly honourable, although they are not, like the Lordships of the Bed-chamber at St. James's, by any means a sinecure. The Pasha of the Dardanelles, at a visit paid him upon my return from Constantinople, learning that we had been in the Seraglio, asked us how we liked the presence-chamber; and, on our reply, commended it highly, saying, that he ought to know it well, having swept it out for fifteen years.

Leaving the Ters-Hane-Emini, we proceeded, accompanied by some of his officers, to examine the port. There were nine two-deckers, and one three-decker, laid up close to the pier, quite out of repair, besides several frigates, one of which, distinguished by a palm at the head, was La Justice, now La Victorieuse, that carried Denon to Egypt. One three-decker was on the stocks. The store-rooms seemed empty, and there were few people at work in any part of the arsenal.

We met between two and three hundred Russian prisoners, chained by the legs, going from the public prison, called the *Bath*, to their labours. This place of confinement (the abode of suspected Greeks and condemned Turks, as well as of captive enemies) is enclosed with high walls at the head of the arsenal, and probably merits the frightful description given of it from the report of the unfortunate Frenchmen suffering there during the war between their country and the Porte*.

* L'aspect du bagne offre un coup-d'œil qui flétrit l'imagination, &c.—Pouqueville, Voyage a Constantinople, chap. xvii. p. 149.

A very great and good man has endeavoured to reconcile the custom of enslaving prisoners of war with the laws of nature and reason. Whether it is excusable or not, the Turks only follow a practice which was formerly universally prevalent, and which was certainly not extinguished amongst Christians until the thirteenth century*; nor do they follow it to its full extent, for the prisoners are released on a peace; and, although they are very rigorously confined, and obliged to work, they cannot, therefore, be said to be enslaved. The Turks, however, no less than the ancient Scythians, still think themselves fully entitled to a payment for the head or redemption of every one whom they destroy or spare in battle.

From Ters-Hane we went on board the Sultan Selim, the Capudan-Pasha's ship, of a hundred and twenty guns, built on the French model, and perhaps as fine a vessel as any in the world. The High Admiral's cabin is a magnificent apartment, surrounded by a handsome stern-gallery; but that of the Captain, and the ward-room, are not very comfortably contrived, especially the latter, which is half filled with small arms: indeed the places where the officers sleep are near the forecastle, where there is also an immense oven for baking bread. Her decks were perfectly clean and sweet; and, as she was not burthened with any comforts or conveniences for the crew, her quarters were quite clear below as well as on the upper deck. Her complement of men is twelve hundred, all of whom, the Captain told us, were on board, although there were but few of them visible above, and the most perfect

* Grot. de Jure belli et pacis, lib. iii. cap. vii. Decline and Fall, vol. ii. 4to. p. 595.

good order and silence were observed in every part of the ship. On the lower deck were four enormous cannons on each side, upon carriages without either trucks or wheels, and incapable of elevation. It is extraordinary that a reform in this particular should not have taken place at the same time with the other improvements. The crew is divided into two distinct bodies; the Greeks who manage, and the Turks who fight, the ship: the former are about two hundred in number. With such a regulation, it cannot be expected that any excellence in the vessels themselves should enable the Turkish navy to equal that of any civilized state.

The line-of-battle ships in commission when we were in the Sultan Selim, were two of three decks, and ten of seventy-four guns; all of which were moored in the port near Ters-Hane.

Whilst we were in Pera the fleet left the harbour, and proceeded towards its annual cruise in the Black Sea. It first anchored off Beshik-Tash, then remained some time in the bay of Buyuk-dere, and was more than a fortnight in getting finally out of the canal. We saw the ships under sail in the Black Sea. Several of the squadron generally return, after suffering by mismanagement, into the canal, previously to the appointed season for giving up the cruise.

During a war with Russia, great promises are annually made on the part of the Capudan Pasha on commencing the expedition, which are almost as regularly disappointed, and have sometimes been fatal to the Admiral, who contrives in some instances to acquit himself by strangling his Captain, or that of the Patrona Bey or Vice-Admiral, and laying the charge of misconduct on the pretended delinquent.

I had an opportunity of going on board one of the Turkish

ships of war at sea, and saw nothing of that good order and discipline, which apparently prevailed in the Sultan Selim when in harbour. She was a sloop of eighteen guns, and one hundred and twenty-five men, and would certainly have proved herself not equal to an English armed cutter. It was difficult to distinguish the Captain from his sailors, either from his dress or manner: indeed the dignity of naval command cannot be at all understood in a Turkish ship of war; for one traveller relates, that he saw the Captain and one of his men playing at chess on the quarter-deck; and I heard Sir S. Smith mention, that upon his coming on board the Turkish Admiral's ship, the great Capudan-Pasha Kutchuk-Hussein, either as a distinguished honour, or as a proof of his nautical accomplishments, fired a salute with his own hand, running along the deck from gun to gun.

The people of a free state submit to unlimited subserviency when enrolled amongst the troops of their country. The subjects of a despotic monarchy reserve all their liberty of action for the period of their service in arms. The anchoring of an Ottoman fleet in a port, and the passing of an army through a town, is a public calamity to the inhabitants of the invaded district. The Galiondges, however, are reckoned more brutal and licentious than the land troops of the Empire.

Whilst we were walking the deck of the Sultan Selim, the Capudan Pasha left Ters-Hane, to proceed to Buyuk-dere. He passed near the ship in his gilded barge, and the band mounting the poop, continued to play until they were relieved by those in the three-decker of the Patrona Bey. Their long trumpets, the only instruments, produced nothing like our martial airs, but slow and unvarying, though not unpleasant sounds,

such as we may conceive the mournful music of the Goths, or the long-drawn note of the ancient Swiss clarion *.

After leaving the Sultan Selim, we went on board a seventy-four, commanded by a Captain who had been made prisoner in Alexandria, when it was taken by the British, and who, although he retired for three years to Syracuse before he ventured to return, would have lost his head on coming back to Constantinople, had he not been saved by English interposition; by which also he obtained his ship: another officer who had been his companion in the same circumstances, was on board. We were received with the utmost cordiality, and as they spoke Italian, they made us at

* Mr. Gibbon, Decline and Fall, vol. ii. 4to. p. 549, compares the Gothic trumpets to the *rauca cornua* of the Uri, and remarks upon the art with which Philip de Commines has noticed the blowing of these Swiss horns before the battle of Nancy, in which the Duke of Burgundy lost his life. "Attendant le combat, le dit cor fut corné par trois fois, tant que le vent du souffleur pouvoit durer; ce qui esbahit fort Monsieur de Bourgouinge, *car deja a Morat l'avoit ouy.*" This passage, and particularly the last turn in it, produces all the effect of the sublime in writing. I beg leave to insert from Knolles a specimen of the pathetic, no less simple and effectual. Writing that Busbek admired the order and silence of the Turkish camp, he adds, "*he met only with a rough Hungarian and his companion, a soldier, who, heavy himself, to the lute, rather howled than sung a doleful ditty, containing the last words of a fellow of his dying of his wounds, upon the green banke of Danubius; wherein he requested the river, because it ran to the place where he was born, to carry news to his friends and countrymen that he died an honourable death, and not unrevenged, for the increase of his religion, and honour of his country; whereunto his fellow sighing bare a foot.*

O happy and thrice happy wight,
Would fortune with thee change we might."

Hist. of the Turks, p. 777.

once understand how much they regretted they were unprepared for the visit: they would have sent a boat on shore for coffee. Upon discovering a gentleman of the embassy, who had come with them in an English sloop of war from Malta, and whom they conceived instrumental in their preservation, they hastened to him with delight in every feature, pressed him tenderly by the hand, made repeated enquiries after all their English friends, and showed their love and gratitude by a thousand expressions of kindness.

On our departure they renewed their professions, and with an air of melancholy, let drop some hints of regret, that the suspicions of their government would not allow them to repeat by personal visits, and frequent communications at the English palace, their unfeigned attachment, and eternal obligations to their generous friends. Ingratitude is a vice unknown to the Turks, whose naked character, where it can be discovered through the incrustations of a defective system, displays a disposition which belongs only to those whom nature has formed of better clay, and cast in her happiest mould. Perhaps European civilization would not give a greater scope to the exertion of their intrinsic virtues, but it is clear, that many of their vices are to be attributed to their faulty institutions.

The descriptions of Rycaut (and much earlier writers might be mentioned) apply to the Mussulmans of Constantinople at this day, as much as to those of the seventeenth century, and the decay of their relative strength, as an European power, has but little affected their national character. The Mahometan religion has prevented, and ever will prevent, any material change in the individual condition, and consequently the character of the Turks.

The light thrown upon the manners and customs of this people during the last hundred years, has left it unnecessary to disabuse the world on the subject of the religion of Mahomet. The times are past, when the Mussulmans were charged with believing that God is a corporeal being, the author of evil, without providence, and not eternal; that the soul is mortal; that the devils are friends of Mahomet, and of God; that Venus is the proper object of worship; that man was created of a leach; and many other absurdities, originating only in the ignorance of their accusers*.

Into the doctrinal part of their religion the Turks do not enquire, but content themselves with an implicit faith in the one eternal Deity, in his angels, in the prophets, in the day of resurrection and judgment, in the decrees of God, and in the virtue of purification, prayer, alms and fasting. There are some of their priests, as might be expected, who disturb themselves with the subtleties of the controversialists, and engrafting upon the simplicity of the original law a variety of strange creeds, have established sects, the opinions of which, if we are to believe some writers, are not only different from, but altogether inconsistent with, the faith of Mahomet. Rycaut mentions one brotherhood, whose mystery, which it required a long noviciate to penetrate, consisted in a profession of atheism, and a practice of the most horrid de-

* Pope Pius II. in a letter to the Sultan of the Turks, made the first charge; Cedrenus the second, the same Pope the third, Bartholinus of Odessa the fourth, and fifth, Polydore Virgil the sixth, Johannes Andreas the seventh, the great Selden, in his 4th chap. on the Syrian Deities, the eighth; and Euthemius Zigalenus the last. Sylburgius accuses Mahomet of having called the Blessed Virgin the sister of Moses; and Bartholinus of Odessa upbraids the Koran for saying that she was impregnated by eating dates. Those who would see the origin and refutation of these follies, may consult the second book of Adrian. Reland's System of the Mahometan Theology.

baucheries; but Islamism can no more be affected by such a perversity, than the religion of England by the monks of Medenham.

The sect does not, as far as I could learn, exist at this day, but institutions and practices no less foreign to the original faith, may still be found. Such are the invocations of dead and the reverence of living saints, a belief in prophecies* omens and dreams and the power of amulets and charms, and the admission of numerous orders of Dervishes; the removal of all which excrescences, and the restoration of the simple Unitarianism of the Koran, it is the professed object of the Wahaubees to effect. These powerful sectaries have taken the holy cities, and overrunning all Arabia, and part of Syria, have menaced at the same time the Sophi of Persia and the Sultan of Constantinople, peremptorily inviting them to recognise the divine commission of Wahaub, the Unitarian Chief, and restore the faith to its primitive purity. Should the mission of this reformer accomplish its aim, and meet with general success, we may then expect to become acquainted with Mahometanism, such as it was in its infancy.

Mr. Leibnitz says of it, that "'tis a kind of deism joined to the belief of some facts, and to the observation of some performances, that Mahomet and his followers have added, sometimes unluckily enough, to natural religion, but that have been agreeable to the inclinations of several countries;" and he adds, "we

* The knowledge of future events is obtained, they think, by the constant practice of virtue, fasting, and humiliation. The *Etishmyshlerden*, "the attainers to the fulness of divine fervour," pretend to visions; yet Mahomet is declared in the Koran *Achir Pergamber* the last of the prophets, which the modern Mahometans have explained, as usual, to suit their own notions.—See Cantemir, Ottoman Hist. book i. p. 39, Tindal's translation.

are obliged to that sect for the destruction of paganism in many parts of the world*."

To this brief and just exposition, and the subsequent eulogy of the religion, I shall only add, that its main doctrine has been allowed to be so similar to that of a great heretical Christian, that in times when theological controversies were more bitter than at present, sober treatises were written, to prove the conformity of the Mahometan belief with that of the Socinians; and that sect, on account of the irregularities of Adam Neuser, was charged with a conspiracy against Christianity, in conjunction with the Emperor of the Turks†. What was once thought a disgrace to Socinus, may now be considered an honour to the author of Islamism, who, when he declared *There is but one God, and Mahomet is his prophet*, may, considering the infirmities of human nature, be scarcely so much condemned for the imposture of the latter article, as praised for having promulgated the sublime truth contained in the first half of his concise creed. In short, of the prophet of Mecca we may say what Adrian Reland has pronounced of his commentator Kerabisensis, *This Arabian delivers some truth, covered over with a shell of fiction, being destitute of divine revelation.*

Οὐκ ἴδεν, ἀλλ' ἐδόκησεν ἰδεῖν διὰ νύκτα σελήνην.

* A Letter from Mr. Leibnitz to the author of the Reflections upon the Origin of Mahometanism, dated Berlin, 1706.

† See Historical and Critical Reflections upon Mahometanism and Socinianism, translated from the French, London, 1712. *A Turk hearing a Polish Socinian discourse on the Trinity and Incarnation, wondered he did not get himself circumcised.* See the Letter of Mr. Leibnitz, who, of the two, prefers the Mahometan, as more consistent than the Socinian.

The rapid progress of Islamism has been attributed to the vicious licence permitted and promised to its votaries; but an Arabian impostor, many years after the Hegira, allowed a much greater laxity of morals to his followers, and notwithstanding some success, his sect did not survive him. On the contrary, the Prophet, in forbidding the use of wine, created a restriction to which the Arabians were not before accustomed; nor will any religion owe its dispersion and prevalence to a declaration of freedom of action; for it is consonant to the genius of man, to admire and follow systems abounding with rules and regulations, and even prescribing a conduct which seems to do violence to all the natural feelings and unbiassed inclinations of the human breast. Were this not the case, Fakeers, Monks, and Dervishes, could never have existed: it would have been impossible that any man in the world should, like Uveis the Mahometan, have established a sect and met with proselytes, whose pretensions to piety were founded on the extraction of all their teeth.

Mahomet was too wise to omit the palpable parts and outward ceremonials, which are the life and soul of all superstitions; which, in fact, are the superstitions. He was too wise, to make his Koran a promulgation of licences instead of restraints; his fasts and abstinences, his ablutions, his pilgrimage to Mecca, are so many meritorious mortifications, which have all tended to the propagation of his doctrine. To the same knowledge of the human mind may be attributed the miraculous relations of the Koran.

It has been before hinted, that a variety of principles and articles of faith have been invented by the founders of different Mahometan sects, but that these heresies do not engage the attention of the great body of the people. Some persons are inclined

to think, that many of the higher classes in Turkey are very sceptical in matters of religion*. Of this I could form no judgment; but it was not difficult to see, that few except the lower orders retain that spirit of intolerance and bigotry which Mahometans are accused of displaying in all their commerce with Christians. A notion has very generally obtained, of their contempt and hatred of infidels so far prevailing, that it is established amongst them, that they may break any engagement with an unbeliever; but nothing is more unfounded than such a supposition, for the contrary conduct is expressly commanded by the Koran†, and they have been always notorious for their good faith in their commercial intercourse with other nations. "*How do we trade amongst the Turks,*" enquires Mr. Harley, who had fallen into the common error, "*and trust the Mahometans, one of whose doctrines in the Alcoran is, not to keep faith with Christians? They have obtained it by a just, punctual, and honourable practice in trade, and you credit them without scruple, nay, rather than some Christians*‡."

All the people of the East, except the Mahometans, as Montesquieu§ thought, look upon all religions in themselves as indifferent, and amongst the Calmucks, the admission of every kind of religion is a point of conscience. The truth is, the Mahometans themselves, whether originally from climate or otherwise,

* *It must, however, be confessed, that in so great a nation there are many of the learned Turks who do not implicitly believe all that is said in the Koran,*" &c. Cantemir, Ottoman Hist. book i. p. 31, Tindal.

† See A Short System of the Mahometan Theology, book ii. sect. xxv.

‡ Essay on Public Credit, 1710 (reprinted 1797), p. 17.

§ Liv. xxv. chapit. 15, de l'Esprit des Loix.

notwithstanding great apparent steadiness in their own faith, are perfectly tolerant in their practice; and I cannot help supposing that they entertain very charitable notions on this head, for I recollect a person of authority, to whom one of us had introduced our Albanian attendant Dervish, with the recommendation that he was a Mussulman, observing, that he did not enquire into a man's faith, but his character, and that he presumed Heaven would be wide enough for persons of all religions *. The generality of the Turks are at the same time exceedingly attentive to all the forms prescribed by their law, and perform their religious duties without either affectation or levity. The obligation to external piety is not confined to the priesthood. They pray in the streets and in their open shops at Constantinople, not for the sake of ostentation, since every one is equally pious, but to perform a portion of their civil duties. On the same principle, no one, whatever may be his private opinions, utters any sentiments disrespectful to the faith. Such a levity would be sedition, and a

* The Koran, Surat 2, verse 59, has these words: "*Verily, those who believe, both Jews and Nazareens (Christians), and Zabians (Gentiles in Arabia, or Ishmaelites), whosoever of these believe in God and the last day, and do good works, have their reward with their Lord, and no fear shall come upon them, neither shall they be affected with sorrow.*" Artus Thomas, in his Triumph of the Cross; Bellarmine, in his Controversies, vol. ii. p. 293, 294; and Thomas à Jesu on the Controversies of the Gentiles, p. 677, and others, cry scandal against this toleration, *the last dotage of Mahomet;* and Reland has, I fear, with some success, defended the Prophet against the heinous charge. A short System of Mahometan Theology, book ii. sect. 2.—The Cham of the Tartars told Rubruquis in 1253, "*Que comme Dieu avoit donné aux mains plusieurs doigts, ainsi avoit il ordonné aux hommes plusieurs chemins pour aller en Paradis.*"—Voyage en Tartarie, cap. 46, p. 119.

crime against the representative of the Prophet; for the Sultan is the Vicar of Mahomet, and is the supreme head of the government, which is not less a theocracy than the ancient Jewish monarchy.

It has been established beyond doubt, by the writer who, in my humble judgment, has given the truest and most satisfactory account of the Turkish government, I mean Mr. Thornton, that the Ulema, or ministers of the Mahometan law, at whose head is the Mufti, do not assume or exercise a power paramount to that of the Sultan, however they may have been resorted to, in order to sanction the Imperial edicts, or to join with the Janissaries, or general voice of the people, in deposing a cruel or incapable prince*. The Mufti, who has been likened to the Popes or Patriarchs of the Christian sects, but is in fact more similar to the Pontifex Maximus of ancient Rome, is in dignity, though not in power, the second person in the empire; but he is not, as some have endeavoured to prove, the first. To show this, it is sufficient to say that his continuance in office depends upon the will of the Sultan.

In a despotic monarchy nothing remains fixed but the religion†; the Mahometan law is unchangeable and all-powerful; but its immediate ministers possess neither the one nor the other attribute. If the *fetwa*, or decree, of the Mufti were a necessary sanction to every act of importance, which it seems not to be, the person who disposes of the office may be supposed capable of controuling the officer. The religion may be called supe-

* Present State of Turkey, p. 100 to p. 113.

† De l'Esprit des Loix.

rior to the Sultan, for by it he holds his power, but I cannot think that any opposition to the Imperial authority on the part of the Ulema, however long or successfully it may continue, can be adduced to show that the Sultan of the Turks is not a despotic prince, or can be considered in any other light than an insurrection, to which every absolute monarch must occasionally be subject.

It is the custom for the Grand Signior to back his ordinances relative to peace and war, and other state matters, by the *fetwa*, as it is for him to go to the mosck publicly on every Friday, and to attend in person at a conflagration; but the two latter obligations are equally strong with the former; nor are the three exceptions to the exercise of his own will and discretion, of sufficient importance to be mentioned as a proof of limitation in the Ottoman sovereignty, or of any other point, than that no prince is altogether superior to established usages. Nevertheless, Abu-Taleb, the traveller commonly going by the name of the Persian Prince, a much better judge than either De Tott, Sir James Porter, or other Europeans, who have adopted the same notion, informs us in his Travels, that he did not consider the power of the Grand Signior absolute, which I can only account for by supposing, that in the Asiatic governments to which he had been accustomed, insurrections were not so frequent, nor the influence of usage so apparent, as in the capital of Turkey.

The identity of law and religion gives a sanctity of character to the Mufti, the Cazy-askers of Roumelia and Natolia, the Istamboul-Effendi, the Mollahs, Cadis, Naibs, and all the administrators of justice in Turkey; but the ecclesiastics, or Murtaziki, are, except in their education, a distinct body from the Ulema,

and are not immediately dependent upon the Mufti, but upon the Kislar-Aga, or Chief of the Black Eunuchs*. The Santons, Alfaquis, and Sheiks, explain texts of the Koran, but their sermons are not given at any stated time, nor very frequently; the Talismans perform the same office, but are chiefly employed in transcribing the holy books; the Imaums recite the prayers, at stated hours of the day in the moscks, but not aloud, only animating the people by their example: on Friday, however, before prayers at noon, a reader or chanter (Nat' chon) sings the praises of Mahomet. To each mosck there is also a Haim, or overseer; Fernesh, a sweeper; and Abkesh, a water-drawer. One Muezzin, or chanter, will serve for several moscks. The burying-grounds are under the inspection of a Turba-dhar, or sexton. There is also a person whose business it is to attend to the innumerable lights with which the larger moscks are supplied, and to provide for the illuminations of the Rhamazan, when all the minarets are adorned with lamps, hanging not only round the galleries and to the tops of the spires, but upon strings from one turret to another, so as to form various figures, and verses from the Koran.

There is no part of the religious duties of a Mussulman which

* The Cazy-askers are chief justices: they sit not on the right, as Mr. Thornton says, but on the left hand, of the Grand Vizier in the Divan. The Istambol-Effendi is chief justice of Constantinople; the Mollahs, or Moulas, are presidents of great towns, to whom the ancient Ottoman kings paid five hundred aspers a day, but who now receive nothing from the government (Bobovius, a Treatise concerning the Turkish Liturgy, sect. ii.); the Cadis are judges of small towns; and the Naibs, puisne judges. Each court has a Katib, a secretary; a Mokaiyd, a clerk; and Muhzir, a crier. The Mufti's pension is five hundred zequins a day from the Seraglio. (Notice sur la Cour du Grand Seigneur, p. 141).

requires the intervention of a priest; nor, although a reader and chanter are retained in some great families, is the distinction which separates the Christian laity and clergy, to be recognised amongst the Mahometans. There is nothing in the external behaviour of the Imaums, or others of the secular priesthood, which distinguishes them from their fellow-subjects: they assume no authority, either temporal or ecclesiastical; and are under the controul of the Cadis, or municipal judges: in short, they are the guardians of the moscks rather than of the Mussulmans. The Hogias, or schoolmasters (one of whom is attached to each of the great moscks in Constantinople), are in smaller parishes the only public readers of the Koran.

The extreme simplicity of this religion, and of the ordinances by which it is supported, has not, however, prevented all pretensions to extraordinary holiness, or the encouragement of several sects of fanatical impostors, to whom some allusion has before been made. The Christian recluses were the admiration of the Mussulmans before they had adopted the same practice; but since the first institution of religious orders in the reign, and by the patronage, of Nasser-Ben-Hamed, the third prince of the Samanide dynasty, in the year 331 of the Hegira, there has been a constant succession of saints, distinguished from their fellow-citizens by the title and profession of poverty, and supposed to be occupied in the perpetual contemplation of the more abstruse points of the Mahometan doctrine*. These saints have been

* D'Herbelot, Bibliotheque Orientale, Articles *Nasser-Ben-Hamed, Dervische, Sofi, Zaked, Fakir*, &c. Sâadi, in the Ghulistan, relates, that the Christian monks of Mount Libanus in his time performed miracles; and Bokhari, in

known under the names of Calenders, Torlaquis, and other distinct appellations applied to particular sects, but are more generally spoken of under their original title of Dervish, a word having the same signification in the Turkish and Persian language as the Fakir of the Arabic, and denoting a poor man. They have their travelling mendicants, fraternities of settled recluses, and some few solitaries, amounting in all to thirty-two orders; all of which differ from each other, and are distinguished also by particular manners and appearance from the rest of the world.

Although it is expressly said in the Koran, that the vow of celibacy is not received in Paradise, the Calenders do not admit of marriage; but the generality of the orders are under no such restriction. Some individuals amongst them have, like Haji Bek-Tash, attained an extraordinary reputation; but the profession of piety, beyond the acquirement of alms, is not attended with any advantages in Turkey. The Mussulmans consider themselves obliged to contribute to the support of the religious; at the same time, that not only the more enlightened of them, but the common people, regard the Dervishes with but little internal reverence, and rather tolerate than approve of their institutions. The *Seyeh*, or wanderers, who raise contributions by proclamation, are relieved, but not respected*. Their *kirkah*, or torn habit, notwithstanding its alleged descent from the ancient pro-

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his book entitled Sahib, recounts the wonders of the Abyssinian, Saheb Gioraije, a Christian solitary, with the good faith of a Capuchin. There is also an Arabic history of Christian monks.

* On coming into a town, a Seyeh cries aloud from the market place or court of the mosck, "*Ya allah senden besh bin altùn isterim*"—*O God, give me,*

phets, has been the subject of much sarcasm for the Oriental wits, and the vices which it is known to envelop, have not added to its respectability*.—A Dervish attempted to kill Sultan Mahomet the Second, and also Achmet the First; and in the reign of Osman the First another enthusiast ventured to disturb the peace of the empire, by foretelling the triumph of Christianity upon the strength of a vision seen at Mecca. The prophet was cudgelled to death†.

I pray, five thousand crowns—or some other sum or commodity, which he is to collect in the course of his journey. The *Seyehs* come even from India. One of them delivered to Kioprili Mustapha Pasha, Grand Vizier to Solyman the Second, letters from the Great Mogul, and told him that his master, hearing of the Sultan's distresses, had sent an offer of assistance to his brother Mussulman. To which Kioprili replied, *that Solyman would be ever grateful for the zeal and friendship of the great Padishah of India, but that his affairs just then being in a prosperous state, "he could be honoured with no greater favour from his Indian majesty, than his commanding his beggars not to enter the Ottoman dominions."*—Cantemir, Ottoman Hist. Part I. book i. p. 40, of Tindal's translation.

* Sâadi, in the eighth chapter of his Ghulistan, addressing the religious, says, "*Possess the virtues of a true Dervish, and then, instead of a woollen cap, wear, if you will, a Tartar bonnet.*" Ebu-Cassab, one of their spiritual masters, calls their garments the mask of hypocrisy; and Hafiz prefers a goblet of wine to the blue mantle of the Dervish; which the Persians, who have given a mystical meaning to all the verses of this poet, explain as an attachment to divine love, and a hatred for hypocrisy. *Dervishlik khirkhaden bellu doghil*, is a Turkish proverb, which answers to the *cucullus non facit monachum*. See D'Herbelot, Bibliotheque Orientale, Article Dervische.

† In the early ages of the Mahometan religion a Mahometan said that he was God. A man reminded him, that one who had called himself a prophet had been killed. "*They were right*," said the other, "*for I did not give him his commission: he was no prophet of mine.*"—Paroles Remarquables des Orientaux, Galand.

The character of the mendicant Dervishes of Asia Minor has been already seen*. Yet the Santons and Sheiks, whose exhortations make most impression in the moscks, are the superiors of these fanatics; and a sermon preached by one of the former in St. Sophia, was the origin of the disgraceful expedition undertaken by Sultan Solyman against Malta in the year 1564†.

Attempts have been made to abolish the institution, but the Janissaries still retain eight Dervishes of the order of Bek-Tash, as chaplains to the army; and the people of Constantinople run in crowds to amuse themselves (for no other motive can be assigned to them) at the exhibitions of the turning and of the howling Dervishes, to which all strangers are carried, as to the theatre or other places of entertainment in the cities of Christendom.

There is a monastery of the former order, the *Mevlevi* (so called from Mevlana their founder) in Pera, and we were admitted to the performance of their ceremonies on Friday the 25th of May. We were conducted by a private door into the gallery of the place of worship, a single octagonal room, with the middle of the floor, which was of wood highly polished, railed off for the exhibitors. A red carpet and cushion were placed at the side opposite the great door near the rails, but there were no seats in any part of the chamber. We waited some time until the great door opened, and a crowd of men and boys rushed in, like a mob into a playhouse, each of them, however, pulling off his shoes as he entered. The place without the rails, and our gallery, were filled in five minutes, when the doors were closed. The Dervishes

* Letter xxxvi. p. 648, of this volume.

† Notice sur la Cour du Grand Seigneur, p. 148.

dropped in one by one, and each of them crossing his arms, very reverently and with the utmost grace bowed to the seat of the Superior, who entered at last himself, better dressed than the others, and with his feet covered. With him came in another man, who was also distinguished from the rest by his garments, and who appeared afterwards to officiate as a clerk. Other Dervishes arrived, and went into the gallery opposite to the Superior's seat, where there were four small cymbal drums. The Superior now commenced a prayer, which he continued for ten minutes; then a man stood up in the gallery, and sang for some time from a book: the cymbals began to beat, and four Dervishes taking up their *neïh* or long cane pipes, called by Cantemir the sweetest of all musical instruments*, played some tunes which were by no means disagreeable, and were, indeed, something like plaintive English airs. On some note being struck, the Dervishes below all fell suddenly on their faces, clapping their hands with one accord upon the floor.

The music ceased, and the Superior began again to pray. He then rose, and marched three times slowly round the room, followed by the others, who bowed on each side of his cushion, the Superior himself bowing also, but not to the cushion, and only once, when he was half way across it. The Superior reseated himself, and said a short prayer. The music commenced a second time, all the Dervishes rose from the ground, and fourteen out of the twenty who were present, let drop a long coloured petticoat, round the rim of which there were apparently some weights; and throwing off their cloaks, they appeared in a tight vest

* Ottoman Hist. Part I. book i. p. 40.

with sleeves. The clerk then marched by the Superior, and bowing, retired into the middle of the room. A Dervish followed, bowed, and began to whirl round, his long petticoat flying out into a cone. The rest followed, and all of them were soon turning round in the same manner as the first, forming a circle about the room, with three or four in the middle. The arms of one man alone were held straight upwards, two of them crooked their right arms like a kettle-spout, the rest had both arms extended horizontally, generally with the palm of one hand turned upwards, and the fingers closed and at full length. A very accurate and lively representation of this curious scene may be found in Lord Baltimore's Travels.—Some of them turned with great speed; they revolved round the room imperceptibly, looking more like automatons than men, as the petticoat concealed the movement of their feet: the clerk walked with great earnestness and attention amongst them, but without speaking, and the Superior remained on his cushion moving his body gently from side to side, and smiling. The performers continued at the labour for twenty-five minutes, but with four short intervals; the last time they turned for ten minutes, and notwithstanding some of them whirled with such velocity that their features were not distinguishable, and two of them were boys of fifteen and seventeen, apparently no one was affected by this painful exercise. The clerk, after the turning and music ceased, prayed aloud, and a man walking round, threw a cloak upon the Dervishes, each of whom was in his original place, and bending to the earth. The Superior began the last prayer, and the company withdrew.

The ceremonies just described are said by Volney to have a reference to the revolution of the stars, and whether or not they

are to have credit for any superior astronomical science, these Dervishes certainly possess some literary merit, as all of them are instructed in the Arabic language, and make it their study to become critically acquainted with its beauties. Their monasteries contain many rare books, collected at considerable pains and expence in all the countries of the East where they have any establishments, or which are visited by any of their fraternity.

It cannot be supposed that any set of men who are better instructed should be more superstitious than their fellow-citizens; but it is very probable that they may be aware of the awe and astonishment which any strange religious ceremony creates in the mind of the vulgar, and that without being in reality enthusiastic, they take advantage of the reputation sometimes attached, even amongst the Turks, to that character. They cannot be unwilling that the spectators of the performance should discover some mystical meaning in their revolutions, which it seems to me were in their first origin nothing but a sort of religious penance; but I cannot think that they are themselves deceived as to the efficacy or intention of the ceremonies. The Superior does not inflict upon himself the execution of so rigorous a duty, and it may be added, that there is a marked superiority, both in his appearance and that of the musicians, to the air and manner of the Dervishes employed in the exhibition, who may, after all, be retained to display their feats for the benefit of the institution.

The Mevlevi are, however, rational worshippers, when compared with the Cadrhi, or Howling Dervishes, whose exertions, if considered as religious ceremonies, are more inexplicable and disgusting than those of any enthusiasts in the known world, and if regarded merely as jugglers' feats, are legitimate objects of curio-

sity. A large party of our countrymen went to see them on the 26th of June.

From our lodgings we walked to the back of Pera, and keeping the suburbs of Cassim Pasha on our left, passed over the large plain and hill of the Ok-meidan, or archery ground, where there are many marble pillars erected as memorials of the distance to which some of the Sultans, and other distinguished Toxophilites, have shot their arrows; for the endeavour of the Turks is not to hit a mark, but to exceed each other by the range of their bows; and I think it is Olivier who mentions, that they have contrived an extravagant method of flattering their sovereigns and grandees, by placing in the Ok-meidan, signs of a prowess altogether impossible. I recollect perfectly well walking another time across the plain, quite unconscious of the sport, and being stopped by the shouts of some Turks on a neighbouring hill, and by a fellow who ran hastily up to me, and pointed to an arrow which had just lighted in the ground. The archers were amongst some large loose stones, and at a distance which rendered them scarcely discernible. Some of the Asiatic troops still carry bows and arrows.

After crossing the Ok-meidan, we waited an hour in the court-yard of a ruined mosck, shaded by large plane trees, and containing two dry fountains and a range of deserted cells. We were told that the ceremony never took place except with the attendance of a sufficient number of spectators, and after leaving the mosck we staid some time in an outward yard, until a crowd was collected, and we heard music and praying in an anti-chamber. We then entered, and found a large party singing, or rather bawling, in a dirty deal apartment, fitted up at the further end

with several flags, having axes, swords, pikes, and cymbal-drums on one side, and a silk cloth inscribed with characters on the other. This they said was a part of Mahomet's tent, the other portion of this holy relic being at Vienna. On the left hand corner was a latticed box for women, and next to it was an open compartment railed off from the floor. In this place we seated ourselves, and saw three principal personages of the sect kneeling under the flags, and waving their heads sideways, keeping time with the musicians, who were beating drums and singing at the lower end of the room. In the corner under the latticed box, was a black or tawny dwarf half naked, upon his knees, contorting himself into many frightful and ridiculous gestures, now and then becoming furious, and knocking his arms and head violently against the ground. To him we directed our attention, until at last he tore open his vest below his waist, and struggling on the ground, was led off frothing at the mouth, and suffering apparently under the convulsions of actual madness.

After this exhibition the principals advanced; the crowd ranged themselves along three sides of the lower end of the room, and six persons squatting down in the middle of the party, commenced singing, and were joined by the remainder of the company in the chorus, which was the repetition of the name of God. The whole of the three lines, amounting in all to between thirty and forty persons, none of whom belonged to the fraternity, but were introduced promiscuously by kissing the principal's hands, continued waving backwards and forwards, and sideways close together, howling and grunting to a tune, which was lost at last in a general and continued exclamation of *Yallah-Illah! Yallah-Illah!* when they jumped and jogged themselves into that which appeared to all of

us, from undoubted symptoms, to be that peculiar kind of artificial frenzy, which we learn was produced by the Sarmatian art of see-saw, or session on a cord *.

I should mention, that before the violent howling and jogging began, a Dervish perfectly mangy, and covered with filth and sores, came round, and reverently taking off every man's turban, placed it under the banners. The three principals only jogged their heads and moved on their heels. They seemed half in joke, as also did several of the party, especially a young Imaum of our acquaintance who had accompanied us to the place, and who, although he joined in the whole ceremony, was laughing heartily and winking towards our box. During the howling the Superior of the order, a red-faced, drunken-looking man, entered the room, and walking busily amongst the party, made various exclamations of ill temper and discontent, as if displeased with some parts of the ceremony.

After the howling, a prayer was recited, and all the company dispersed into the anti-chamber to take coffee and pipes to recruit themselves; but they soon returned, and a jug of water, into which the Superior had blown, and a consecrated shirt, were handed round the room. Two infants were also brought in and laid on a mat before the Superior, who stood first on their bellies, and then on their backs, and afterwards breathing upon them, delivered them to his attendants, cured, as we were told, of some complaint which this charm was calculated to remove.

The howling and jogging recommenced, and to this succeeded a prayer. The Superior then brought forward two men, and ran

* See Swift *On the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit*—Tale of a Tub.

long needles, like netting needles, with large handles, through their cheeks, pushing them out at their mouths, and also through the thick skin above the wind-pipe. After a short time he pulled the needles out, wetting the wound with his spittle, and so contriving the extraction that no orifice was visible, although it appeared that a hole had been made, and the performer brought the men close to our box, as if to convince us that there was no delusion in the operation. The feat was repeated, and a black curly-headed fellow, who they said was an Egyptian, on the needle being drawn out, appeared to faint, and falling down, lay for some time on the ground, until the superior puffed into his mouth, when he jumped up, screaming out Yollàh! in a convulsed but ridiculous tone, and recovered instantly. The boring was practised on several in the room, and the jogging and singing were continued by the crowd below. The Superior, having first drawn several rusty swords and returned them to their sheaths, now took an attaghan, and breathing upon it, gave it to a black Arab, who stripped to his waist, and, after crying several times on the name of God, applied it to the narrow part of his abdomen as tightly as possible, sawing it with the utmost violence upon his belly, but without leaving any marks, except a few bloody scratches: whilst he performed this frightful feat, he called out to us, *bono? bono?* as much as to ask if it was well done.

Another swarthy Arab then took the attaghan, which by the way was handed to us, and was as sharp as a razor, and lying on the ground, placed it with its edge downwards across his body, and suffered the Superior to stand with his whole weight upon the back of the knife. The same man then took two sharp iron spikes, headed with wooden globes, and a tassel of iron

chains, and knobs, which were all breathed upon and blessed, and drove them repeatedly into each of his flanks, so as to make the pair nearly meet in his body. During this trial he seemed in a fury, calling loudly on God and Mahomet, and with a kind of enthusiastic coquetry, would scarcely suffer the spikes to be forced from his hands.

A brazier of burning charcoal was then brought in, and six or seven men, chosen promiscuously as it appeared from the crowd, were presented by the Superior with red hot irons, breathed upon and blessed like the other instruments, which, after licking them with their tongues, they put between their teeth. One fellow near us made many wry faces, and pulled the irons from his mouth; but the others, although they were in evident pain, and the water streamed from their lips, seemed as if they were loth to part with them, and, either from pretence or some actual convulsion, were with difficulty forced to open their jaws. One of the Arabs then swallowed several pieces of burning charcoal, after they had been blessed; and this, as well as holding the hot irons, whatever preparation may have been actually used, was performed without any visible trick or slight of hand. The charcoal and irons were certainly both at a red heat.

Whilst this business was transacting in the upper part of the room, several tambourines were handed down, and played upon by persons of the crowd, who seemed highly delighted with the scene; and during the whole ceremony, those below continued screaming and jumping, and shouldering each other in a mass, and at last huddled themselves together into a ring, leaping round and round, and squeezing those in the middle into a jelly, until the whole party was utterly exhausted, and the performance closed, having lasted for three hours.

We retired after paying for our seats, but were followed by the two Arabs; one of whom spoke a few words of English, and asked us for an additional present, on account of some unusual exertions with which we had that day been favoured. He told us he had played before the English at Alexandria.

The part performed by the two Arabs, and by the dwarf first mentioned, was clearly a juggle; and, notwithstanding the religious preparations, it appeared that no one regarded it, or wished us to think it supernatural; but I confess myself at a loss to account for the voluntary sufferings of the others, all of whom were common fellows taken from the spectators. It is to be remarked, that the Superior himself did not seem to be one of the order, but only to be chosen for the occasion as director of the magical rites; and that the Dervishes took very little share in any of the laborious part of the ceremony.

The women, and the very lowest of the vulgar, may be frightened into some religious feelings by these horrid and absurd mummeries, accompanied as they are with frequent prayers and religious rites, and a constant invocation of the Deity. The existence of the jumping sect of our own island, renders unreasonable all scepticism as to the follies of enthusiasts; but it did not appear that either the spectators or performers were under any delusion as to the motive or effect of this species of devotion. Having given the relation of the facts just as they happened, from a note taken on the spot, I shall leave every one to form his own conclusion on this extraordinary scene.

The Cadrhi were abolished by Kioprili Mustapha Pasha, but revived after the death of that Vizier.

LETTER XLVIII.

Excursion to Constantinople—The Wall on the Land Side of the City—The Miracle of Baloucli—The Seven Towers—The Coffee-Houses near Yeni-Kapoussi—The Meddahs, or Tale-Tellers—Teriakis, or Opium Eaters—Koum-Kapoussi—Kebab—Balik-Hane—Execution of Viziers—The Kiosks under the Walls—Battery and Boat-Houses of the Seraglio.

WE had not been many days at Pera before we crossed the water to visit the capital. A party of us went in a boat from the Salsette, and in one of the *peramidias*, or small wherries, which ply upon the canal, and which amounted in 1777 to five thousand seven hundred, including the private pleasure-boats. The number of fishing-boats at the time of the Latin invasion was one thousand six hundred*. The resemblances of the *kirlangishes* or swallows, as they are called, to the shape of the ancient boats, has been often observed, and is so exact, that they might be thought the originals of those which are often seen on the Etruscan vases conveying the shades of the departed across the Styx.

We landed after rowing up the harbour, near the spot where

* Decline and Fall, cap. lx. p. 149, note, and 152, 4to.

the walls begin to cross the peninsula at Askame-Iskelessi, close to the gate of St. Demetrius. We walked through Ballat, the quarter of the Jews, which seems to have derived its name from Palation, as a large building known to the Turks by the name of Tekkuri-Sarai is recognized for the Hebdomon, a palace of the Cæsars standing in this region of the metropolis. We then arrived at a range of sheds, where there were many gilded arabats for hire, and some attached stables, from which, after waiting some time near a large burying-ground, we procured horses, and rode under the walls across the peninsula as far as the Seven Towers.

The appearance of these walls (the work of the second Theodosius) is more venerable than that of any other Byzantine antiquity: their triple ranges rising one above the other, in most places nearly entire, and still retaining their ancient battlements and towers, are shaded with large trees, which spring from the foss and through the rents of repeated earthquakes. The intervals between the triple walls, which are eighteen feet wide, are in many places choked up with earth and masses of the fallen ramparts; and the foss, of twenty-five feet in breadth, is cultivated and converted into herb gardens and cherry orchards, with here and there a solitary cottage*. Such is the height of the walls, that to those following the road under

* I only reckoned, but it was during a cursory view, one hundred and eighteen towers. The Florentine Bondelmontè, whose plan bears the date of 1422, saw one hundred and eighty. The outer ditch is faced with a wall, which makes the third rampart, and only the two other walls are defended by towers. Every late author, except Dr. Dallaway, appears to have overlooked the third range; but Gyllius notices it—"*Alter paries effertur aliquanto supra fossam, crebris pinnis distinctus.*"—De Topog. Const. lib. i. cap. xix.

them on the outside, none of the moscks or other buildings of the capital, except the towers of Tekkuri-Sarai, are visible; and as there are no suburbs, this line of majestic ramparts, defenceless and trembling with age, might impress upon the mind the notion, that the Ottomans had not deigned to inhabit the conquered city, but, carrying away its people into distant captivity, had left it an unresisting prey to the desolations of time.

In crossing the five highways which issue from their respective gates, we met hardly a single passenger; and even two or three little huts, where a glass of water, pipes, and cherries, might be procured, seemed less frequented than the coffee-houses on the roads of Asia Minor.

We passed first by *Egri-Kapoussi* (the Oblique gate), where the triple wall commences, and next by *Edrene-Kapoussi* (the gate of Adrianople), *Top-Kapoussi* (the Cannon-gate, where the victorious Mahomet made his public entry into Constantinople), and afterwards by *Mevlanè Yeni-Kapoussi*. We then crossed over the road leading from *Selivri-Kapoussi* (the gate of Selivria), and riding through a large Armenian burying-ground, arrived at *Baloucli*, which is the site of the church of the Virgin, built by Justinian, and is remarkable for one of the many standing miracles that support the sinking credit of the modern Greek church.

In a little chapel dedicated to Agia Panagia, we were shown, in a recess lighted up with candles, a fountain of cold water, and were desired to remark a fish about the size of a minnow, of which the monks related, that the last Constantine taking a repast at the side of this spring with a priest, and being told that the Turks had made a breach in the walls, said, that it was no more possible than that the fish on his plate should ever again swim in the

water; when, upon his saying the word, it jumped from the dish into the fountain, and the city was taken! Our informant would not exactly say that what we saw was the identical animal, but averred, that it was more than a hundred years old, had never been smaller nor bigger than it appeared in its then state, and was of the same species as that which leaped from the Emperor's plate: in proof of this latter assertion, he begged us to observe the glitter of his scales, transmitted from his fried forefathers. Our Greek attendants crossed themselves, and took a draught of the water, which, as well as many other holy springs in the neighbourhood of the capital (Αιασματα), is thought a specific in various disorders*.

Returning from Baloucli, we entered the city at the gate of the Seven Towers, which we attempted to visit, but were stopped at the entrance, and informed, that without a firman it was inaccessible to strangers. The world has been favoured with a detailed description of this redoubtable prison, by the unjust detention of the traveller frequently referred to in the course of these Letters, who has also amused himself, like his countryman De Retz, with sketching some biographical notices of his jailors*.

The defences of this imperial castle do not entitle it to any

* The difference between the above relation and the story as it is told in Pouqueville's third volume, shows that the Greek fathers reserve to themselves the privilege of varying the circumstances of the miracle. The Emperor, in his time, was a servant, and the existing fish the actual performer in the prodigy.—Voyage a Constantinople, p. 93.

† *Celui qui commandait le chateau pendant ma captivité appelé Abdulhamid était un veillard vénérable, d'origine Tartare, qui avait faits ses premières années dans le sérail en qualité de muezzin ou de sacristan. A l'age de*

respect as a fortress, and if the Ottoman armies lost, as is said, twelve thousand men in forcing this portion of the Byzantine ramparts, (the ancient Cyclobion), they must have met with a much more serious resistance than the Aga Abdulhamid, and his garrison of sixty-five men prepared against the crews of two Lazic vessels, who stormed the place in 1795, and carried off a captive fellow countryman. We walked through a little door into the first court, and saw a crowd of boys at play, who were, as they told us, pupils of the Imaum or chaplain of the fortress, but being allowed no further ingress, we saw neither the golden gate of Theodosius, nor the chamber in which Osman was strangled, nor any of the other objects of curiosity to be found within the circuit of the castle.

Not more than two of the seven inscriptions given by Banduri*, Wheler, and Tournefort†, were seen by Pouqueville; but a more observant antiquarian would perhaps have discovered the remaining

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soixante ans n'ayant plus de voix pour chanter sur un minaret, ou a la porte d'une mosquée, on l'avait créé commandant de place. Brave homme, au reste, plein de vertus," &c.

" Cet aga avait sous ses ordres un kiaya ou lieutenant, une garnison composée de cinquante quatre disdarlis, divisés en dix sections, commandées par autant de belouk-bashis ou caporaux. Sans rappeler les noms de ces illustres personnages, je dirai que le lieutenant du chateau etait dessinateur dans une manufacture de toiles peintes ; et que, parmi les caporaux, on comptait l'imam ou curé des Sept Tours ; un batelier, un marchand de pipes, et plusieurs personnages de la même importance."—Voyage a Constantinople, pp. 67, 68.

* Inscrip. Constant. Antiq. CP. lib. vii. pp. 182, 183, tom. i.

† A Voyage, book ii. p. 129. Voyage du Levant, pp. 466, 467, tom. i. lett. xii.

marbles. Although four only of the Seven Towers have remained entire (for the fifth is rent in half) since the earthquake in 1768, the fortress still retains the names of *Efta-Coulades* in the Greek, and *Yedi-Kouleler* in the Turkish language, both of them significant of the former number of its conspicuous bulwarks *.

It was supposed that Count Bulukof, the Russian minister, would be the last of the *Moussafirs*, or imperial hostages confined in this fortress; but since the year 1784, Mons. Ruffin and many of the French were imprisoned in the same place; and the dungeons of the Seven Towers were gaping, it seems, for the sacred persons of the gentlemen composing his Britannic Majesty's mission previous to the late rupture between Great Britain and the Porte.

Not finding our boats as we expected at the water's-edge, we rode onwards for some way near the walls, and through several narrow mean streets, in which there were but few people stirring, until we came to a large manufactory of printed cottons. This we visited, and saw that the whole labour was performed by the hand. On our route we passed Imrhor Dgiamissi, a mosck, once the church of St. John Studius, where there are still some pictures preserved; and skirting the outlet of the gate Psammatia, near which are two decent

* Dion mentions, that there were from the Thracian gate to the sea, seven towers, and Cedrenus alledges this sea to be the sea to the north, that is, the port. A person directing his voice, or throwing a stone against the first of these towers, heard the sound repeated afterwards by all the other six; a miracle, says Pliny, which the Greeks call *echo*, and which was produced also by seven towers at Cyzicum. This is from Gyllius; (lib. i. cap. xx. de Topog. Const.) but I do not make out from it, that the fortress at the other end of the walls on the shores of the sea of Marmora, had its name of the Seven Towers from an echo, as is asserted in Constantinople Ancient and Modern, p. 19.

Greek churches, and of Vlanga-Bostan (the gate of Theodosius), came to Yeni-Kapoussi (the new gate), near the new quarter of the Armenians, who have a handsome church, built in the reign of the last Selim.

A comparison of Kauffer's Map with Banduri's Chart of Constantinople, divided into regions, such as it existed at the time of the Greek Emperors, with every remarkable object distinctly noticed, renders it superfluous for any traveller at this day to dwell upon the comparative topography of the ancient and modern city. By far the greater part of the antiquities which were seen by Gyllius have disappeared; but the regular division of the ground-plan of the city, enables us to discover their respective sites, and it is most probable that an attentive scrutiny would discover many ancient monuments enclosed within the palaces and gardens of the incurious Turks. The mechanical labours of the engineer above-mentioned, deserve a better and more copious illustration than the work of Mr. Le Chevalier, which, although incomparably the best on the subject, might easily be surpassed by any person able to consult the requisite authorities on the spot; an advantage possessed by no passing traveller. But to treat of these things properly, would require a distinct volume, which it is my present intention, if circumstances should ever favour me with the requisite information and opportunity, one day or the other to attempt.

" Me si fata meis paterentur vivere vitam
" Auspiciis."————

From the Armenian quarter, and the cotton manufactory, we walked a little distance, and passing through Yeni-Kapoussi, came to a long range of coffee-houses by the sea-side. These

were of the better sort, open on one quarter, with a fountain playing in the middle of a range of marble seats, and recesses furnished with pillows, stuffed carpets and mats, which in some of them, were spread also upon marble slabs on the outside of the houses. In one, several well-dressed Turks were sitting with their pipes, listening to the pretty airs of a guitar and violin, whilst the recesses were occupied by others asleep. Some of these, with their turbans off, and their heads wrapped in a sash, were rolled in the carpets, and sunk on the cushions in the apparatus and oblivion of a night slumber; and neither these nor such as were stretched upon the slabs on the outside, who would have had a thousand practical waggeries played off upon them in any other city, were disturbed or even noticed by the company. None of the guests, indeed, seemed entirely awake, but inhaling the odours of their perfumed herbs, silent, sedate, and lost in the delicious bliss of total inactivity and listlessness, were lulled into the soft approaches of repose by the tinkling music, the unceasing fall of the fountain, and the regular ripplings of the water on the sandy shore.

The *Meddahs*, or reciters of stories, who frequent these coffee-houses, as well as some others near Tekkuri-Sarai, can scarcely extort from their indolent audience the labour of a smile, and, by fixing the attention upon one monotonous narration, rather augment than interrupt the universal torpor. The stories of the Meddahs are partly dramatic, and partly descriptive, turning upon a suite of uninteresting adventures, mostly in private life, which are detailed with painful minuteness, and often invented extemporaneously during the progress of the history. It must be supposed, however, that the same oriental taste which has produced the Alf Lila O Lila, or Thousand and One Nights,

would secure now and then a tale not totally uninteresting. In fact, the Turks are an acute people, and some of the better sort are authors of elegant compositions, which their fear of being suspected for ambitious innovators, prevents them from making public. The oriental courts were formerly crowded with poets. Mirza Khan promised one thousand pieces of gold to any one who should find a fault in the works of any of his numerous bards. Mahomet the Second said, "were I to imitate Mirza Khan, I should exhaust my treasury." However, an eastern author of reputation asserts, that there were some good Turkish poets in the time of that Sultan*. A modern Grand Signior would neither have the ability, nor the opportunity of making such an observation. The Grand Vizier Kioprili Mustapha Pasha, who was killed at the battle of Salankamen, always carried a little library amongst his baggage, and when out of employ at Constantinople, gave lectures every day to sixty scholars, for whom he furnished lodging and boarding. But learning is not now a recommendation to favour, although it is not totally neglected. A dying Sultan would not now, like Othman†, recommend to his successor the patronage of the learned as one of the bulwarks of the state. The author of Constantinople Ancient and Modern asserts‡, that many of the gentlemen of the capital can quote the Persian poets as happily, and refer to the Arabic philosophers with as complete erudition, as we can do

* LETIFI.—See Paroles Remarquables des Orientaux. Galand.

† See the last words of Othman to his son Orchan, as reported by the historian Sâadi.—Cantemir, Ottoman Hist. Part I. book i. p. 20, Tindal's translation.

‡ Page 86.

to the Greek and Roman. Of this I know nothing, but I know that the minister who was *Reis Effendi*, or Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, when we were at Pera, was with difficulty persuaded that Spain and Italy were not one and the same country, or at least parts of the same kingdom.

The works of the present writers are, as I understand, chiefly historical, but some are interspersed with narratives, which show a turn for point and antithesis, although their humour may be judged to be not very exquisite from the following specimen. Two blind beggars, one of whom always called on the name of God, and the other on that of the Sultan, had, one day, a pleasant dispute concerning which was the most efficacious mode of address. This came to the ears of the Grand Signior, who ordered the man that put up petitions in his name, to be given a duck stuffed with zequins. The beggar put it in his wallet, and meeting with his friend at night, asked him what he had got that day by calling on the name of God. "*I have got eight paras,*" said the other. "*Then you are more lucky than I,*" returned his friend, "*for I have only a duck which was given me at the Seraglio gate, and which, as I am in no humour for fowl to-night, you shall have for five of your paras.*" The agreement was struck, and the beggar soon eating his way to the money, the other repented of his bargain. "*Ah!*" he said, "*the Sultan has done less for me than God has done for you: he gave me a duck, but never told me it was stuffed with zequins.*" It is fortunate for the audience of the Meddahs if they hear any thing enlivened even with this sprinkling of pleasantry.

Amongst the frequenters of the coffee-houses near Yeni-Kapoussi, may be seen some of those Teriakis, or opium-eaters, who

are always noticed amongst the curiosities of the Turkish capital. Pale, emaciated, and ricketty, sunk into a profound stupor, or agitated by the grimaces of delirium, their persons are, after the first view, easily to be recognized, and make, indeed, an impression too deep to be speedily erased. Their chief resort is a row of coffee-houses in a shady court, near the mosck of Sultan Solyman, which I visited, but certainly did not see so frequented by these singular debauchees, as I had been led to expect. The increasing attachment to wine, has diminished the consumption of opium; but there are still to be found Teriakis, who will swallow in a glass of water three or four lozenges, amounting to one hundred grains. They are mixed with spices, and stamped with the words *mash Allah* (the *work of God*). Yet the exploits of these persons are insignificant when compared with that of the taker of a daily drachm of corosive sublimate, who was alive in 1800, and nearly a hundred years old; but was, like Partridge the almanack-maker, almost reasoned out of existence by a verbal criticism, which has since turned out to be incorrect *.

From the coffee-houses we walked on to a tabagie near Koum-Kapoussi, the next gate, where we dined upon kebab. This dish, which any palate would reckon a delicacy, consists of mutton chopped in small bits, either with or without herbs, larded

* Dr. Pouqueville mentioned the fact, and said the man was known by the name of Suleyman Yeyen, or Suleyman the taker of corosive sublimate.—Voyage a Constantinople, p. 126. Mr. Thornton thought the story false from beginning to end,—Present State, &c. p. 229, because "*yeyen*" is from, "*yemek*," to eat, and the name can be only Solyman the eater; but, says my fellow-traveller, Suleymà n-yeyen, put together discreetly, mean the swallower of sublimate, without any Suleyman in the case; *Suleyma* signifying corosive sublimate.—Childe Harold, pp. 178, 179, second edit.

with milk and butter, and fried upon a wooden skewer; an operation which is performed over a small brazier on a marble dresser in the front of the shop. The room is fitted up with small boxes in our own fashion, and there is generally one chamber to which a small party may retire. The kebabgees, or cooks, who are in the most repute, live near Eski-Sarai, the *old palace*, assigned to the establishments of deceased Sultans; and as all of them are Turks, only sherbets are served up with their meats; but in our tavern there was no want of wine; and at a table near us, covered with a dessert of fruit and cakes, sat a knot of young Turks, the bucks of the quarter, pushing about the bottle with a noisy emulation which did not confine itself to their own party, but brought them staggering to our side of the room with tumblers of wine, pledging repeatedly our healths, and looking at us for approbation, as acknowledged masters of the art. Their debauch ended in loud fits of screaming and shouting, and other resemblances of the senseless merriment of an English hunting-club.

We found our boat near Koum-Kapoussi, and embarking, rowed under the walls. We passed Ahour-Kapoussi, the gate near the Grand Signior's stables, where the walls of the Seraglio commence, and Balik-Hane (the fisher's house), a small green kiosk projecting from the walls of the Seraglio, to which it has been usual to send the deposed Viziers through a garden-gate close behind, to await their sentence. The execution is performed in a little chamber running out by itself, and forming, as it were, an upper wing of the kiosk. A removal to Balik-Hane has generally been the forerunner of death; but a more fortunate minister has sometimes been led, not to the fatal chamber, but down to the shore, where a boat has been waiting to convey him to the place

of banishment. Balik-Hane is not the only spot chosen for the punishment of the Sultan's enemies: a dark chamber at the gate of the second court of the Seraglio, called *Mabein*, where the Viziers' heads are always exposed, is allotted to the same purpose, and is the permanent station of the royal executioners.

In situations where a minister is said in England to lose his place, and, under the old French regime, was called a disgraced man, a Turkish Vizier not unfrequently loses his head, and when only banished, is deprived of nearly the whole of his wealth. Reckoning on an average, deduced from a hundred and fifteen Grand Viziers who successively governed the Ottoman empire, to the time of the siege of Vienna, the place of the prime minister of the Porte may be esteemed worth three years and a half purchase*.

The instability of every powerful individual in Turkey, may be judged by the events of fifteen months, from the year 1622, during which time there were three Emperors, seven Grand Viziers, two Capudan-Pashas, five Agas of the Janissaries, three Tefterdars or High Treasurers, and six Pashas of Cairo†. The power of the Vizier Azem continued unrivalled until the reign of Mahomet the Fifth, when it was decreased by the influence of the Kislar-Aga, or Chief of the Black Eunuchs, and has since that period been occasionally shared with the Aga of the Janissaries, the Capudan-Pasha, and others of the great officers of state. Abdallah Pasha, Vizier Azem under Sultan Abdulhamid, was not only raised to the vizierat by the Selictar-Aga, but deposed and strangled in the prison of Roumeli-Kavak by the intrigues of the

* Marsigli, Stato Militare, &c. &c. p. 13. Decline and Fall, cap. lxv. note 89, p. 375, 4to.

† Knolles' Hist. Turks, p. 1387.

same minister. Nevertheless, the ostensible authority of this Pretorian Prefect is still absolute over every subject of the empire; and, as far as his responsibility is concerned, the burden which he has to bear* is not less grievous than that of his predecessors.

After Balik-Hane, we passed by Indogouli-Kiosch, Mermer-Kiosch, and Yali-Kiosch—the Pearl and Marble Pavilions, and the Kiosk of the Landing-place. From near the second there is a view of the summit of the Corinthian pillar of white marble, fifty feet high, in the gardens of the Seraglio, with the inscription

FORTUNÆ REDUCI OB DEVICTOS GOTHOS.

This has been erroneously supposed the column of Theodora. Pococke mentions that it was taken from some other part of the town to the Seraglio gardens†. It is surmounted by a handsome capital of verd-antique. The latter kiosk, which is covered on the outside by a screen of green canvass or cloth, contains a long chair or sofa of silver; and on this the Grand Signior seats himself to take public leave of the Vizier Azem or Capudan-Pasha, previously to any warlike expedition, and also on certain occasions of rejoicing, when tents are pitched for the grandees of his court and for the foreign ministers, and games and fireworks are exhibited in the open space between the pavilion and the sea.

Between the kiosks we landed, and walking along the shore, passed a range of monstrous cannons laid up under a line of sheds. Over the gate of the Seraglio near this spot, are some large fish-bones suspended by chains, which the Turks say are those of a

* Vizier is from a Persian word, signifying a porter; as Bailo, the title of a Venetian ambassador; and Baillif, a French and English municipal officer, are derived from *bajulus*.—See Bibliotheque Orientale, Vazir.

† Observations on Thrace, p. 132.

giant. A similar story was formerly told of some immense bones in the royal palace of Ben-Hadad at Damascus*.

Close to Yali-Kiosk we saw the boat-houses containing the barges of the Seraglio, and that of the Grand Signior, burnished in every part with gold, and provided with a covered recess of lattice-work at the stern for the retirement of the Emperor. The barge is rowed with six-and-twenty oars, and the helm is held by the Bostandge-Bashe, except during a conflagration, when the place of that officer, in the event of the Sultan crossing the water, is occupied by the Hassekis-Aga, the Chief of the Second Guard. From this place we passed over to Tophana, having in boats, on horseback, and by walking, made the circuit of Constantinople; an expedition which, including stoppages, employed us from nine in the morning to half after four in the afternoon.

* Je vis la côte d'un Geant suspendue dans le même palais, long de neuf paumes, et large de deux. On pretend que c'est celle d'un Roi de l'ancienne Race des Geants, nommé Abchamas.—Voyage de Benjamin, Fils de Jonas, p. 28. Voyage faits principalement en Asie, tom. i.

LETTER XLIX.

The Atmeidan—Antiquities of the Hippodrome—Theodosian Obelisk—The Colossus Structilis—The Delphic Serpentine Column—The Burnt Pillar—Note on the Historical Column—Three other Columns—The Ancient Cisterns—The Aqueduct of Valens—The Fountains and Baths—The Hans—Encouragement of Commerce in the East—Bezesteins and Bazars of Constantinople.

IN our several walks to Constantinople, we saw the antiquities of the Atmeidan, the cisterns, and the aqueducts; and we visited the hans, the bezesteins, and the bazars.

It would be very difficult to recognize the ancient Hippodrome, even such as it existed a little previously to the last conquest of Constantinople, in the present Atmeidan, or Horse-course. Onuphrius Panvinius remarked the change which had taken place in its appearance during the hundred years preceding the description of Gyllius; and the devastations of time and barbarism have been proceeding with an equally rapid pace since the age of that learned traveller*. It is now no longer a circus, but

* *Ejus Circi descriptionem ex antiqua Constantinopolis topographia, quæ paulo antequam Urbs in Turcorum potestatem venisset facta fuit, excerptam, adjeci, parum his quæ a Petro Gyllio dicuntur quadrantem. Fieri enim potest ut centum annorum intervallo, Circi sive Hippodromi Constantinopolitani aspectus mutatus sit; Turcis eum in dies demolientibus, et vastantibus,*

an oblong open space, two hundred and fifty paces long and one hundred and fifty wide*, flanked on one side by the magnificent mosck of Sultan Achmet, and on the other by the dead wall of a hospital, under which there is a line of low buildings and sheds, or stands for arabats. The granite obelisk of Theodosius, the broken pyramid of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, stripped of its bronze plates, and the base of the Delphic pillar, were all that remained, even in the time of Sandys†, of the many noble monuments with which this spot was formerly adorned; and were it not for these antiquities, which are yet to be seen, it is probable that the site of the Hippodrome would be covered with houses, and become in a short time the object of controversy. The djerid playing is less frequent there now than formerly: the surface of the ground is uneven, and of a hard gravelly soil. Part of the base of the Theodosian obelisk is hidden in the ground, so that the fourth and fifth line of the inscription, which record the name of the Pretor during whose year it was raised in the reign of Theodosius the Elder, and the time employed in its erection, are no longer visible‡. This appears to have been the case so early as the beginning of the last century§.

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ac ad suos usus præclarissima marmora, et columnas vertentibus."—De Ludis Circensibus, lib. i. p. 61. Bandurii Comment. in Antiq. CP. lib. iii. p. 664, tom. ii. The view leaves out the Delphic column, and in some respects seems made from conjecture.

* Wheler makes the length five hundred and fifty and the breadth one hundred and twenty paces.—A Voyage, &c. book ii. p. 183.

† Relation of a Journey, &c. lib. i. p. 34.

‡ TER DENIS SIC VICTUS EGO DOMITUS QUE DIEBUS.
JUDICE SUB PROCLO SUPERAS ELATUS AD AURAS.
Inscript. Const. Band. Imper. Orient. lib. vi. p. 182.

§ Lady M. W. Montague's Letters, XLI.

Supposing that this obelisk was one of the original ornaments bestowed upon Byzantium by Constantine, and that being shaken down by an earthquake, it was only transferred by Theodosius to the Hippodrome, it may appear surprising that a single mass of fifty feet long, although of the hardest granite, should not have been broken by the fall; yet the first line of the Greek inscription on the north side of the base, given by Sandys and Wheler, seems to show that it had lain some time on the ground, and was not transported directly from Rome or Egypt by that Emperor*.

It is observed by Gyllius, that there is no mention of an obelisk in the Hippodrome in the ancient description of the regions of the city, although a square pillar of Egyptian stone is noticed in the fifth region, which he might have been inclined to think was this identical monument, removed after its fall by Theodosius, if he had not discovered that the same work had made some omissions in the detail of the many antiquities of the capital, and that it was written after the date inscribed upon the granite†. By the sculptures on the pedestal, representing the Hippodrome, it appears indeed that there were two obelisks in this place.

The marble pyramid, called by the old topographers the Colossus Structilis, raised by Constantine the son of Romanus, had been stripped of its brazen plates before it was seen by Gyllius‡; and Sandys describes it as *greatly ruinated*. The last measurement makes it ninety-four feet in height§. Gyllius, upon the occasion of a grand festival, saw a man ascend to the top of it

* ΚΙΟΝΑ ΤΕΤΡΑΠΛΕΥΡΟΝ ΑΕΙ ΧΘΟΝΙ ΚΕΙΜΕΝΟΝ ΑΧΘΟΣ
ΜΟΥΝΟΣ ΑΝΑΣΤΗΣΑΙ ΘΕΥΔΟΣΙΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ.

† De Topog. Constant. lib. ii. cap. xi.

‡ De Topog. Constant. lib. ii. cap. xii.

§ Const. Anc. and Mod. p. 69.

and descend without injury, when it was higher than the obelisk. Another person, who made the same effort immediately afterwards, was so giddy when he arrived at the summit, that he leapt from it with a violence sufficient to carry him beyond the base of the pyramid, and although he lighted upon his feet, and sinking deep into the earth, remained upright, was found to be dead.

Le Chevalier is the last traveller, who, following Thevenot's pretended voyage, describes the serpents' heads forming the capital of the Delphic column of bronze, as having been struck off by a blow of Mahomet's battle-axe. That such a story should ever have prevailed is extraordinary, since every traveller, from Gyllius to Wheler, who has given a picture of it, describes the column as entire. The reputation of this monument has been various. Gyllius established beyond all doubt its identity with the column supporting the Platæan tripod at Delphi; Sandys noticed it without any remark; Smyth does not mention it at all; Wheler disputes its actual history, and supposes it to have been placed on the Colossus Structilis. In 1700, as Tournefort relates, the heads were gone, one having been struck off by the Sultan Mourat; meaning probably, Amurath the Fourth, who died in 1639, and who could not have performed the exploit any more than Mahomet, as Wheler saw them entire after that period. The French traveller adds, that the others had been broken off, and the pillar thrown down, and afterwards placed in its present situation: he in a great measure restores the monument to its ancient credit. Lady M. W. Montague beheld the heads again in 1717; but they had disappeared when the Hippodrome was seen by Lord Sandwich, who mentioned the story of Mourat, and disputed the antiquity of the column. Pococke notices the ruin of the capital, but without adding the story; and

Chishull avers that the serpents' heads which *lately* terminated the pillar, were taken off privately by the servants of the *late* Polish ambassador. It is difficult to discover the precise period to which he alludes, and I presume that he speaks only of the two heads. Subsequent travellers have revived the story of Thevenot; but by way of compensation, the well-known decision of our last great historian has stamped the authenticity of this venerable relic*. It is now generally believed at Constantinople that it has been removed, as Tournefort relates, from its former site; and it is not agreed whether the bottom or the top of the pillar is now inserted in the ground: the upper part does not diminish so much as from the representation of its ancient shape it might be supposed to do near the summit, where the serpents' heads began to branch off. It has before been noticed as being about seven feet above the surface of the ground, hollow, and filled with stones†. The brazen column at Sant. Ambrogio, which is believed to be the serpent of Moses, was brought, if we may credit the Milanese historians, from Constantinople, and may have been some way or the other confounded with this serpentine pillar.

The column which was raised by Constantine, and repaired by Manuel Commenus, subsequently to the great earthquake in 1150, and which is commonly called the porphyry or burnt column, is near the Atmeidan. We entered a house to see the base of it, but found that the Turks had built a stone facing round the bot-

* See Gyll. lib. ii. cap. xii. De Topog. Constant.; Band. Comment. in Antiq. CP. tom. ii. p. 668; Sandys, A Relation of a Journey, lib. i. p. 34; A Collection of Curious Travels and Voyages, tom. ii. chap. v.; Wheler, A Voyage, &c. book ii. p. 185; Tournefort, Voyage du Levant, pp. 511, 512, tom. i.; Lady M. W. Montague, letter xli.; Lord Sandwich, A Voyage round the Mediterranean, p. 128; Pococke, Observations on Thrace, p. 131; Chishull, Travels in Turkey, p. 40.

† P. 253, of this volume.

tom of the monument. This happened after the fire in 1779*. The shaft is black, from repeated conflagrations, and this circumstance, together with the hoops of iron encircling the pillar, has concealed the joints of the blocks, and gives the column the appearance of a single mass. It is now an unsightly structure, ninety feet high, and thirty-three in circumference.

From a mention of this antiquity by Busbek, in the same notice with the famous historical column in Aurat-Bazar, it has been thought by some writers to be one of the two hollow pillars†

* Const. Anc. and Modern.

† Τῷ δὲ αὐτῷ ἔτει ἔστησεν Αρκάδιος τὸν κίονα τῦ Ξηρολόφε.—Theophanes. ap. Band. Comment. in Antiq. CP. lib. i. p. 507, tome ii. Both of these were adorned from the base to the capital with figures sculptured in relief, representing the triumph of Theodosius over the Scythians, and other barbarous nations. They were both standing when the city was taken by the Turks, and Mahomet (so foolishly calumniated as an enemy to the arts) employed Gentilis Bellinus, a Venetian, to copy the sculptures, all of which, the designs being deposited in the Royal Academy of Painting at Paris, were carefully engraved under the inspection of Claude François Menestrier, the Jesuit, and afterwards under that of Banduri, in the second volume of whose Imperium Orientale they are found divided into eighteen plates. Ducange also has given an engraving of one of the columns. The column of Theodosius was taken down, it is said, by Bajazet the Second, to build a bath, about forty years before Gyllius visited the city, that is to say, in 1505. That of Arcadius was measured by him: the ascent to the top was by two hundred and thirty-three steps, and the height of the structure was one hundred and forty-seven feet. A plan of it was taken by Busbek, which has never been published, but there is one of the whole column in Sandy's Travels, copied apparently with great minuteness*. It was taken down in the year 1695. Now a doubt has arisen, whether the drawings of Gentilis Bellinus represent the sculptures of the Theodosian, or of the Arcadian column. Banduri, in whose time the latter monument was standing in Aurat-Bazar, could not solve the difficulty, but inclined to the Theodosian. He compared the elevation in Sandys, with the detail of the Venetian, which I have

* Relation of a Journey, lib. i. p. 35.

which were seen in the ancient city. But it is not hollow, and those two columns were those raised by Theodosius the Second,

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also done with some pains, as far as any comparison can be made between the two. There is just such a resemblance between the minute confused figures in Sandys, and the plates of Bellinus, (such as a ship, soldiers and men on horseback), as would be sufficient to decide the question, were it not that the two columns were alike in the subject of their sculptures, and in every other respect*.

Mr. Le Chevalier is decidedly of opinion, that Bellinus copied the Theodosian column†, and founds his notion upon a discovery which he made at Constantinople, that the pedestal still remaining in Aurat Bazar, answers in some of its ornaments to the description of Gyllius; and he might have added, the picture of Sandys, but not to the drawings of the Venetian artist. It will be observed, that in the eighteen plates of Bellinus, no drawing is given of the pedestal, and that the picture of the entire column in Banduri, is from Ducange. The other remark of Mr. Le Chevalier, relative to the quality of the sculpture, apparently too excellent for the fourth century, and superior to that on the fragment in Aurat-Bazar, is not confirmed by the observations of Wheler and Tournefort, both of whom describe the figures on the base, as of a style superior to that of the age in which they were executed, and, what is worthy of remark, similar to those in Ducange's picture, which Banduri suspected to be not a faithful representation. The French traveller, indeed, corresponds so exactly with that picture, that I cannot but think his description taken from it, rather than from an actual view of the monument‡. Mr. Tournefort is not, in fact, always to be depended upon, and in some instances he appears to have written hastily. For example, in translating the inscription on the Colossus Structilis, he calls Constantine Porphyrogenitus the father, instead of the son, of Romanus. I find no assistance from any of the accounts or designs already noticed, but, on the contrary, much confusion; yet on the whole I conclude, that as the Arcadian column was probably in a state of much better preservation than the Theodosian at the taking of Constantinople, it was therefore the model of Gentilis Bellinus, who however did not refrain from improving upon the original, and must be understood to have only copied the sculptures on the shaft.

* Ὅτι ὁ Ξηρόλοφος ἔργον ἐστὶν Αρκαδίου, ὅμοιον κατὰ πάντα τῷ Ταύρῳ, are the words of Cedrenus.

† Voyage de la Propontide, &c. p. 158.

‡ Tournefort, Voyage du Levant, p. 513, tome i. Lett. xii. Wheler, a Journey, &c. book ii. p. 189.

in the forum of Taurus, in the eighth year of his reign, and by Arcadius in the ninth year of his reign, on the place called Xerolophus. Aurat-Bazar being burnt down in the last rebellion, we had not a view of the base of the Arcadian column, which was about fourteen feet high when seen by Dr. Dallaway, but mutilated and entirely defaced. The granite column of Marcian, discovered by Wheler, now standing near the mosck of Ibrahim Pasha, and called Kistach, that near Yeni-Kapoussi, and the one in the Seraglio-gardens, are the only ancient monuments of this description remaining in Constantinople.

The Turks never having suffered the siege of their capital, have neglected the cisterns of the city. Remains of several of these useful structures are still to be seen, but I believe that only one is applied to its original purpose. The largest cistern is called Binderik, or *the thousand and one pillars*, and has now the appearance of a suite of gloomy underground dungeons. It is occupied by a number of half-naked pallid wretches, employed in twisting silk through all the long corridors by the glare of torches. The roof of this reservoir, apparently that of Philoxenus, was supported by a double tier, consisting altogether of four hundred and twenty-four pillars, of which only the upper half are now cleared from the earth.

Dr. Dallaway, it seems, did not recognize the double set of columns so exactly described by Gyllius*, as he simply mentions that the number of those in Binderik is two hundred and twelve†.

* Cujus concameratio quadringentis et viginti quatuor columnis marmoreis sustinetur duplicatis, nempe ducentis et duodecim supra se ducentas et duodecim columnas habentibus.—De Topog. Const. lib. ii. cap. xxv.

† Const. Anc. and Mod. p. 110.

Le Chevalier says, that the Imperial Cistern of Constantine, of which only the site is now visible, is at Yere-batan, which may lead a traveller into an error, as Binderik is called also Yere-batan Sarai, *the under-ground palace*; and so far from having disappeared, is that which he names Cisterna Maxima*, and which has been just described. It is a little distance from the burnt column, in a quarter of the town anciently called Lausus.

The cistern Asparis, constructed by Aspares and Ardaburius in the reign of Leo, who destroyed the founders of it in the reservoir itself†, may be that of eighty columns, near the mosck of Laleli, on the third hill. Tschukour-Bostan, now a herb-garden within a high walled inclosure between Tekkuri-Sarai, and Ederne-Kapoussi, is supposed by Le Chevalier to be the cistern called from a neighbouring church, *Mocisia*; but it corresponds more precisely with that which was constructed by Bonus, a Patrician, in the time of the Emperor Heraclius‡, at the back of the Hebdomon (Tekkuri-Sarai), and which had lost its columns and chambers, and was a garden when seen by Gyllius §. The same person mentions another cistern, containing cultivated ground, near the mosck of Sultan Selim, on the back of the fifth hill ‖. A subterranean corridor of twenty-four columns near the Seven Towers, and some ancient remains between the public bath, Tschukour-Hamam, and the mosck called *Seirek-Dgiamissi*, belong also to three other cisterns.

* Voyage de la Propontide, p. 106.
† Anonymi. pars tertia. Antiq. CP. lib. iii. p. 49, ap. Band. Imp. Orient.
‡ Anonymi. ibid.
§ De Topog. Const. lib. iv. cap. iv.
‖ Ibid. cap. ii.

Bosdgohan-Kemeri, the aqueduct of Valens, before noticed, is in a thinly-inhabited part of the town near At-Bazar, the horse-market, connecting what are called the third and fourth hills. The double row of forty Gothic arches seems to have been rebuilt by Solyman, out of the old materials of intermixed stone and tile, and probably in the ancient form. Although still used to convey water, it is half in ruins, and has the decay, without the grace of antiquity; but these *mighty arches*, these *aërial chambers**, the admiration of the Byzantines, have, as an architectural monument, nothing either grand or agreeable.

The style of the numerous fountains at Constantinople is extravagant and fantastic; but the profusion of gilding, the variety of glaring colours, and even the taste of the whole structure, are consonant with the gay dresses of the people, and the gaudy air which spreads itself over every object of the Turkish capital. Two exact representations of them are given in the annexed views of Tophana and the Gate of the Seraglio. In the court of St. Sophia is a fountain, erected by a Persian architect, after the fashion of his own country.

The public baths, of which there are no less than one hundred and thirty within the walls, do not add to the external beauty of the city. Their low flat domes have a poor effect, but they are mostly built of marble, and the interior of them is handsome and spacious, and affords in a degree superior to the baths of the provincial towns, every accommodation requisite for the perfect enjoyment of the first of Oriental luxuries. The best in the city is near

* Ὁ ἀγωγὸς τῶν μεγάλων ἀψίδων, ἤτοι αἱ οὐράνιαι καμάραι ὑπὸ Οὐάλεντος ἐκτίσθησαν, ὡς ὁρᾶται.—Anonymi. ibid.

the church of the Armenian Patriarch, and not far from the Atmeidan.

The hundred and eighty hans of Constantinople, are so many immense stone barracks or closed squares, which have, like the baths, every recommendation except architectural elegance. The court of Valide-Han which we visited, and which is reckoned one of the best in Constantinople, is ornamented with a thin grove of trees with two handsome fountains, and the building, besides warehouses and stables on the ground floor, has three stories or galleries, one above the other, with ranges of small chambers, each of which is kept neat and clean by the servants of the han, and fitted up for the time with the carpets and slender wardrobe of the several occupiers. The generality of the hans are for travelling merchants; but the chambers of the one we visited, were let out as counting-houses to some natives whose dwellings were in Galata, Pera, or some distant quarter of the city. These useful edifices are the work of the Ottoman Sultans, and of other munificent individuals, so that strangers, except a small gratuity to the servant at departing is taken into account, are gratuitously lodged, and are, during their residence in the city, masters of their rooms, of which they keep the keys. *They are for all men, of whatever quality, condition, country, or religion soever; and there the poorest have room to lodge in, and the richest have no more**. The construction of them has contributed to attract the merchants and the merchandize of the farthest boundaries of Africa and Asia to the capital of Turkey.

The commercial intercourse of distant nations seems congenial

* Wheler, a Journey, book ii. p. 192.

to the spirit of the Mahometan religion, and it has been promoted not only by the chief injunction of that system, the pilgrimage to Mecca, but by various other regulations of useful piety, which facilitate the progress and contribute to the comfort of travellers. Hospitality in the East is still a duty, and the Mussulman esteems the construction of a fountain, or a caravansarai in the wilderness, as an act of devotion no less sincere than serviceable. Thus also he cherishes the camel, not only as the favourite of his Prophet, but as *the ship of the desert*.

The Oriental travelling merchant, a character with which we become acquainted in the very outset of history*, is the favourite and the friend of Islamism: for the few days of the annual pilgrimage, the fair of Mecca, until the late disturbances of Arabia, was the greatest perhaps on the face of the earth†. From that centre, a constant and abundant supply of a thousand useful and luxurious commodities diverged in a variety and abundance sufficient for the real or fancied wants of every region of the eastern hemisphere. The communication of the commodities of distant regions by land-carriage has, notwithstanding the progress of navigation, increased instead of diminished in modern times, a curious fact illustrated and explained by the eloquent and learned author to whom I have just referred. The same person will carry sulphur from Persia to China; from China to Greece, porcelain; from Greece to India, gold stuffs; from India to Aleppo, steel; from Aleppo to Yemen, glass; and from Yemen to Persia, painted

* Genesis, xxxvii. 25.

† Robertson's Historical Disquisition concerning India, sect. iii. p. 160, edit. quart.

calicoes*. It is by the aid of the caravan that the shawls of Cachemire, the muslins of Bengal, and the diamonds of Golconda, as well as the gold and ivory of Southern Africa, are to be met with in the Bezesteins of Constantinople.

The life of an eastern merchant is spent upon his camel, or in hans, and the institution of these buildings is not only commendable, but absolutely necessary for the existence of trade. During fires or insurrections their iron gates are closed, and they afford complete security to the persons, as well as the goods of the merchants.

Whilst we were at Constantinople, the commercial intercourse of the East being interrupted by the Wahaubees, it was not easy they told us to procure foreign articles of real value in the market. A man asked me four hundred and fifty piasters for a Damascus blade, which a connoisseur informed me was, after all, not the true steel, nor of the proper age; for it is pretended by the Turks, that no swords manufactured within a century, I believe, even at Damascus, are of the requisite quality; and the report that a sabre of the true sort is to be sold, brings as many chapmen as a valuable picture or piece of genuine porcelain in England. Not a few travellers have been deceived in their purchase of shawls and ottar of roses. However, the great Bezestein, or covered exchange, was hung round with goods of the utmost brilliancy and apparent richness, and the immense crowd of men and women in splendid habits, together with the active busy air of the merchants, would not suffer one to suspect there was any unusual dulness of trade. We did not see any of those brokers selling old clothes, who frightened Wheler out of this place, but only a crier or two

* Paroles Remarquables des Orientaux. Galand.

squeezing through the crowd, and proclaiming the price of a muslin or other article which he held in his hand.

The covered Bazars of Constantinople have more the appearance of a row of booths in a fair, than a street of shops. Yet the arrangement and exposure of their various and gaudy articles, would astonish a person acquainted even with the splendour of London: one alley glitters on each side of you for an hundred yards with yellow morocco; you turn into another fringed with Indian shawls, or cast your eye down a long vista lined with muslin draperies, or robes of ermines and fur. The crowd in the Bazars, consisting chiefly of ladies, renders it difficult to pass through them, especially as more ceremony is required than amongst the well-dressed mob of an opera-house; and such is the extent and intricacy of these covered ways, that it would be a tiresome task to roam through the half of them in one morning.

Not only these Bazars, but those which more resemble open streets, are severally allotted to particular trades and merchandize, after the manner of Athens, Rome, and of this city when under the dominion of the Greeks. The shops of jewellers, and engravers of precious stones, occupy one quarter; those of the goldsmiths another. The curriers and leather-workers, as well as horse-dealers, all live at At-Bazar. Misir-Tscharchi is a long line of drug repositories. All the Mocca coffee is ground by hand in Tahmis-Bazar. The ancient Charto-Pratia of the eastern capital may be recognized in Tusuk-Bazar, which is tenanted by the sellers of paper, and the copiers of manuscripts.

The artists are all Turks; we saw them at their labours; some were copying, others illuminating books, and many of them were employed in giving the gloss which is found on all their writing

paper, and which they effect by placing the sheets in box frames, and perseveringly rubbing the surface with a Chalcedonic amethyst, or piece of jasper let into the end of a short stick—a contrivance which is applied by our own artizans for polishing other substances. Those acquainted with oriental literature would naturally resort to the shops of Tusuk-Bazar, and, as I understand, would meet with most of the books in any repute in the East; but as curiosity without skill would be of no avail, I did not myself make any researches in this quarter.

LETTER L.

The Dgiamissi Selatyn, or Royal Moscks—St. Sophia—The Mosck of Sultan Achmet—Little St. Sophia—Nourri Osmaniè—The Tomb of Constantine—and Prediction of the Fall of the Ottoman Empire—Suleymaniè—Other Moscks and Public Buildings.

ST. SOPHIA may be seen without a firman; a few shillings procure admittance, but the other moscks cannot be visited without such permission. The case seems to have been exactly the reverse in the time of Lady M. W. Montague*. It is usual to grant a firman for this purpose to strangers, upon the arrival or departure of an Ambassador, and other occasions are sometimes found by the foreign ministers, in order to gratify their friends.

The Dgiamissi Selatyn, or royal moscks, which are fourteen in number, are, with the addition of a syllable, called simply, in some cases, by the name of the founder. The Suleymaniè, Osmaniè, Muradiè, signify the churches of Solyman, Osman, and Amurath; but in all other instances, the word Dgiamissi is added to the distinctive appellation, as in the case of Daoud Pasha Dgiamissi and Yeni Dgiamissi, the mosck of Daoud Pasha, and

* Letter LXI.

the New Mosck. It is not lawful even for a Sultan to give his name to any other building; and Cantemir remarks, that no town of Turkish origin, except Othmanyick, retains the name of its founder*.

It is required of strangers to pull off their shoes, or to cover them with the yellow papouches or short boots of the country, on entering the moscks, a preliminary of which they have no right to complain, as it is not dispensed with by the Turks themselves. However, if they grudge this respect to Islamism, they may retain their hats when they part with their shoes; for amongst the many customs which run counter to our own, it may be observed, that to uncover the head in company, is esteemed amongst the Turks an indecent familiarity, and want of respect†.

The necessity of an observance of forms in visiting the moscks, was evinced, in a manner very disagreeable to the parties, by a disturbance which is still the subject of conversation at Pera, and which might have been fatal to the supposed offenders. The late

* Ottoman Hist. Part I. book i. p. 37. Tindal's translation.

† The reader will find in a passage of Mr. Thornton's valuable book, before referred to, a general allusion to the pointed difference between Frank and Oriental manners and customs. I will put down as many instances as I recollect, in which the Turks not only differ from, but are just contrary to ourselves. Some have been mentioned before, but when arrayed together, they will make the contrast more striking. They turn in their toes—they mount on the right side of the horse—they put their guests into a room first and out of it last, serve themselves at table first; take the wall, and walk hastily, in sign of respect—they think beheading disgraceful in comparison with strangling—they cut the hair from the head and leave it on the chin—they invite with the hand, by throwing it backwards not drawing it towards them—their mourning habit is white.

Russian Minister, Mr. De Tamara, and a large company of gentlemen and ladies, were assaulted in the Suleymanië, first by the students of the mosck, and afterwards by the assembled crowd. Madame de Tamara and two other ladies knocked hastily at the door of a neighbouring house, and were taken into the harem. The gentlemen were some of them much bruised, and with difficulty saved themselves by dispersing through different streets. A body of Janissaries arrived too late to quell the commotion; but on a complaint from the Russian Minister, several of the students were bastinadoed, and two of the assailants, as is reported, were hanged*.

One story says, that they refused to put on the papouches, walked arm in arm with the ladies, and laughed at the Turks at prayers†. But the first and last of these offences were impracticable when we saw the moscks; and we heard an account less discreditable to the visitors. The disturbance originated in some involuntary breach of decorum, joined to a little imprudence in the younger part of the strangers.

Between twenty and thirty Englishmen proceeded to take a view of the moscks on the 15th of June, accompanied by Janissaries and other attendants; but whether from the long demand for constant admiration, or the formality of the visit, or want of taste and curiosity, we were satisfied with seeing St. Sophia,

* Two Russian officers had been shot at Galata just before, and two Greeks hanged, as peace-offerings rather than as culprits. The Turks will not destroy their Mussulman subjects readily, and they appease the complaints of their Christian allies by the same vicarious compensation, as the envoy of the mighty Tottipotimoy received from the American Elders commemorated in Hudibras.

† Notice sur la Cour du Grand Seigneur. Paris, 1809.

the Mosck of Achmet, the Little St. Sophia, the Osmaniè, and the Suleymaniè.

I know of no monument of antiquity which has excited so much curiosity, both amongst the learned and the unlearned, as St. Sophia. For its dimensions and integrity it may be thought incomparably more curious than any other relic of former ages; but in every other respect it must disappoint any sanguine expectation. Its external appearance is that of a vast building, whose ill-assorted construction requires a proportionate heaviness of mass to preserve it standing and entire. The weighty buttresses, and the attached compartments of the temple, falling, in a succession of pent-houses, from the spring of the arch to within a few feet of the ground, nearly conceal, and totally ruin any effect which might otherwise be produced by the height and expanse of its far-famed dome.

The interior, to which you descend by five steps, seems at first sight magnificently spacious, and not broken with the aisles and choirs, nor deformed by the railings and tombs of modern churches; but your admiration diminishes as you proceed with your inspection. The beauty of the variegated marble floor is concealed by a covering of mats, and the dome, as well as the body of the building, is spoilt by a thousand little cords depending from the summit within four feet of the pavement, and having at the end of them lamps ot coloured glass, large ostrich eggs, artificial horse-tails, vases and globes of chrystal, and other mean ornaments. The columns appear too large for the arches which they support, and the carving of their capitals can scarcely be more painful to the eyes of an architect, than to those of a common observer. Grelot knew not to what order they belonged, or by

what name to describe their style, unless he called it a sort of Gothicised Greek*.

From a change in the arrangement of the sanctuary, the line of the nave does not seem at right angles with the large circular recess, called in former times *Cyclion*, in which the Christian altar was placed; for the marble pulpit of the Imaum, with its attached flight of steps, projects from the left side of it, and the mats, together with a descent of two steps, being so ranged as to give another direction to the cord of the arc, the whole of one wing, and the grand diameter of the base, have an appearance of distortion The alteration has been caused by the desire of the Mahometans to point the centre of the sanctuary directly towards Mecca, which being formerly due east, is by the above contrivance drawn a little to the southward of that quarter. At this new centre is a niche, with a large chandelier on each side, called the Mirabe or Maharabe, which is the repository of the Koran. The upper part of the walls is defaced by miserable little squares of red, white, and blue paint. The great eight-winged seraphims are fading fast away. The tesserated mosaic with which the concave above the windows and the dome are encrusted, and specimens of which taken from the cieling of an adjoining oratory are sold to strangers, is not visible to those standing in the body of the mosck. It is composed of very minute squares formed of some vitreous substance gilded and tinged with paint. The upper part of the walls is heavy and dark, and the *heaven-suspended vault* scarcely rises into an arch, but shows,

* *Il est difficile de dire de quel ordre ils sont, si ce n'est qu'on leur veuille donner le nom de Grec Gothisé.*—Grelot, ap. Band. in Comment. in Antiq. CP. lib. iii. p. 748.

indeed, an inward depression from the summit towards the centre of the cupola. With a diameter of one hundred and fifteen feet (fifteen feet more than that of St. Paul's church), it is only eighteen in depth, and not more than one hundred and eighty from the pavement. The closing of the arcades of the upper Gynaikonition, or female gallery, where there is now only a railed ledge large enough to enable the servants of the mosck to walk round and light the lamps, has contributed to the heavy darkness of the dome. Banduri added the plans and pictures of Grelot to the description of this temple by the anonymous author of the Constantinopolitan Antiquities, whose details could not, he thought, be understood without the aid of some such representation *.

To attempt any account of St. Sophia at this time, without a similar advantage, would be a fruitless task, and it is rendered almost unnecessary by those accurate delineations, and other valuable notices on the same subject, contained in the Imperium Orientale, and more particularly by the masterly description inserted in the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.

When in order to rouse our unwilling admiration we resort to the measurement of areas, cupolas, and columns, and the enumeration of ornaments and other architectural details, we must on the whole have found no *work to wonder at*. Being disappointed by the general effect of St. Sophia, I did not examine whether it contained one hundred and seven columns, or if the length of its base was two hundred and sixty-nine, and the breadth of it two

* Comment. in Antiq. Constant. lib. iv. p. 748. Imperium Orientale, p. 748.

hundred and forty-three feet. My general impression was, that the skill of the one hundred architects, and the labour of the ten thousand workmen, the wealth of an empire, and the ingenuity of presiding angels*, had raised a stupendous monument of the heavy mediocrity which distinguished the productions of the sixth century from the perfect specimens of a happier age. The general style of its ornaments showed that it was calculated for nocturnal illuminations. All was gilt and gaudy colouring, and the emperor would have inlaid the pavement with solid gold, if his astrologers had not warned him that the building would be dilapidated by his needy successors†. It must indeed have a brilliant appearance when lighted by its myriads of lamps, and its vault may *glitter like the firmament;* but this is the excellence of a theatre rather than of a temple, and may be found where the skill of the architect and sculptor is required in vain.

The only modern curiosity in the mosck is the two banners suspended above the pulpit of the Imaum, which were carried before Mahomet at the taking of the city. The private gallery of the Sultan in the sanctuary, and the seat of the Mufti, are pointed out to strangers. The opening into the cistern in the body of the area, is the site probably of the holy well, the mouth of which was brought from Samaria‡. The crosses, although

* Καὶ τὸ σχῆμα τῆ̃ ναῦ κατ' ὄναρ ἔδειξε τῷ̣ βασιλεῖ ὁ ἄγγελος Κυρίᾳ—*and the Angel of the Lord showed to the Emperor, in a dream, a plan of the temple.*—Anonymi. de S. Sophia Antiq. Const. lib. iv. p. 69, ap. Imp. Orient. tom. i. Another Angel, whom Justinian knew to be one by the form of his oath, appeared also in the shape of an eunuch, and took an active part in superintending the building, and providing for the exigencies of the Emperor.

† Ibid. p. 75.

‡ ΑΓΙΟΝ ΦΡΕΑΡ. ibid. pp. 67, 75.

great pains have been taken to deface them, are still visible on the brazen gates of the Gynaikonition.

The mosck of Sultan Achmet is of a magnificent exterior. The founder is said to have expended three aspers upon every stone of the edifice, and to have employed his Imperial hands upon the work for one hour every Friday. The court which ranges along one side of the Hippodrome is shaded with trees, and provided with handsome fountains for the ablutions of the Mussulmans. The six minarets (a number with which no other mosck is furnished) are too tall for the building, but their distant appearance is imposing and agreeable. Ascending by a flight of thirteen marble steps into a fine vestibule or ambulatory, paved also with marble, and surrounded with an arched cloister of granite colonnades, you anticipate something more striking than the interior of the building, where a dome, much smaller than that of St. Sophia, is supported by four gigantic ill-proportioned piers, spoilt also by tawdry fresco paintings, and the cords of the lamps and consecrated vases. The windows of stained glass are a rich and suitable ornament to the building. In this mosck is the curtain, or cloth door of the Kibleh, which is renewed annually, the new one being sent with great pomp from the Grand Signior, and the old one brought from Mecca and suspended in the temple of Sultan Achmet for a year.

In the court of this Dgiamissi a number of cats are fed twice every week, according to the bequest, and out of the provision, left by one of the Sultans. Mr. Pope, when he ridiculed the legacy of his Duchess, could not expect that a royal example would be ever adduced to sanction the endowment of cats. But the cat was a favourite of Mahomet, and a story is told of his cutting off the skirt of his robe, that he might not, by rising from

his seat, awaken one of these animals who was sleeping upon it by his side.

Little St. Sophia (Kutchuk Agia Sophia) is a small mosck, which deserves notice from its having been a Christian church dedicated to St. Bacchus and St. Sergius, and built in the reign of Justinian. It is a small round temple, covered with a dome standing on eight pillars, of a mean appearance, and in the interior is remarkable only for two rows of eighteen and sixteen Ionic columns, fourteen of which are of verd-antique, and twenty of white marble suffused with red spots. The capitals of the pillars are ornamented with vine-leaves; for the former of the illustrious saints* has retained the attributes of his namesake in the heathen mythology. The same holy person seems also to have preserved his divinity not only in Greece, but in Italy and Spain, where it is common at this day to swear by Bacchus. A Greek inscription, in letters a foot long†, runs round the whole of the building. It contains a mention of the Imperial founder. Procopius assures us, that the brilliancy of this temple exceeded the splendour of the sun, and that it was loaded with gold and ornaments. He launches out into other expressions of admiration, which confirm the opinion before expressed of the architectural beauties which were in most repute during the reign of Justinian.—Kutchuk Agia Sophia stands near Thatladi-Kapoussi, a gate on the shore of the sea of Marmora, not far from the mosck of Sultan Achmet.

The Osmaniè, called also Nourri-Osmaniè, the light of the Ot-

* *Sane etiam Templum aliud construxit illustribus Divis, Sergio et Baccho.*—Procop. de Ædif. Just. ap. Gyll. de Topog. Const. lib. ii. cap. xiv.

† *Et Zoophorus grandibus literis versuum Græcorum sculptus ambientium totius ædis circulum.*—De Topog. Const. ibid.

tomans, is well worthy attention, as a decisive proof that the taste of the Turks is at least equal to that of the Greeks in the latter periods of their empire. The plan of the Osmaniè, whatever may be its real merit, is, in my eyes, far preferable to that of St. Sophia. A noble dome crowns the whole temple, not spreading its heavy arch in the centre of many diminutive cupolas, but swelling into a light and lofty vault immediately from the walls of the edifice. The plan of it was selected out of many others by Mahomet the Fifth*, and the superintendance of the work entrusted to Greek architects. That Emperor did not live to see it finished, but it was completed in the reign of his brother and successor Osman the Third, in the year 1755. The whole pavement of the mosck is of white marble: the windows are of painted glass; and where there is any gilt or gaudy colouring, it is disposed with appropriate elegance and splendour. A range of columns of Thebaic granite, twenty-two feet in height, add to the ornament, at the same time that they contribute to the support of the edifice; and the general appearance of the Osmaniè is that of a magnificent saloon, the graces of which the eye at one glance can comprehend, without the labour of a divided and minute inspection.

There are two sarcophagi of porphyry at Constantinople, shown for the tomb of Constantine: one of ten feet long, six feet wide,

* In Constantinople Ancient and Modern (p. 62), it is said to have been planned by Mahomet the Fourth, who died in 1687, and completed by his brother Osman the Third. Mahomet the Fourth lived five years after his deposition, and died in 1688. He had no brother Osman: his immediate successors were Solyman his brother, and Achmet the Second, Mustapha the Second, and Achmet the Third, his sons. Osman the Third succeeded Mahomet the Fifth, his brother, in 1754, and died in 1757. Le Chevalier has copied the mistake.

and eight deep, and of one mass, is close to the mosck of Seirek, or Klisse Dgiamissi (the mosck of the churches), near the At-Bazar; the other, nine feet in length, seven in width, and five in depth, also of one stone, is to the north of the court surrounding the Osmaniè. The covering of each is lost, and the latter serves as a cistern for rain-water. Whence the pretensions of the sarcophagus near the Osmaniè originated I know not, but there appears no reason to doubt, that the one near the mosck of Seirek, which I did not see, is that which the citizens of Constantinople, at least three centuries ago looked upon as the tomb of Constantine.

It will be seen from Gyllius, that the site of the church of the Apostles, in which, according to Socrates and Eusebius, the remains of that Emperor were deposited, was at or near the At-Bazar; and we find that, in his time, the mass of hollowed porphyry without a lid, the alledged tomb in question, was near the same spot, *close to the highway leading from St. Sophia to Adrianople gate**. The dimensions of it were ten feet in length, and five and a half in depth. The difference between the latter part of the measurement, and the depth which I have given from the last authority†, may arise from the cavity being alluded to in the one instance, and the whole stone in the other. The claims of the sarcophagus of the Osmaniè, appear then to be totally inadmissible; and it is certain that the tradition, whether true or false, was attached to that near Klisse Dgiamissi. Gyllius was sceptical with respect to the tomb; but the story prevailed at the taking of the city, at which time the operculum of the sarcophagus

* Gyll. de Topog. Const. lib. iv. cap. xi.

† Voyage de la Propontide, tom. i. p. 119.

seems to have been entire, and to have contained those detached letters, which were filled up and explained by the Patriarch Gennadius, judge of the Imperial court under John Palæologus, and which gave birth to the famous prophecy relative to the expulsion of the Ottomans from Constantinople.

The letters were alledged to have been inscribed upon the tomb by some sage contemporaries of Constantine; but nothing can be more clumsy than the adjustment of Gennadius, or can so completely expose the imposture; for, according to the Patriarch's exposition of the prediction, the letters of the inscription must have been designed to represent Romaïc, and not Hellenic words*. Yet on the faith of this absurd story, not only the Greeks have persuaded themselves of the approaching downfall of the Ottoman empire, but the Turks themselves have looked towards that fatal event, and some of them at times have confirmed their belief by inventing additional predictions.

When Leonart Rauwolf travelled in the East, the Mahometans

* ΤΠΤ ΤΙΤΔ ΗΒΣΑ ΤΙΜΑ ΟΚΛΜΝ ΜΑΘ ΜΛ.

τῇ πρώτῃ τῆς Ινδίκτ. ἠβασιλεία τὲ Ισμὰελ, ὁ καλέμενος Μωάμεθ. μέλλη.

Δ Ν ΤΡΠΩΣ ΓΝ Τ ΠΛ ΟΛΓ Τ ΕΠΤΛΦ ΚΡΤΣ ΕΣΘ

διὰ νὰ τροπώση γένος τῶν Παλαιολόγων, τὴν Επτάλοφον κρατήσει, ἔσωθεν, &c.

Without quoting any further, it will be seen that the last word of the first line, and the three first words of the second, are according to the modern Greek construction, and that one of the words (νὰ) is purely Romaïc. The whole prophecy may be rendered as follows:—

In the first Indiction, or term, the kingdom of Ismael, which is called Moameth, shall overthrow the race of the Palæologi, shall become master of the seven-hilled city, shall reign therein—shall govern many nations, and shall lay waste many islands as far as the Pontus Euxinus—shall depopulate the banks of the Danube; in the eighth term shall subdue the Peloponesus;

entertained a notion that the term of triumph (the one thousand years) granted to their religion, was nearly expired, and had a custom on their holidays, of shutting up the gates of their great towns and camps at nine o'clock in the morning, thinking that they were then to be attacked by some general insurrection of the Christians. The good Doctor was himself convinced that *they had not quite eighteen years to come*, they having passed nine hundred and eighty-two years of their term when he lived amongst them in 1573*. The comet which appeared in the reign of Osman the First, was thought prognosticative of the fall of Islamism, which the opinion of Mahomet himself was quoted to certify; for the Prophet

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in the ninth term shall carry war into the regions of the north; in the tenth term shall overturn the Dalmatians; and again for a time shall turn upon the Dalmatians, and shall excite great wars, and shall in part overwhelm them. Then the multitudes and tribes of the West collected together, shall make war by sea and by land, and shdll overturn Ismael: his posterity shall reign but for a little time: THE YELLOW RACE, *together with the first natives, shall overturn all Ismael, shall take the seven-hilled city with its sway. Then they shall raise a civil war, until the fifth hour, and a voice shall exclaim thrice,* STAND, STAND FROM YOUR FEAR. HASTEN SPEEDILY, ON THE RIGHT YE SHALL FIND A MAN, NOBLE, WONDERFUL, AND STRONG; HIM TAKE FOR YOUR MASTER, FOR HE IS MY FRIEND; AND TAKING HIM, MY WILL SHALL BE FULFILLED.—See Matthiæ Cigala Cyprii de Sepulchro Constantini Magni Narratio, &c. Band. Antiq. Const. lib. vii. pp. 184, 185.

The prophet, whoever he was, evidently trusted for the accomplishment of his prediction to some events which were to occur not long after the conquest of the city; and his allusion to the Dalmatians, points most probably to the struggles of Scanderbeg, which Gennadius, or any contemporary of Mahomet the Second, may have witnessed.

* Travels into the Eastern Countries, chap. vi. part iii. p. 311. Ray's Collection of Curious Voyages and Travels.

foretold, that ignorance and avarice would be fatal to his religion. In the reigns of Mustapha the First the calamity was thought to impend, and was repeatedly in the mouths of the Turks*: since that period the prophecy has at times been revived, and in late years a belief in its speedy accomplishment has become very prevalent in Turkey; so that when we were there a copy of the Gennadian inscription was handed about by the Greeks with much mysterious importance, and an air of complete faith.

The sarcophagus of Constantine has detained me on my progress to the Suleymaniè, the most magnificent of all the Imperial moscks, which was built out of the ruins of the church of St. Euphemia at Chalcedon in 1556. It is not so large as St. Sophia, but much lighter and better coloured. The dome is less elliptical than that of the other mosck, and the four columns of Thebaic granite, sixty feet high, and each of a single stone, which contribute to its support, are preferable to the ill-assorted masses collected by the architects of Justinian. The four piers on which the dome is raised, are indeed of an enormous bulk, but they are all of the same size, and correspond with the scale of the whole structure. It is nearly a square, the length being two hundred and sixteen and the breadth two hundred and ten feet. The pavement is of white marble, and on one of the sides of the mosck is a range of latticed bronze doors or casements, inclosing a collection of books attached to the college of the Suleymaniè. The ambulatory, or court of approach, which is paved with marble, is inclosed by a grand cloister of twenty-four columns, each cut from a single mass. The gate of entrance is of a singular taste, of fret-work, like the top of

* Knolles, p. 1387.

an episcopal cathedral chair. The ascent to it is by a flight of at least twenty marble steps. At the back of the mosck is an inclosed court, shaded with trees, which contains the mausoleum of Solyman. This was the most regular and best made of the sepulchral monuments seen by Grelot at Constantinople, and has not been surpassed or equalled by any subsequent structure of the same kind. "It is an octagon, surrounded without by a gallery, the pent of which is supported by fifteen small columns of marble: within it has a little octangular corridor, each of whose corners contains a serpentine column, with the base and capital of white marble; so that in the interior of this sepulchre there are eight arcades, for the support of the dome. In the middle of the mausoleum is the tomb of the Sultan, and that of his son, at the foot of which there is a large wax candle, and several wooden reading-desks, where the books are placed when the softas put up their prayers for the deceased*." Beyond the mausoleum of Solyman is that of Roxalana his wife. A sum is set apart to maintain a certain number of readers, who, at stated times, pray for the soul of the Sultan; and this, as well as the other royal *Turbes*, is visited occasionally by the Grand Signior, who offers up his addresses at the foot of the tomb. The mausoleums are built open at the top, that the rain may fall upon the flowers and herbs which are planted round the grave, but they are guarded from the birds by a net of brass or gilded wire. In some instances the bier is above ground, and the sepulchre is inclosed only by an iron railing; such is the Turbe of Sultans Mustapha and Selim. A large co-

* Grelot—De Celebrioribus urbis, CP. monumentis hodiernis, Band. Imp. Orient. p. 1011.

loured turban, covered with ornaments, is fixed at the head of each bier.

The Suleymaniè is placed in a spacious rectangular court, inclosed by low walls, pierced with a row of open casements, which are latticed with iron-work. The Turks do not allow their temples to be encroached upon by the immediate vicinity of meaner edifices.

In the moscks which we visited, we saw several people studying in one recess, boys reading aloud to their Hogia in another; here a man stretched out asleep, and there a party of three or four idlers lounging round the area, or through the long colonnades.

The foundation of a royal mosck comprises also that of a college, a hospital, and an alms-house. The number of students in the Medressé of the Muhamadiè, built by Mahomet the Second, is at least four hundred*. The colleges of the moscks of Solyman, Bajazet, and Selim, maintain an equal number of scholars, whilst the Medressés of Mustapha, Osman, and Achmet, educate five hundred pupils. The establishment of St. Sophia amounts to about one hundred and fifty. The students are under a certain number of *softas and mudderis*, tutors and professors, and are educated either for the secular priesthood, or the honours of the Ulema. Besides the Medressés there are also *Mektebs* or free-schools, for the poor of the quarter, the expence of whose education, as well as the board and lodging of some of them, is defrayed out of the revenues of the mosck. In 1782 there were more than five hundred schools registered in the books of the Stamboul-

* In Const. Anc. and Mod. p. 63, the number is four hundred and eighty; but all these establishments have diminished during the last twenty years. Mr. Le Chevalier, who I suspect copied Dr. Dallaway, and mistook his meaning, gives an immense proportion to all the Medressés.

Effendissi*. To complete the notice of these truly noble foundations it must be added, that of the thirteen public libraries in Constantinople, nine or ten belong to the *Dgiamissi Selatyn*, and are part of their attached establishment.

The mosck of the Valide Sultan, mother of Mahomet the Fourth, of which there is a drawing and description in the Itinerary of Grelot, and that of Bajazet the Second, containing ten columns of verd-antique, four of jasper, and six of Egyptian granite, are usually visited by strangers; but the Muhamediè being reputed of peculiar sanctity, is not shown without a specific order. Its ornamental architecture was taken probably from the ruins of the Church of the Apostles near At-Bazar, in the neighbourhood of which it was built.

When it is recollected that each of the edifices here noticed is adorned, and chiefly composed of rich marbles, and that the domes are covered with lead; and when it is also considered, that there are more than two hundred similar structures, built with materials more or less rich, and all protected by the same costly covering, the Turks will not be accused of neglecting the splendour of their capital. Their admiration of the dome displays itself in all their edifices, not only the moscks and the mesdjidis or

* Const. Anc. and Mod. p. 64. It must be observed, that some writers add the *ssi* to names in which it is left out by others; for instance—Top-capou, or any other gate, is often called Top-capoussi; and Effendi, is made Effendissi. I have added the *ssi* in most instances, but it should be known that it is the Turkish article: thus, *Yenitcheri-Agassi*, is *the* Aga of the Janissaries; but *Yenitcheri-Aga*, is only Aga of the Janissaries; so that, although in compliance with common usage I have prefixed *the* to the Turkish names, the English article is gratuitously inserted where the additional syllable is retained.

chapels, but the hans, the bezesteins, and the baths are crowned with cupolas; and as they are known by this distinction from the dwelling-houses, Constantinople appears to the distant spectator to contain as many public as private buildings. I consider the present city to be infinitely superior to the metropolis of the Greek Empire in the reigns of the latter Emperors. The streets are, it is true, narrow, and either ill-paved or not at all; but, except in Ballat, the Fanal and the Armenian quarter, they are much cleaner than those of Pera, and, unless compared with the neatness and regularity of an English town, are far from deserving those epithets of disgust and contempt which are usually bestowed upon them by travellers. Constantinople, however, is distinguished from every other capital in Europe by having no names to its streets, no lamps, and no post office. Of the two last the Turks do not feel any want: they are all within doors after sun-set, and their epistolary correspondence is not too frequent to be conveniently carried on by the assistance of travelling friends, or other casual conveyances.

LETTER LI.

The Ambassadors' Audience of the Caimacam—The Ottoman Grandees—Audience of the Grand Signior—The Janissaries—The Nizam-Djedid, or New Instituion—Short Account of the Three Revolutions which dethroned the late Sultans Selim and Mustapha, and destroyed the Grand Vizier Bairacter—The Conclusion.

ALTHOUGH the forms with which an Ambassador is received at Constantinople have been often minutely detailed, I hope to be pardoned for taking some general notice of the two last audiences of his Britannic Majesty's late Plenipotentiary at the Porte. The first occurred on the twenty-eighth of May, 1810, and his Excellency then took leave of the Caimacam, the representative of the Grand Vizier during his absence from the capital. The whole of the Levant Company, the Officers of the Frigate, with about one hundred sailors and marines, with the interpreters, and a long train of servants, proceeded with the fortieth orta of Janissaries to Tophana. There the Chiaus, or chamberlain, deputed to serve as a master of the ceremonies, embarked with his Excellency, and the whole party crossed the water to Constantinople. On landing, a visit of ceremony was paid to the Chiaus-Bashe in a small apartment near the water's

edge; after which the procession mounted horses richly caparisoned, provided by the Porte for the occasion, and after a tedious ride in great state for half an hour, arrived at the Little Porte, or new government-house, built by Yussuf Aga, the intendant of the finances to the Valide, mother of Sultan Selim. The original palace of the Porte was burnt down in the last rebellion. As we passed along the streets, the windows were filled with heads, but the Janissaries, another orta of which corps of about two hundred had met us on this side of the water, prevented any impediment to our progress from the assembled multitude. Dismounting in the court-yard of the palace, we all hurried up stairs, an immense crowd of Turks pressing round us on every side without the least ceremony, and paying attention only to the Ambassador; for the etiquette of the Turkish court recognizes no one but the representative of the king, and as there are no introductions of travellers or other individuals at the Seraglio, those who attend the minister are without distinction taken for his suite or his slaves.

We were pressed forwards through two or three apartments, to the door of the audience-chamber, where the Ambassador was detained a short time, that it might be contrived that he and the Caimacam should enter at the same moment. The Ministers of the Porte were standing in lines on each side of a sofa reserved for his Highness. A door opened to our right as his Excellency entered the room, and the Vice-Vizier appeared: immediately a shouting or short exclamation burst from the whole company, who bowed also their heads to the ground as their master advanced between the rows of state-officers to his seat. As the Vizier and the Ambassador walked up the step to the higher part of the cham-

ber, another loud prayer was recited, and as they took their seats, there was a third and still louder exclamation. I was much struck with this ceremony, and did not recollect at the time, that the custom of offering up a short prayer for prosperity and length of years, obtained amongst the Romans, and was found in the formularies of the Byzantine court. Luitprand relates, that he heard the Emperor Nicephorus saluted with the song or exclamation of πολλὰ ἔτη, "many years;" and it appears that a phrase or word was invented to express this musical compliment*.

The Caimacam being seated on the sofa, not in the common oriental fashion, but with his feet upon the ground, and the Ambassador placed in an arm-chair opposite to him, in virtue of a privilege belonging only to the highest order of Plenipotentiaries, his Excellency proceeded to the business of the day, by repeating a speech, of which, for the convenience of the Dragoman, he held a copy in his hand. Prince Maroozi, standing on the left hand of the Vizier, and officiating as chief Dragoman to the Porte in the place of his brother, interpreted this oration, but in so low a tone, that it was impossible to catch a word of what he said. His address lasted at the least three times as long as that of his Excellency. The Caimacam then made a speech, which he endeavoured to recite by heart, but was obliged frequently to look at his paper, and repeated, as I heard, some words three or four times over, with the boggling and hesitation of a school-boy. He was, it seemed, eighty-four years of age, and in his dotage. This speech was also interpreted in a low tone to his Excellency by the Prince Maroozi in French.

* Τὸ ψάλλειν τὸ πολυχρόνιον—τὸ πολυχρόνιζειν—πολυχρόνισμα, are used by Codinus.—See a Collection of curious Voyages and Travels, tome ii. cap. 5.

Sherbets, sweetmeats, and perfumes, were now served up to the Vizier and the Ambassador, but to no one else. A pelisse of honour, of sables and gold tissue on a white ground, was placed on the Ambassador, and the Prince Maroozi, who almost touched the ground with his head on the receipt of it, was also arrayed in a miserable imitation of the same robe, composed of a stuff like sackcloth. Seven pelisses of cloth and dark fur, ten of ermine, and four or five of a common sort, were distributed and placed on the visitors by the chief Dragoman of the Embassy, who from a paper called over the names of those to whom they were allotted; a ceremony sufficiently tedious and humiliating. After being thus cloathed and fed, the Ambassador rose at the same time with the Caimacam, and the whole party bustled from the audience with as little form as they had entered the room.

The chamber was very small, and quite filled by the croud who pressed round us, treading on our toes with the utmost perseverance and unconcern. No one was seated except the Ambassador and the Caimacam. The various members of the Turkish cabinet were ranged on each side of him; and at his left hand stood the Reis Effendi, whilst the Kiayah-Bey, or Home Secretary of State, was on his right. Each of these Ministers, when addressed by his Highness, answered him with every mark of humility and respect, kissing the hem of his garment.

It is remarked by Montesquieu, that in a despotic government power is deputed and descends entire*. This transmission of absolute authority displays itself in Turkey by the total annihilation of every lower dignity in the presence of superior rank.

* *Dans le gouvernement despotique, le pouvoir passe entier dans les mains de celui à qui on le confie.*—De L'Esprit des Loix, liv. v. chap. xvi.

Command amongst the Turks is sole and individual, and admits no visible contiguity of either similar or second power. The Caimacam would in an instant lose his supremacy before the Vizier Azem, and bend with his companions in slavery to the skirt of his master's robe; whilst that absolute prince is himself shorn of his beams, and degraded into a nonentity by the appearance of the Sultan. There are no gradations of subserviency. There is one master—the rest are slaves, without individual or aggregate dignity. When Sultan Achmet the First, in 1614, made a platform from the Seraglio into the sea, every house in Constantinople sent forth a man to forward the undertaking. Not only the Spahis and Janissaries, but the chiefs of families, and the grandees of the empire themselves, assisted at the work, under the inspection of the Grand Signior, who animated and dignified their exertions by his presence and his praise*. The reader of Xenophon will be reminded of the eager alertness with which the most noble of the Persian satraps, at the command of Cyrus, threw off their robes in the mud, set their shoulders to the wheel, and evinced a praiseworthy emulation in extricating from a quagmire the baggage-waggons of their master†.

It is almost unnecessary to repeat a fact so well known, as that the Ottomans acknowledge no hereditary power in any subject of the empire. It is mentioned by Cantemir, that the Ibra-

* History of the Turks. Knolles.

† De Exped. Cyri, lib. i. p. 257, edit. Leunclav. Xenophon however does not remark upon the principle of despotism apparent in this personal effort, but rather admires it as a portion of military discipline—ἔνθα δὴ μέρος τι τῆς εὐταξίας ἦν θεάσασθαι.

ham Khan Ogli, or the descendants of Ibrahim Khan, who concealed the death of Sultan Mahomet the First for forty-one days, are treated with much respect by the Grand Signiors*; and possess the inspection of moscks founded by their ancestors, and the exemption from offices. The Emirs, the supposed posterity of Mahomet, are also a privileged class; but generally speaking, dignity of blood is unknown to the Turks. The succession of power in the family of Cara Osman Oglou, Pasha of Magnesia, can only be called a tolerated usurpation. The sons of Ali, the Albanian, will probably form another exception to the general rule. The *Malikiane*, or fiefs held possessively, disused for many ages, and revived by Mustapha the Second, only allow a resumption of the father's lands by the son, at a price one-fourth less than any other purchaser, and cannot be called a stable hereditary tenure. The pashalik of Magnesia, and the agaliks of the Ghavrinos who conquered Macedonia, although descending from father to son, have not created a Turkish nobility†. The possession of the Vizirat by the three Kioprilis, is always quoted as a solitary instance; and so little are the favours of the Emperor confined to any distinct class or order, that Mahomet Pasha, who was made Grand Vizier in 1614, was the first native Turk ever raised to that pre-eminence.

The greater part of the prime ministers of the Ottoman Sultans have been purchased slaves, and have owed their rise to personal accomplishments. Yussuf, the Vizier Azem in our time, was a Georgian, carried off in his youth by the Lesguis Tartars, and sold to the Pasha of Erzeroum, who made him his chief pipe-

* Ottoman History, Part I. book ii. p. 76, Tindal's translation.

† Cantemir, Ott. Hist. Part I. book iii. page 153, ibid. Present State of Turkey, page 130.

bearer, and after giving him his liberty, appointed him governor of the town. Whilst Muzzelim of Erzeroum, he enriched himself by some gold and silver mines, and conciliated the favour of Yussuf Aga, before mentioned as intendant of finances to Sultan Selim's mother, who ordered him to Constantinople, and made him in 1798 the successor of the deposed Vizier Mehemmed Ised Pasha*. After his dismission and a retirement of some years, he was, by a fortune of which there has been, I believe, scarcely another instance, again raised to his former dignity in 1808, and, at the age of seventy-eight, was at the head of the Turkish armies when we left the country.—Few of the Vizier Azems have been indebted for their power to any other merit, or may be traced to a more respectable origin, than that of Yussuf.

The posts of honour and profit in the Ottoman court are principally filled by persons who have received their education in Galata Sarai at Pera, to which boys of the lowest extraction are committed by the Pashas of the provinces, as presents to the Grand Signior; who, after their noviciates as Itch-olans, or children of the chamber, admits them to the employments of the Seraglio. The pages of the first three of the four chambers into which the Imperial Itch-olans† are divided, after some previous service under the Chief of the White Eunuchs, and about the person of the Sultan, are raised to the honours of the household, and become the bearers of the sword, the cloak, the stirrup, the ewer, and the turban, as well as the masters of the wardrobe, the buttery, the hounds, and the cranes. One is the first barber;

* Notice sur la Cour du Grand Seigneur, pp. 98, 99.

† The word is more properly *Itch-oglans*, but is pronounced as it is spelt above.

the second, controuler of the privy purse; a third, the chief secretary of the Sultan*. Each of these officers may possess himself of such influence over his master, as will lay the treasures and honours of the empire at his feet, and either as favourite or minister, controul the measures of the Ottoman government. The barber of Bajazet the Second was made Grand Vizier†. In a despotic monarchy the approach to the person of the sovereign is an advantage which no merit can easily counterpoise; and the rays of Imperial bounty not unfrequently shine through the mutilated minister of the Sultan's pleasures, the Chief of the Black Eunuchs.

From the fourth division of the pages, the Khasnè-Odassy, or the chamber of the private treasures, many of those state officers are chosen who are entrusted with the administration of public affairs; and the Tefterdar-Effendi, or Grand Treasurer of the empire, has for the most part been an Itch-olan of this class‡.—

* The Turkish names of these twelve personages, are, *Selictar-Aga*, *Tchokadar-Aga*, *Rikiabtar-Aga*, *Ibriktar-Aga*, *Dulbendtar-Aga*, *Kemissar-Aga*, *Tchesnegir-Aga-Bashe*, *Zagardar-Bashe*, *Tournadgi-Bashe*, *Berber-Bashe*, *Muhasebedgi-Bashe*, *Teskeredgi-Bashe*. Besides these officers, there are five others, who, together with the first four of the last-mentioned, compose the Ars-Aghaleri, or Lords of the Memorial, through whom petitions are presented to the Sultan: these are the *Khasnadar-Kehayassy*, or the Vice-Treasurer; the *Kiler-Kehayassy*, Intendant of the Confectionary; the *Doghandgi-Bashe*, or Grand Falconer; the *Khas-oda-Bashe*, the Chief of the First Chamber; and the *Capou-Agassi*, Chief of the White Eunuchs, or guards of the palace-gates.

† Cantemir, Ottoman History, Part I. book iii. p. 123.

‡ The first chamber is called Khas-Odassy (the Master's Chamber), and is composed of forty pages, who are near the person of the Sultan, and from whom the first five of the household officers above-mentioned are selected; the second chamber is the *Kiler-Odassy*, or Chamber of the Confectionary; and

Such is the policy of the Turkish court, whose chief dignitaries are so free from the ties of consanguinity, and the duties of civil life, as well as from all other dependence, pretension, and object, than the favour of their master, that there is nothing invidious in their rise, nor hazardous in their ruin.

On July the 10th, the day of the Ambassador's audience, the procession, in much the same order as on the former occasion, moved from the palace to Tophana, about half after four in the morning; and the sun rising over the hills of Asia, glimmered through the clouds of dun smoke which burst from the cannon of the Salsette, as we passed under the broadside of the frigate. On landing we visited the Chiaus-Bashe, as before; and whilst we were sitting in his chamber, heard the ship saluting the Sultan in his passage from the Sarai of Dolma-Baktche to the Seraglio. The frigate was dressed, and her yards manned; and as the Imperial barge laid upon her oars for a short time during the discharge of the artillery, the sailors flattered themselves that the Grand Signior took an opportunity of admiring the trim of the vessel.

The salute was the signal for our departure, and mounting the horses which had been sent from the royal stables, we began our procession, headed by the Chiaus-Bashe himself, who was dressed in a superb robe and caftan of flowered gold. We rode slowly for half an hour, until we came to an open space and a large tree, where we waited for the Caimacam, who soon arrived with a nu-

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the third the *Seferly-Odassy*, or the Chamber of the Warriors, who are entrutsed with the arms of the Sultan, and amuse him with the bow and the djerid: they pass after some probation into the first chamber.—The latest and best account of these particulars is contained in the Notice sur la Cour du Grand Seigneur, by J. E. Beauvoisins, Paris, 1809.

merous train, in his way from the Porte, and passed before us towards the Seraglio. He also was dressed in his court suit, a satin robe of bright green, and wore his turban of state.—The head-dress is the distinguishing mark of the various orders and ranks, and it is said that not less than two hundred different turbans are to be reckoned in Constantinople.

A short time after the passage of the Caimacam we moved forwards, and in nearly half an hour arrived at the entrance of the Seraglio. The Baba-Humayun, or Sublime Gate, is accurately represented in the annexed plate. In the niches on each side of the porch are placed the heads of state criminals; on the right hand is a dunghill, on which the bodies are thrown. The fountain is built over a tomb or sarcophagus, which is shown in Grelot's picture of this gate*.

* Band. Imp. Orient. p. 1016. From the Baba-Humayun has been erroneously supposed to originate the title of Sublime Porte; but the term is a favourite Oriental metaphor, and is used also in other designations. Thus a hospital attached to a mosck, is called Darush-shifa, the gate of health. The entrance to a royal palace, *the King's gate*, was, as we learn from sacred history, the seat of petitioners at the court of the Assyrian monarchs; but the unsightly porch of the Seraglio did not furnish the magnificent epithet applied to the Ottoman government, although being the entrance to the usual residence of the Sultan, it is called Sublime. The Porte (if it has any substantial existence) is the palace of the Turkish Cabinet, but, more properly speaking, it is the point of access and communication through which the decisions of the supreme power pass and are promulgated. Mr. Thornton, p. 119, quotes Cantemir, as hinting that the Porte follows the person of the Sovereign; but although I find in that historian, that the governor of Babylon, Elkasib-Mirza, is ordered to be *sent in irons to the Porte*, it seems that the capital is alluded to; for Mehemmed-Pasha, who was dispatched to act against him, is said just afterwards to depart for Constantinople, to give an account of his proceedings; so that Sultan Solyman the First was most probably at the Seraglio, and not in the provinces.—Ottoman Hist. p. 209, Part I. book iii.



FIRST GATE OF THE SERAGLIO,

London, Published by James Cawthorn, 24, Cockspur Str. 1812.

We entered the Baba-Humayun on horseback, and rode up a gentle ascent towards the second gate, the entrance to which was lined on each side with rows of Capidges or porters, and other officers of the palace, whose splendid attire, and diversified head-dresses, produced at a distance an admirable effect. The first square of the Seraglio contains Tarap-Hane, the royal mint, and the ancient church of St. Irene converted into an armory, which, according to report, is filled with curious specimens of the military engines of the Byzantine Greeks, and the armour and weapons worn by the companions of Godfrey of Bouillon*. We dismounted about a hundred yards from Baba-Salàm *(the gate of Health)*, upon entering which all our state vanished, for we were shown into a dirty chamber on the left hand of the porch, where we remained in darkness for some time, all huddled together in this and another room, appropriated to very unsavoury purposes. This is the executioners' lodge, and it seems that we were detained here in order that we might enter the second court at the instant that the Janissaries run for their pilau, which is placed in innumerable little pewter dishes, and, at a given signal, scrambled for and seized upon by the soldiery assembled for the occasion, to the number generally of four thousand.

The second court is considerably smaller than the first. It is colonnaded on three sides, and the middle space is a green, thickly shaded with rows of cypress tress. On the right are the Seraglio kitchens, and on the left is an open walk, with a fountain and the hall of the Divan.

The third gate, Baba-Saadi *(the gate of Happiness)*, and the walls of the interior palace, front the entrance to the court. The Divan is a small vaulted saloon, with three windows in the dome

* Const. Anc. and Mod. p. 24.

which admit but little light; it is richly ornamented and wainscotted with a plaister or stucco well polished, and representing a pink variegated marble. On the left of the saloon is a second chamber, also vaulted, and about the same size as the first, divided from the council-hall by a division only breast-high: this is filled by the clerks and attendants of the court. A cushioned bench, something like that of our Court of Chancery, ranges along the back of the chamber, and in the middle is the seat of the Grand Vizier, a little raised and immediately under a small latticed casement, through which the Sultan himself inspects, or is supposed to inspect, the transactions of the Divan. On the left side of the room is another cushioned bench, and on the right a lower bench without any covering, attached to the wall. On entering we found the Caimacam in his seat; on his left hand, at a little distance, were the Cazy-askers of Romania and Natolia, and on the bench on the same side, were the Tefterdar-Effendi and two other officers of the treasury. On the small bench to the right was seated the celebrated Cheliby Nichandgi-Effendi, a minister of the first repute, and well known to all the foreign missions. He was employed with his hair-pencil and the other implements of his office. A stool was placed for the Ambassador near the keeper of the cypher, but the remainder of the company were obliged to stand, except when sheltered behind the robes of the dragomans of the mission, they ventured to rest themselves at the lower end of the bench near the corner of the room.

After the adjudication of a cause by the Caimacam, which consisted of reading several papers, and the affixing of his signature, the payment of the Janissaries was commenced, and continued until nine o'clock. The money was brought forward in yellow purses, containing nominally five hundred piasters each, but in

reality not so large a sum; for the Tefterdar-Effendi contrives by the deficiency to put about one hundred and fifty thousand piasters into his pocket at each general payment. The purses were heaped up in two conical lines or wedges from each side of the Caimacam to the door of the saloon. After the bags had been told out the first time, they were again numbered aloud; and being carried out by fifties into the yard in front of the Divan, were laid upon the pavement at a little distance from the door. As each of the fifties was so deposited, the teller exclaimed with a loud voice, "*Oda, come!*" mentioning the number of the chamber; and instantly a body of Janissaries, who were stationed at about a hundred yards distant, started at the same moment, and racing towards the money, fell one over the other in their scramble for the bags. Each soldier who carries off a purse, receives one piaster upon delivering it to his Captain. This distribution of their payment to the Janissaries lasted so long, that we were heartily fatigued before the conclusion of the ceremony, which, according to an established usage, was, however, designed to captivate and astonish us by a display of Ottoman wealth.—An hour was passed in giving audience to some officers of the Janissaries; each of whom, on his name being called, came forward and kissed the hem of the Caimacam's garment, returning thanks for his respective corps.

At ten the dinner was served, and the Ambassador, attended by Prince Maroozi*, sat at a table with the Caimacam. Some of the gentlemen of the embassy, with my fellow-traveller and

* Maroozi is mentioned as Dragoman to the Porte in page 515 of these Letters: I have since found out that he was acting for his brother. He was afterwards raised to the principality of Wallachia, and being suspected of some intrigues, was beheaded at Bucharest, in the course of the last year (1812).

myself, were placed at another table with Cheliby-Effendi. There were one or two other tables and some seats brought into the room, but the greater part of the company were obliged to stand. Any person may join an Ambassador's suite on these occasions, and there were several raggamuffins in the Frank habit amongst the crowd, who seemed to have been collected purposely to disgrace the embassy. The table-furniture consisted of a coarse cloth, on which a wooden spoon and a crumplet were set before each guest. The first we dipped into the soups and sherbets promiscuously; the latter article served us instead of a plate, after we had torn off the meat with our right hands. Two-and-twenty dishes were served up, one after the other, and we tasted of each; but some of them were suffered to remain scarcely an instant on the table, and were borne off as if under the influence of Sancho's dread doctor and his wand. Rising from dinner, we were sprinkled with rose-water, and the Ambassador was served with an ewer to wash his hands.

In a short time a message arrived from the Sultan, intimating that he would receive the Eltchi, whose arrival and humble request of an audience had been before communicated by an officer of the Divan. The Ambassador accordingly, and the whole party, left the council-chamber, and were conducted towards the third gate of the Seraglio, but were directed to wait under a wooden shed at the right hand of the approach, where there was a dirty stone seat for the accommodation of his Excellency. Two common-looking ill-dressed fellows brought two bags full of pelisses, which were distributed without ceremony to seventeen or twenty of the party, who at the same time took off their swords. We continued for some time under our shed, totally unnoticed and overlooked, until we saw the two Cazy-askers proceed from the Divan

through rows of Janissaries, and take their seat on a bench at the right of the third gate, where there was also a line of state officers. At this time the left of the gate was covered with a crowd of Bostandges, Hassekis, Baltages, and others of the body guard*, without arms; and facing it, at some distance, there were three rows amounting to twenty-one, of the household soldiers called Peiks, crowned with plumage. The Cazy-askers passed into the third gate, but soon returned, and at last the Caimacam marched from the Divan in great state, preceded by two officers with large staves of silver and gilt, which at each step they rung upon the ground. The Janissaries, the guards, and the chamberlains,

* The Bostandges have been before noticed. The Hassekis are the Imperial messengers, a body attached to the Bostandges, which are employed in executing the secret commissions of the court, and sometimes carry the firmans. The Baltages are properly the wood-cutters of the Seraglio, and the servants of the kitchen; but they are now a species of corps, whose weapon and distinguishing mark is a hatchet (balta), and who have another body called Zuluflus-Baltages belonging to them. The *Peiks* are the guard of the second court, wear a beard, and are armed with a bow and arrow: they walk on each side of the Sultan's horse on processions, and shade him with plumes from public view. The *Solaks* belong to the interior court; they walk before the Sultan with a halbert. The Capidges or porters are a numerous corps also belonging to the Seraglio. The Capidge-Bashes usually carry the death-warrants of the Sultan to the offending Pashas, an office formerly entrusted to the forty mutes of the court: three hundred Black Eunuchs, and as many White Eunuchs, the body of the Salahors or equerries, all the pages, and the attendants not enumerated, the females, and the separate corps just mentioned, are supposed to raise the number of persons inhabiting the Seraglio to ten thousand. When Julian reformed the Imperial household, he is said to have found one thousand barbers, one thousand cup-bearers, and one thousand cooks; besides Eunuchs innumerable. I should fancy these retainers to have been like those of the Ottoman princes, separate corps preserving the name of, without being actually employed in, their original occupation.

bent to the earth as he passed. After stopping for a few seconds, his Highness entered the porch, and in ten minutes an order arrived for the Ambassador to advance to the presence.

Just as we entered the gate, there was much unseemly squeezing and jostling, and those who had not pelisses of fur were pushed away by the attendants. We afterwards moved forwards with more regularity, each of us being accompanied and pressed upon the shoulder by one or two of the guard. My attendant was one of the White Eunuchs, a crowd of whom were standing within the gate. We went through a court, or rather a large saloon, open on both sides, and passing on our right several rows of the Solak guards, in white robes and pointed caps of gold, mounted a low step into a passage, covered with rich carpets, which brought us into the presence-chamber. The room appeared quite full when we entered, but my Eunuch pushed me quickly forwards within ten paces of the throne, where he held me somewhat strictly by the right arm during the audience. He had not forgotten the assassination of Amurath.

The chamber was small and dark, or rather illumined with a gloomy artificial light, reflected from the ornaments of silver, pearls, and other white brilliants, with which it is thickly studded on every side and on the roof. The throne, which is supposed the richest in the world, is like a four-posted bed, but of a dazzling splendour; the lower part formed of burnished silver and pearls, and the canopy and supporters encrusted with jewels. It is in an awkward position, being in one corner of the room, and close to a fire-place.

Sultan Mahmoud was placed in the middle of the throne, with his feet upon the ground, which, notwithstanding the common form of squatting upon the hams, seems the seat of ceremony.

He was dressed in a robe of yellow satin, with a broad border of the darkest sable: his dagger, and an ornament on his breast, were covered with diamonds: the front of his white and blue turban shone with a large treble sprig of diamonds, which served as a buckle to a high straight plume of bird-of-paradise feathers. He for the most part kept a hand on each knee, and neither moved his body nor head, but rolled his eyes from side to side, without fixing them for an instant upon the Ambassador or any other person present. Occasionally he stroked and turned up his beard, displaying a milk-white hand glittering with diamond rings. His eye-brows, eyes, and beard, being of a glossy jet black, did not appear natural, but added to that indescribable majesty which it would be difficult for any but an Oriental sovereign to assume: his face was pale, and regularly formed, except that his nose (contrary to the usual form of that feature in the Ottoman princes) was slightly turned up and pointed: his whole physiognomy was mild and benevolent, but expressive and full of dignity. He appeared of a short and small stature, and about thirty years old, which is somewhat more than his actual age.

On each side of the throne was an embroidered cushion: that on the left supported a silver purse, containing the letter from the Grand Signior to the King of England, and near it was a silver inkstand adorned with jewellery: a sabre, partly drawn from a diamond scabbard, was placed nearly upright against the cushion on the other side of the Sultan.

It seems from Busbek, and other authorities, to have been the custom formerly for Ambassadors and their suite to kiss the Sultan's hand*; and that their whole reception was more courteous

* Posteaque veluti deosculata ejus manu ad parietem oppositum ita sumus reducti, &c.—Busbeq. Epist. i. p. 62, edit. Oxon. 1640; and the traveller in

than at the audiences of the present day: amongst other points, it was usual for the Sultan to address a word or two to the minister, which he now never deigns to do*.

The Ambassador stood nearly opposite, but a little to the left of the throne; and on his left was the Prince Maroozi, who acted as his interpreter. On the right of the Sultan the Caimacam was standing between the throne and the fire-place, with his head bent, and his hands submissively crossed in front of his vest. There were only a few feet of an open circular space between the Grand Signior and the audience, the rest of the apartment being completely occupied by the crowd. His Excellency laying his hand on his breast, and making a gentle inclination of the head, now addressed the Sultan, in a speech delivered in a low tone of voice, which was interpreted still less audibly by the Prince Maroozi. The Sultan then said a few words to the Caimacam, who proceeded to speak to the Ambassador, but hobbled repeatedly, and was prompted aloud several times by the Grand Signior. He seemed also to stop before he had concluded his oration, which, however, was a very immaterial circumstance, as the Dragoman was previously acquainted with it, and had

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Hakluyt, Richard Wrag, says, "*The Ambassador thus betwixt two which stood at the door, being led in, either of them taking an arme, kissed his hand; and so backward, with his face to the Turke, they brought him nigh the doore again, where he stood untill they had likewise done so with all the rest of his gentlemen.*"

* Solyman the Magnificent, after hearing Busbek's speech, said, "*Guisel, guisel*"—*Well, well;* and the above English traveller relates, that on the Ambassador, Sir Edward Barton, making his three demands to Amurath the Third, the Sultan said, "NOLO;" *which* (as he adds, somewhat to the surprize of the learned in the Latin) *is in Turkish as much as,* IT SHALL BE DONE.

learnt it by heart. The answer of the Caimacam being interpreted in French, there was some little hesitation in the proceedings, and his Excellency seeming as if about to retire, the Sultan whispered something to the Caimacam, who began hobbling another speech, and was again prompted by Mahmoud. This address being also interpreted, and received like the preceding, with a bow, the Sultan taking the purse in his hands, and saying a few words, delivered it to the Caimacam, who, having first kissed the sleeve of his *caftan*, received the letter upon it as it covered both his hands, and saluted also the purse with his forehead, bending humbly to the earth. He then spoke a short sentence, and presented the purse to Prince Maroozi, who repeated the reverence of the Caimacam, and, interpreting the words, put it into the hands of the Ambassador.

Immediately afterwards his Excellency bowed and withdrew, the audience having lasted twelve or fifteen minutes. On retiring, my attendant Eunuch hurried me briskly along, and dismissed me with a gentle push down the step of the anti-chamber. The embassy, and the whole suite, then passed through the third and the second gate of the Seraglio, where we mounted our horses, and waited for nearly an hour under a scorching sun covered with our fur robes; and were not permitted to move before mid-day, nor until the Caimacam with his suite had proceeded from the Divan on his return to the Porte, and all the Janissaries had issued from the second court. They came out roaring and running, many of them being children, and all, in appearance, the very scum of the city.

I did not through the whole of the ceremony, observe any of that silent sedateness and well-regulated conduct in these soldiers,

which attracted the admiration of early travellers, and rendered it doubtful whether they were men or statues *. But every merit which enabled Busbek to draw a comparison between the brave and disciplined Turks of the age of Solyman, and the *courtiers* of Christian princes, and to couch, after the manner of Tacitus, the reproof of his contemporary fellow-subjects under the praise of barbarians, has long vanished, and ceased to adorn the character of the Janissary.

The decline of this corps, whose name alone filled Europe with terror, and to whom the Ottoman Sultans have been more indebted for their successes and their sufferings, than ever were the Roman Emperors to the Pretorian cohorts, may be dated from the reign of Amurath the Third, who permitted these soldiers to enroll their children in their order, and thus gave them an individual interest as citizens, as well as an independence of their sovereign totally foreign to the nature and design of their original institution. When, from being *children of the tribute* and of the Sultan, they acknowledged another father than their Emperor, they began to be equally dangerous to the government as to the enemies of the Porte; and accordingly we read, that having previously to this great change confined their tumults to the times of an interregnum, they broke into open revolt for the first time, and murdered the governor of Cyprus, in the reign of the prince who was the author the impolitic innovation. In the time of his immediate successor they raised a rebellion in Constantinople, and attempted to depose Mahomet

* *Digna erant precipue quæ spectarentur, aliquot gianizarorum millia; qui longo ordine sejuncti a reliquis tam immoti stabant, ut me diu judicii incertum rodderent homines ne essent an statuæ.*—Busbeq. Epist. i. 64.

the Third: subsequently to that period they have several times disposed of the Turkish sceptre, and have been the origin of, and the actors in, a quick succession of bloody commotions, which, were it not for the standing example before our eyes, might be judged incompatible with the existence of any empire. Many fruitless attempts have been made to destroy their power. Bajazet the Second, even whilst they were at the height of their discipline, and the first military body in the world, seems to have foreseen the future ill-effects of their predominance, for he is said to have planned their extermination. Nassuff-Pasha, Vizier-Azem to Achmet the First, employed the Spahis and forces of the provinces for their subjection, but was finally sacrificed, and being too fat to be strangled, was ignominiously beheaded.

Delavir-Pasha, the Vizier of Osman, in the year 1620 proposed the organization of a new militia amongst the Curds, at the head of whom the Sultan was to march from Damascus, and entirely destroy the whole body of the rebel soldiers; but the same Vizier added to this scheme a plan for the abolition of the Spahis or feudal horse, for the change of every establishment, even to the name of the city, and for the subjection of all Europe. He was cut in pieces, and one of his legs was seen at Pera by Sir Thomas Rowe the English Ambassador. Osman himself was deposed and murdered.

That deterioration of discipline and order in the Janissaries, which is said to have been connived at by Mahomet the Fourth, was more probably the effect of their increasing insolence and independent power. Those of the present day are most of them artisans, who have been enrolled either as children of these soldiers by their fathers, or have entered into the corps for

protection, and an increase of individual importance. The number of those who receive their pay (amounting to about three pence daily for each man) at the Seraglio, is said by the last authority* to be forty thousand; but in the year 1798 all the Janissaries enrolled in the capital and the provinces amounted to more than four hundred thousand†. A late traveller, quoted by the same writer, thinks they are the *most select and regular of the Turkish troops, better dressed, and more regularly equipped*; but whatever may be the order of their camp, which seems to have been the point considered by Dr. Witman, their prowess in battle is comparatively despised, even by the Turks themselves, and has been proved by recent events inferior to that of the provincial soldiery. The vast dominion still possessed by the Ottoman Sultans, is upheld neither by the real nor reputed vigour of the Janissaries, which is felt most, and may be almost said to be formidable only at Constantinople.

The inferiority of the army of the Turks to that of any Christian power, may be caused, perhaps, more by the improved tactics of the latter, than by the decay in the military discipline of the former nation. Whatever respective proportion we give to these two efficient principles, the total inequality of a contest between the Ottoman troops and a disciplined European force, has been of late years decided in a manner that may justify our belief in the victories of the Greeks, of Alexander, and of the Romans themselves.

From the founder of the dynasty, each of their successive sove-

* Present State of Turkey, p. 174.

† Tableau des Nouveaux Reglemens de l'Empire Ottoman, composé par Mahmoud Rayf Effendi, &c. Constantinople, 1798, p. 17.

reigns, during a period of two hundred and sixty-five years, had led his armies in person to the field: their career of victory, scarcely interrupted by the misfortunes of Bajazet, seemed to promise universal dominion; and, whether from their own strength or the weakness of their antagonists, they continued in the reign of Solyman still to flourish, to predominate, and to extend daily the boundaries of their empire*. Kioprili Mustapha Pasha averred, that all the successors of that Sultan had been tyrants or fools†; but the spirit of the people survived that of the sovereigns; and the Turkish power has generally been supposed most formidable during the administration of Achmet Kioprili, who held the government for twenty years, and died in the year 1676. In the war which began in 1672 and ended in 1680, the Ukraine was conquered and Poland made tributary; and in the second Imperial war of the same reign Vienna was besieged, and only not taken. From that time the terror of the Turkish arms has gradually subsided, and subsequently to the victorious massacres of Eugene, which dictated the peace of Carlovitz in 1699, and restored Transylvania to the empire, the powerful states of Europe have, in the opinion of most writers, been prevented from the expulsion of the Ottomans from Europe, only by their interested jealousies and mutual dissensions. Yet although the existence of this barbarian power in the most flourishing regions of Europe, confined on every side by hostile kingdoms, or by an element possessed by Christians, has been for a century regarded

* *Ergo illi rebus gestis florent, dominantur, imperii fines quotidie proferunt.*—Busbeq. epist. i. p. 63, edit. Oxon. 1640.

† Marsigli, Stato Militare, p. 28. Decline and Fall, cap. lxv.

as a reproach to all civilized nations, and a standing wonder, it must be acknowledged, that the decline of the Ottoman empire has by no means been so rapid, nor its disgraces so repeated and uninterrupted, as casual observers are apt to believe.

In the reign of Achmet the Third the Russians were worsted by the Turks, and lost by the peace of Pruth. The Austrians have gained but little honour or advantage in any of their late wars with the Porte; and notwithstanding the splendid successes of Gallitzin and Romanzow, and the cessions of the peace at Kainargi in 1774, the Sultan withstood with honour and success the united arms of Catharine and Joseph in the succeeding war, when all Europe expected that the partition of his dominions was inevitable and at hand. The Prince de Ligne, who served in the campaign, by asserting in his memoirs that there was nothing formidable in the Turks, if their bare right arms and their shouts were disregarded, implies that they had not lost all their terrific qualities. The incredible exploits and slaughters of Suwarrof seemed the forerunners of their fall; and the peace of 1790 was considered a permission for them to exist and linger a little longer on the confines of the European continent. Since that period, however, they have had to contend with the same foes, and with the two most formidable of existing nations, neither of which had before been known to them as enemies. After losing a kingdom, for Egypt may be so denominated, and after beholding a hostile fleet under the walls of their capital, they were rather triumphant than worsted; and, with respect to ourselves, were equally unsubdued by our attacks as they were successful by our assistance. It seemed fated that they should gain no less by our weakness than by our strength, and that when we were to com-

mit a folly, and sustain a solitary discomfiture, both the one and the other were to conspire to their advantage. The English could conquer Egypt for the Turks, but not for themselves, and their victorious fleets were for the first time disgraced, in a contest with a nation against whom it was impossible to anticipate a failure*.

The mismanagement, forbearance, policy, and mutual rivalry of the English, French, and Muscovites, are looked upon as having been the best protectors of the Ottomans: no one imagines that the inherent strength of the people can oppose any obstacle to immediate subjection. Let the cause be what it will, the fact is the same; the late peace at Bucharest has intrenched but little on the dominions of the Sultans, who, with neither a fleet, nor an army that can command respect, retain the fairest islands, and the most favoured regions of southern Europe. The justice and wisdom of expelling them from that portion of the continent which they have so long possessed, may be discussed by any one accustomed to similar speculations; but the question of the facility with which this object might be accomplished, is more competently handled by those who have studied the character of the Turks on the spot, and have enjoyed the advantage of some personal intercourse with their paradoxical nation.

The internal dissensions of the Porte, and the rebellion of the provinces, although they invite the invader, would not contribute to his success. If the crusade which Mr. Eton and other writers have thought it their duty to preach against the Turks,

* See in the Appendix the paper in which the expedition to the Dardanelles is noticed at length.

should be ever attempted by the united forces of the Christian kings, the standard of Mahomet would unite all the children of Islamism, and the march of regular and finally victorious armies would be impeded by obstacles which their confidence in themselves, and their contempt of their enemies, would not permit them to foresee. The obstinate fury of religious zeal, and the valour of despair, would arouse the sleepy vigour of their character, and call forth efforts which, without proving equally formidable, would be as spirited and unanimous as those which led them on to conquest, and founded their mighty monarchy on the ruins of the four empires*. Without an ally, their capital and their islands must at any time be at the mercy of a maritime power, and it can hardly be thought that any resistance to a regular army by land, would be so effectual as to save them from the necessity of final submission. But even supposing that the partition of Turkey should be amicably settled by the Christian powers, it appears to me that the struggle would be protracted and sanguinary, and that the Mussulmans, like the volunteers of Mecca who attacked the French in Egypt, would to a man quit the defence of their country and their religion only with their lives. I say nothing of the extreme improbability of any arrangement of contending interests, by which they would be left without a friend to defend themselves against the union of all Christendom. The report that the division of their European dominions was finally agreed upon at Tilsit, is now understood to be altogether unfounded; and had such a treaty been concluded, late events must show how many

* Grimstone, the continuator of Knolles' History, says, that the Turkish monarchy is founded upon the four empires, the Assyrian, Persian, Greek, and Roman.

accidents may intervene to prevent even the commencement of the attempt. It may be added, that in case the effort had been made, the British cabinet, whose successful diplomacies in the East and the West, with the Persians and the Four Nations, evince that they have no squeamish aversion to barbarous and unchristian alliances, would, most probably, have stood firm by the Mussulmans, and exerted every effort to oppose the partition.

The French, who have been supposed to look with a greedy eye upon all the shores of the Mediterranean, were the cause and first movers of a project to retard the decline of the Ottoman power, and to introduce such reforms into its military and naval establishments, as should enable it to keep pace with the improving tactics of its Christian enemies. Hence the origin of the Nizam-Djedid, and the new constitution of Selim the Third.

This Sultan, who succeeded to the throne on the death of his uncle Abdulhamid in 1788, evinced at an early period of his reign, a determination to attempt some change in the organization of the forces of the empire, and in the internal administration of the government. The cabinet, or great council of state*, was

* It is composed of the Kehayah-Bey, the Tefterdar-Effendi, the Reis-Effendi, the Chiaus-Bashe, the Capudan-Pasha, the Ters-Hane Emini, the two Ex Cazy-askers and those in office; the Stamboul-Effendi, the Nakib-Ulsheraff, (Chief of the Emirs), the Aga of the Janissaries, the Gebege-Bashe (Commander of the Military Stores), the Topge-Bashe, the Arabdge-Bashe (Chief of the Wagon Train), the Aga of the Sipahylers, an abolished corps; the Selictarler-Agassy (Commander of the Swordmen, also abolished), the Nichandgi-Effendi, the Tarapa-Emini (Master of the Mint), the Coumbaradgi-Bashe (General of the Bombadiers), Laghoumdgi-Bashe (General of the Miners). The reader may consult Tableau de la Cour Ottoman, p. 108, for other details of the ministry of the interior.

more frequently assembled than in former reigns, and diminished the labours as well as the importance of the Grand Vizier. Yussuf-Aga, the intendant of the Valide, and Hussein, the Capudan-Pasha, were in possession of the confidence and the power of their master, and they had an active coadjutor in Mahmoud Rayf-Effendi, a virtuous and enlightened minister, who, after passing through all the subordinate degrees of office, and receiving the more important benefit of an intercourse with civilized society at Vienna, Paris, and the Court of London, where he was attached to the Turkish Legation, was raised to be Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and as Reis-Effendi was entrusted with the execution of those projects of which he had been the most strenuous adviser, and had arranged the original plan. The Sultan himself is said to have received the suggestions of the French and other Frank residents of the capital, and his ministers availed themselves of their skill and personal service.

It would be impossible to find an instance in the annals of any country, of an attempt equal to the new constitution of Selim, either in the magnitude of its design, or the decisive originality of its bold innovations. The re-establishment of an immense empire upon its former basis was the proposed result, and this was to be accomplished by a total change of national character. The efforts of Peter the Great, stupendous as they were, had been directed to an amelioration of his subjects, which, compared to the reform intended by Selim, was slow and partial. Inveterate prejudices were to be forcibly and suddenly corrected; ignorance established and protected by religion and law, was to be dispelled by the introduction of suspected sciences and dangerous arts. The Mussulman was to become the friend and the pupil of the Infidel. But Selim was unequal to the

task, and although deficient neither in virtue, nor perhaps in power, he was not possessed of that commanding genius which alone can dare to violate the habits of a whole nation. He was wanting either in prudence or in resolution; he was too hasty, or not sufficiently decisive. Others may think that the Turkish character is not susceptible of the intended improvement, and that the end was no less unattainable than the means were imprudent. Should, however, a more fortunate master persuade the Turks of some future age to consent to their own aggrandisement, the successors of the present generation will revere the memory of the sovereign, who lost his crown and his life in the noble endeavour to give force and stability to his empire, by improving the moral capacity of his subjects.

Fortunately we are able to judge of the several provisions of the Nizam-Djedid, by the account of the institution written by Mahmoud Rayf-Effendi, composed in the French language, and printed at the Imperial press*. The introduction of printing has always been violently opposed by the Ulema, and the copiers of Tusuk-Bazar. Achmet the Third attempted the establishment of a press near the kiosk of Kiat-Hane, but his Armenian printers were obliged to desist; and the buildings fitted up for the establishment, were converted to other purposes. Selim erected a large edifice at Scutari, and the necessary materials were procured, as well as an adequate number of persons qualified to super-

* The following is the full title of the treatise: Tableau des Nouveaux Reglemens de l'Empire Ottoman, composé par Mahmoud Rayf-Effendi, ci-devant Secrétaire de l'Ambassade Imperiale, près de la Cour d'Angleterre. Imprimé dans la Nouvelle Imprimerie du Génie sous la direction d'Abdurrhamin Effendi, professeur du Géometrie et d'Algébre, a Constantinople, 1798.

intend the establishment, and to execute the mechanical part of the labours. Whether from the want of attention or of a demand for the commodity, only forty different books were produced in twelve years. The building was spacious, and well adapted for the purpose, but contained only one press. There were, however, six presses in the School of Design at Ters-Hane, whose principal productions were a Greek grammar, and a dictionary of the Turkish, Arabic, and Persian languages.

The first attention of the Sultan was directed to the renovation of his armies and navies: indeed it was his principal aim; and as his subjects were Turks and a nation of soldiers, it must not be considered as a mere change of tactics in the forces of the empire. As the regulations were intended for a people who had every thing to learn, some articles of the new constitution may raise a smile in the unwary reader, who is accustomed to the establishments of civilized states; and those who decide on the merit by the success of an innovation, may think the details of abolished ordinances scarcely deserving of regard. But a view of the proposed improvements might be valuable, if it was only to convey to us the clearest notion of the deficiencies which they were intended to correct, and which are, in fact, the existing errors of the Turkish system.

The new regulations of the Ottoman empire bear the date of 1796. The levy of twelve thousand men, who were to be disciplined according to the principles of European tactics, and armed in every respect like the soldier of France or England, although inserted at the end of Mahmoud's treatise, was the chief arrangement. The new troops were to wear a uniform, and they were to be taught the manual exercise, of which the regulations con-

tain a minute detail, and a representation in one large plate. In order to detach them as much as possible from the Janissaries, it was resolved they should belong nominally to the corps of Bostandges, whose red bonnet they were to wear when at home, although they were to change it for a lighter cap of the same make and shape upon actual service.

For these Bostandge fusileers (Bostany Tufenktchissy) as they were called, were erected handsome barracks in the middle of a down, three miles to the north-east of Pera, capable of containing fifteen thousand soldiers. Levend Tchiftlik was supplied with an exercising-ground, shaded on every side with avenues of limes, a marble kiosk for the reception of the Sultan, a mosck with baths fountains and reservoirs, a spacious saloon or refectory, a powder-magazine, and rows of shops for armourers and sutlers.

For the same purpose barracks were constructed also at Scutari for thirty thousand men, with a railed enclosure for the exercise of the soldiers, and all other conveniences similar to those of Levend Tchiftlik. Near these barracks Selim built a mosck, and the range of wide regular streets for the cotton and silk manufacturers which have been before noticed.

The inspector of the new troops was one of the principal men of the empire: their commander was a Capidge-Bashe, assisted by an intendant, two commissaries, and two clerks. Each regiment, commanded by a Bin-Bashe, consisted of one thousand and eighty privates, divided into twelve companies; and to these were attached ninety-six Topges (or cannoniers), sixty Arabdges (or carmen), twenty-four Sakas (or water-carriers), and seventy-two attendants, called Cara-Colloutches, with their proper officers. Each company had a field-piece, and was commanded by a captain,

two lieutenants, an ensign, a tchaouchi (or serjeant), and ten corporals*.

That the military bodies attached to the regular troops might be effective, a reform was introduced into all their departments. The Topges were improved in every respect: their old barracks were demolished, and new ones were built on a regular and better plan. Large quarters were assigned to them for their daily exercise. The Topge-Bashe, or commander of the corps, was regularly paid, and received the honours of the tail: a Nazir (or intendant), with a Kiatib (or commissary), were added to their establishment. New regiments were raised, with proper officers and fusileers, and the uniforms of the officers and men were furnished by government, and were different from each other. A commandant, an assistant, eight cannoniers, and ten fusileers, belonged to each cannon. In firing, the captain of the gun stood with four topges on the right, the lieutenant with four on the left, and five fusileers were placed on either side of the cannon. Every day, excepting Tuesdays and Wednesdays, they were exercised by five regiments at a time; and the artillery was practised with shot in the valley of Sweet Waters. The exercise with the unloaded cannon took place on each holiday in the barracks. Surgeons were added to the corps. The guns themselves, of every class, were improved, and cast on a new model. They were allotted separately by distinguishing marks to their different regiments; and the whole service was so contrived, that three days were sufficient to prepare any portion of the artillery for immediate activity†.

* The details in the treatise are much more minute than those given above, which contain rather the spirit of the regulations than the regulations themselves.

† Mahmoud Rayf concludes the regulations for the Topges with the follow-

The Arabdges, or troops of the waggon-train, were also reformed. The Bashe was allowed a regular salary, and the same distinction as the commander of the Topges; whilst new regiments of men and officers, paid and clothed by the government, were enrolled in the former corps, and attached to the cannoniers, with whom they always exercised. To every gun-carriage were assigned one officer and five privates; and to every tumbril the same number. Barracks were built for them near those of the Topges, with shops and stables, the repairs of which were superintended by the principal officers in quarters. They had a body of carpenters, smiths, sadlers, and farriers, besides a mounted corps, with a commandant and subalterns, for dragging the cannons, which were under the same regulation as the Arabdges, and were taught to act on foot with the cannoniers. The tumbril followed the gun, with five privates and an officer, who learnt to halt at a word. On the march provisions were regulated by a commissary.

An important officer of state was named (not by rotation as before, but for a permanency) Inspector of the powder magazines. Formerly not half of the three thousand quintals of powder which should have been furnished by the three manufactories of Constantinople, Gallipoli, and Salonica, were supplied by those establishments, and the quality had been daily deteriorating in such a proportion, that it was unfit for any purpose but saluting; so that although Turkey produces saltpetre in abundance, the powder used for service was purchased from the Franks at sixty and seventy piasters the quintal. The price of this article was there-

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ing encomium: *Les Reglemens de Sultan Selim III. pour le Corps des Toptchys sont d'une sagesse consommée.* Page 24.

fore doubled, and expert artisans were hired for the construction of mills as well as for the service of the manufactories. The magazines of Constantinople were repaired and augmented, and a large similar construction was built at Kutchuk-Chemedge, near the capital. The salaries of the workmen were tripled, and foreigners were paid from five hundred to a thousand piasters a month; and that the necessities of the state might not impoverish the subject, wood and all other articles were bought at the current price. Ten thousand quintals of powder, eight times stronger than that of the ancient manufacture, were soon furnished by the new mills; and if this quantity had not been sufficient, the supply might have been increased to thirty or forty thousand quintals.

The Bombadiers, anciently furnished from the Ziameths and Timars, or military fiefs, underwent a total change by the new regulations. They were all to have a fixed pay. A noble barrack, containing a refectory, a mathematical school, a foundery, workshops, magazines, and a mosck, was built for them at the lower end of the harbour, below the arsenal. An inspector, taken from the great officers of state, and the Reis-Effendi, were charged with their superintendance; and they were under the orders of a commandant, an intendant, and a commissary. Ten bombadiers, five cadets, and one lieutenant, were allotted to each mortar: five mortars made a company, and were under the command of a lieutenant-in-chief: fifteen mortars composed a brigade, and the brigades were known by separate marks. The lieutenants and cadets wore uniforms different from those of the men, and the whole corps was to be distinguished from the Miners by a red ribbon in the turban. They were ordered to exercise every day during summer at the barracks, and study at the mathematical



THE NEW BARRACKS OF THE BOMBARDIERS & MINERS.

London, Published by James Cawthorn, Cockspur Street, 1813.

school; and finally, the commissary of the body was obliged to read aloud all the regulations, both old and new, at the barracks every month.

The Miners, a corps much neglected, were increased, and attached by the new constitution to the Bombadiers, in whose barracks they occupied two sets of quarters. They were divided into two classes; one of which studied the art of mining, whilst the others applied themselves to every branch of military architecture, and might more properly have been called engineers. They were governed by a Bashe and an Intendant; and were instructed by the professors and assistants of the mathematical school, who were directed to write instructive treatises. The miners furnished by the old system, that is, those who were possessed of military fiefs, and the cadets raised by the new constitution, employed themselves daily (excepting on Tuesdays and Fridays) in drawing plans and designing models in wood and plaster, the most ingenious and best constructed of which were presented to the Grand Vizier. In summer they were exercised in exploding real mines, and in laying out intrenchments and camps. Once in every six weeks they underwent a general examination, of which an exact report was presented to the Grand Vizier; and each month the secretary recited the regulations in presence of the students, subjoining an exhortation to strict duty and good conduct.

The marine was put under the superintendance of a ministry, formed on the plan of the European admiralties; and the official details, which had been formerly entrusted to the Capudan-Pasha alone, were conducted by the Ters-Hane Emini and his assistant officers. The command of vessels had usually been set up to sale; but Hussein-Pasha undertook the examination of the can-

didates; and retaining such only as were fit for the service, placed the unemployed on a list, to be elected in rotation to the vacant ships, and to attend in the mean time to the fleet in harbour. The pay of the captains was increased, and the invalids were allowed a permanent provision. None of them were either degraded or punished without being found guilty of a capital crime. The officers of each ship were ordered to be in active employ during summer and winter, and their pay to be according to their rank, their rank according to their merit. A Captain of the Port was chosen from the active commanders; and it was required of him that he should be thoroughly acquainted with the regulations of the Admiralty, and know how to write and read. The same officer was, together with the Captain, furnished with an account of the ammunition, stores, and the whole outfit of each man-of-war. He was assisted by an intendant in victualling and refitting the fleet; and all embezzlement was punished with adequate severity. For the same end, the sails, cables, and every article of each vessel, were distinguished by a particular mark. The stores were no longer bought at a fixed low price, but according to their current value by the intendant, whose purchases and accounts were inspected by the Captain of the Port and the Commissioners of the Admiralty. Five hundred carpenters, one hundred and fifty borers, and forty apprentices, retained at the former salary of twelve paras a day, and payed monthly, were raised and attached to the fleet; and a certain portion of them were distributed into the ships during the summer cruise, whilst the remainder were reviewed daily, and exercised at the arsenal. To these were added two hundred Egyptian calkers, fed and clothed at the expence of the state, and lodged in barracks behind the admiralty. The ships

were formed on a plan entirely new, and so strongly as to keep the sea four years without material repair: they were coppered; and the powder-barrels were also changed for large copper canisters. Instead of the thirty or forty fires which were formerly seen in a ship of the line, one large furnace was provided for cooking the provisions of the crew, who were no longer served with six months' provisions individually, and allowed their Maltese slaves for attendants, but received a breakfast of olive salad, and a ration of pilaf on Fridays and Mondays, and of soups on other days, from the ship's store.

Dry docks, calking basins, a harbour for fifty new gun-boats, and all the necessary appurtenances of a great arsenal, were built at the edge of the water at Ters-hane, and designs for similar contrivances were to be applied to the other principal harbours of the empire. A line-of-battle ship of three decks, a frigate, a corvette, and a brig, all copper-bottomed, were launched in one day during the year 1797, from the docks of Ters-Hane. It was provided that two ships should perform their manœuvres once a year in front of Beshik-Tash, or Ain-Alay-Kavak, in presence of the Sultan, who was to distribute rewards to the most expert of the officers and the crew; and it was also enjoined that the grandees of the court engaged in commerce, should purchase foreign-built merchantmen capable of standing the sea at all seasons of the year, and accordingly of instructing the Turkish sailors in the more difficult branches of practical navigation. An academy was built at the arsenal for the education of cadets, who were furnished with competent professors, and were divided into two classes, the one being instructed in naval architecture, and the other in navigation. This, and every other department of the marine, were confided

to the superintendance of Messrs. Rhodes and Benoit, the gentlemen before mentioned in these Letters.

In addition to these institutions for the formation of the new troops and their attached corps, and the improvement of the Ottoman navies, a general regulation provided, that the Janissaries, amounting it was supposed to 400,000 men, should be exercised in the use of the musket, with their Sakas and other assistants, by four regiments at a time, twice in every week, from the 4th of May to the 6th of November, and as often in winter as the weather would permit. Once a year they were to march either to the downs of Daout-Pasha, three miles from the capital, or to the valley of Sweet Waters, to be reviewed by the Sultan in person. The Gebeges, a sort of veteran battalion, for the guard of the depôts, being more in number than sufficient for that purpose, were to be exercised and reviewed with the Janissaries. Lastly, for victualling the armies, magazines were constructed on the Danube, and other points near the seat of war, and a sum of 12,500,000 piasters was appropriated for purchasing grain at the current price, and not at that fixed by the laws of the Miri, or Imperial Treasury, for the supply of the capital. The office of this department was built of stone in the first court of the Seraglio, and the management of it was assigned to a minister adequately remunerated, and supplied with assistants.

In order to provide for the increased disbursements of the public exchequer, it was found expedient to create a new revenue, as well as to appropriate a portion of the former income of the state exclusively to the purposes of the recent institution. To this end a treasury was formed, under the controul of a great state officer, chosen from amongst the chief men of the empire, with the title

of Treasurer of the New Bank (Iradi Djedid Tefterdary), and Inspector of the New Troops (Ta-alimlu Asker Naziry). To increase his emoluments, the office of Second Minister of the Finances, which had always been held by a person of importance, and conferred the honours of a seat in the Divan next to the Chief Treasurer, of a scarlet pelisse, and of a led horse, was incorporated with the new place in the person of this Minister, to whom a sufficient number of secretaries and other official assistants, all of them enjoying honourable appointments, were assigned.

The revenues of the new treasury arose from a sale by auction of the tenths belonging to the Malikiane, (or fiefs held possessively), under the annual value of fifteen thousand piasters, upon the death of the respective proprietors by whom they were farmed, and by an absolute appropriation of the tenths above that value, to be managed according to circumstances, for the benefit of the new bank. The duties on the merchandise of Constantinople, and on the tobaccos throughout the empire, instead of being let out as formerly, flowed immediately into the treasury, and caused at once a considerable augmentation of revenue. The military fiefs (Ziameths and Timars) in the hands of unserviceable owners, were confiscated, an estimation being made according to the census of these proprietaries collected in 1790; and a rule was established for filling up all future vacancies, by cadets capable of actual service in the cavalry of the Ottoman armies. The fiefs originally granted for the equipment of the ancient marine, were applied to the benefit of the new bank. The new taxes were a duty of two paras an oke on wine, and four on spirits for sale, levied on all Christian subjects, and of one para a head on sheep and goats. The tax on cotton, which was formerly an asper on every oke, and

was farmed, was raised to one para for the raw material, and two paras for the thread, and was paid into the treasury. Gall-nuts were also taxed at one para, and currants at two paras an oke; and the revenues of the new bank amounted in the year 1798 to 32,250,000 piasters.

Such is the general outline of the Nizam-Djedid. It would require a whole volume, says Mahmoud Rayf, to enter into the detail of all the statutes which have been enacted relative to the different branches of the public revenue; *but although a few only have been cited, this sample will make known the wisdom of the august sovereign to whom we are indebted for their institution; just as a single drop of water is sufficient to indicate the existence of the river from which it flows**.—It is not to be supposed that the designs of the Sultan were seconded by the vigour and alacrity of his subjects in every article of the intended reform. Mr. Browne reports, that when he visited the mathematical schools of the arsenal, there was a want of nothing but books and instruments, and that the professors met together to smoke; and yet Dr. Pouqueville speaks favourably of the performance at the Academy of Design, directed by Mons. Ricard, a French gentleman of Toulon, who taught a number of young Turks to draw charts and to engrave on copper, and had formed an incipient collection of some valuable materials relative to Asia Minor, and the countries on the borders of the Black Sea. The grand object, the raising and the discipline of the Bostandge Fusileers, proceeded with rapidity, although the number enrolled did not amount to more than twelve thousand, and was not sufficient to occupy one-fourth of the barracks designed for their reception. The Topges

* Tableau des Nouveaux Reglemens, p. 59.

evinced by their speedy improvement the efficacy of their recent instruction.

Selim, however, had been thrown upon evil times; and being the successor of a monarch who, during his feeble reign of thirteen years, had lost the Crimea, part of Bosnia, Sebatz and Cotzin, had to struggle against the misfortunes which usually forerun and prognosticate the fall of an empire. The rebellions of the provinces (which had been frequent since the reign of Mahomet the Third, when Carsan of Caramania raised the standard of revolt), were multiplied in his reign; and in the year 1797, Ali of Albania, Passawand Oglou of Widin, Mustapha of Mecca, and the Pashas of Damascus and Bagdad, held their governments in open opposition to the Porte. Arabia was desolated by the Wahaubees; Roumelia overrun with brigands. The convulsions of France were destined to shake the earth from the banks of the Seine to the borders of the Red Sea; and the dominion of the Great Nation was to be augmented by the dismemberment of the Turkish provinces. The capital trembled at the Syrian victories of Bonaparte; and at the moment of indecision, when it was doubted whether war should be declared against France, and the Mufti refused to issue his *fetwa*, the discontents of the people were declared by repeated conflagrations, and Selim tottered on his throne. The passage of the Russians from the Black Sea through the straits, and the anchoring of a Christian fleet under the walls of the Seraglio, were no less an object of horror than the fall of Egypt, and the Sultan was endangered equally by his allies and by his enemies*. The

* Admiral Utschakow passed with his squadron, and war was declared against France, on the 10th of September, 1798. Mehemed Ised Pasha, Grand Vizier, as well as the Mufti, who refused to sign the declaration, was banished.

exploits of Nelson and Abercromby recovered the Turks from the defeats of Gaza, Jaffa and Acre, of Aboukir and Heliopolis; but the triumphant return of their Christian allies from Corfu, and the second display of the Russian standard under the walls of the capital, renewed their jealousies and discords, which burst forth in the assassinations at Galata, and the disturbances (before related) in the Suleymanie. The proceedings of the Sultan on these melancholy occasions, and the public punishment of the delinquents, at the same time that they exasperated his subjects, might have failed to appease the cabinet of St. Petersburgh, had not a new turn been given to the politics of that court, and the face of Europe been changed by the death of the Emperor Paul*.

* Dr. Pouqueville, who was at Constantinople when the affair occurred, relates, that the Dragomans of the insulted nations were solemnly convoked, and that four of the offenders concerned in attacking Mr. De Tamara and his company in the mosck, were in their presence strangled, whilst thirty were severely bastinadoed (Voyage a Constantinople, p. 186). Mons. Beauvoisins, who was confined in the Seven Towers with Dr. Pouqueville, mentions, as has been before related, that two were hanged (Notice sur la Cour du Grand Seigneur, p. 80), which I believe to be the actual number. But the effect produced on the Turks was equally prejudicial to the popularity of the Sultan; and it is certain, that when the two Greeks supposed to have been concerned in shooting the Russian officers at Galata, were hanged, their bodies were taken from the gallows, and followed to the grave by a large body of Mussulmans, and even some Chiauses attached to the arsenal—"an unheard-of honour, when paid to the corpse of an Infidel, a dog, a Giaour." *Voir des Mussulmans derierè le convoi d'un infidèle, d'un chien, d'un dgiaour, est une chose inouie! Je garantis positivement ce fait, que ne serait pas croyable si je n'eusse été sur les lieux, et si des témoins oculaires n'eussent à l'instant attesté son authenticité.*—Notice sur la Cour du Grand Seigneur, p. 84.

That event, and the subsequent general peace, quieted the apprehensions which had been entertained from the external enemies of the Porte; but the recommencement of hostilities renewed the distresses of the empire, and it soon appeared that the two great belligerent powers were determined upon involving the Sultan in a war, whose features and general character were totally different from any contest in which Europe had hitherto been embroiled, and whose principle was, indeed, too universal to admit of the neutrality of any considerable independent state in any quarter of the globe. The intrigues which had before disturbed the civilized courts of the continent, were transferred to the palace of the Reis-Effendi, and the Porte was for more than two years distracted between allies, two of whom pleaded in union their recent services, whilst the other advanced his existing preponderance: Russia and England were to try their strength against France in the Divan; and the Sultan was the sad spectator of a contest of which he was himself the unwilling umpire, the ostensible object, and the proposed prey. The victory of either party alike menaced him with ruin: he had to choose between the armies of France and the fleets of England. When the French Ambassador General Sebastiani, and the successes of Austerlitz, had destroyed the former equilibrium, and were found an over-match for Prince Italinski and Mr. Pole*, one of the threatened alternatives was at once brought into view: the Porte was then informed, *that the armies*

* A severe domestic calamity had rendered the Ambassador Mr. Arbuthnot, incapable of attending to his official duties, and the relations between Great Britain and the Porte were carried on by the Secretary of Legation, Mr. Long W. Pole.

*and fleets of the allies were to receive a new impulse**. The new impulse was the advance of the Russians in Moldavia, and the appearance of a British squadron at Constantinople. The war with Russia commenced: the distress of the Sultan was daily increased; and notwithstanding his affection for his favourite Sebastiani, he would willingly have retained the friendship of his other ancient allies. He had not, however, the choice of impartiality, and was not even to continue his attentions to the French Ambassador, the unprecedented honours paid to whom, was one of the particular grievances of which the English Plenipotentiary thought himself obliged personally to complain, as well as of the disgrace of those Turkish ministers who had been concerned in forwarding the triple alliance between England, Russia, and the Porte†.

Never was sovereign so situated between two negotiators, one armed with the power of the land, the other with that of the sea; both, to all appearance, able to destroy, but neither capable of protecting him against his antagonist. The precipitate flight of the British Ambassador had scarcely relieved him from the embarrassment of making a selection between one of the menacing parties, when his capital was alarmed for the first time by the

* Papers presented by His Majesty's command to the House of Commons, pursuant to their address of the 16th of March, 1808. Note from the Right Hon. Charles Arbuthnot to the Reis-Effendi, dated Buyuk-dere, 28th August, 1806.

† See the same note to the Reis-Effendi, in which his Excellency Mr. Arbuthnot notices these points; but with the introduction of *I will omit to mention*, &c. and an avowal that he did not wish to interfere in the internal administration of affairs. Such forms of rhetoric are, I presume, fully understood by diplomatists as well as common writers.

presence of a hostile force, and the last of calamities seemed reserved for the reign of Selim.

The good fortune which interposed to save the seat of empire was not extended to the sovereign, and the evils which were inevitable from the triumph of either power, gathered fast around him, even from the day which saw the city of the Faithful delivered from the insults of a Christian flag. The success which freed his subjects from their fears dissolved also their union. The discontented of the capital began to murmur at a monarch whose reign had been a tissue of misfortunes, and they found subject for complaint even in the event which had contributed to their preservation. The employment of the Infidels for the protection of the Believers, and their subsequent honours, but above all, the increasing kindness with which the General Sebastiani was received at all hours in the Seraglio, and enjoyed familiar converse with the Sultan himself, became a constant topic of animadversion amongst the Ulema, who connected with this conduct the predilection which Selim had always evinced for the sciences and the arts of the Franks, and construed the whole series of his measures into a systematic attack upon the religion and the fundamental laws of the empire. The Janissaries united with the ministers of the law, and were with facility persuaded that the innovations of the Sultan had been directed principally against themselves. In the formation of the new troops, and all the regulations of the Nizam-Djedid, they felt the decrease, and foresaw the extinction of their influence, and being themselves determined upon revolt, they did not delay to furnish others of the military bodies of Constantinople with a plausible pretext for resisting the Imperial ordinances. They found a chief to encourage and direct their sedi-

tion in the person of Mousa-Pasha, the Caimacam. This man had been for twenty years the sport of the ruling Turks, had repeatedly lost his pashaliks, and been deprived of his honours, and as he had borne all his disgraces with a patient shrug, had acquired a reputation for submissive humility and resignation, which but ill-accorded with the ferocity and turbulence of his natural character. The real sentiments of his ambitious mind, however nicely concealed by the habitual dissimulation of his carriage, were discerned by the penetrating eye of the famous Djezzar Pasha of Acre, who foretold of him that he would be the cause of many troubles. The ministers of the Porte and the Sultan had not the good fortune to make the same discovery, and at the period that some suspicions were entertained that the grandees of the empire might oppose the innovating measures of the cabinet, Mousa was chosen to fill the important post of Caimacam, as a person who, free from ambition, would hazard no intrigue, and would be content with the pageantry without aspiring to the power of his office. Scarcely was he invested with the caftan, when he resolved to pay himself the debt of revenge, and contrived, though without throwing off the mask, to fulfil the prophecy of Djezzar, and to act the most unworthy part in the most disgraceful revolution which has stained the Ottoman annals. Retaining his outward devotion and obedience to Selim, he privately fomented the discontents of the Janissaries, and employed the apprehensions of the one, and the menaces of the other, to destroy such of his fellow ministers as he had long considered the objects of his hate, and had singled out for proscription and punishment.

The first symptom of the general disaffection was displayed amongst the garrisons in the castles and forts of the Bosporus,

the protection of which had not been forgotten, amongst the numerous reforms of the new constitution. The old forts had been much improved, and new defences raised on each side of the canal. The guards at each battery were augmented, and a Nazir with honourable emoluments was appointed to inspect their discipline, besides an officer (On-Bashe) for every ten men, who should attend to the vigilant and regular discharge of their duty. Two sentinels were to watch at each castle during the night, and in the event of any ship attempting to force the passage, *the garrison was by no means to go to sleep*. They were to be employed daily in exercising the artillery, except on holidays, when they were to clean and inspect their guns. They were also to learn the use of the musket, and be manœuvred after the manner of the troops of Levend Tchiftlik*. The garrisons of the canal had always been composed of Bostandges, and notwithstanding the contrivance by which, *in order not to infringe upon the ancient usages of the empire* †, the new troops were attached to their corps, they were not disposed to co-operate with the Sultan, and even the trifling addition to their military duties required of them, seemed an intolerable slavery and violation of their ancient privileges. Infinite pains were employed to reconcile them to exertions which were not to be dropped when there was no instant and visible cause for activity; and it was found more feasible to form a new body of men altogether upon the improved system,

* Nouveaux Reglemens de l'Empire Ottoman, &c. pp. 51, &c.

† *Pour ne point porter atteinte aux anciens usages de l'Empire*, ces nouveaux corps out été réunis a l'ancien corps des Bostandges et ils sont connus sous la denomination de *Bostany Tufenktchissy Odaghy*. Such are the words of Mahmoud Rayf-Effendi.—Reglemens, p. 86.

than to engraft a part of the recent regulations upon any of the corps belonging to the ancient establishment.

A suspicion prevailed that these Bostandges were to be united to the new troops, and it was confirmed by the order for clothing them in the uniform of the Fusileers. On the 25th of May, in the year 1807, in less than three months after the discomfiture of the English fleet, the garrisons burst into open mutiny, and the virtuous Rayf-Effendi* was the first to fall a sacrifice to their fury. On the morning of that day he carried the commands of the Sultan to the castles, and finding the troops not disposed to obey, retreated hastily towards Buyuk-dere. His Excellency Count Ludolf, the Neapolitan minister, from his country-house in that village, saw him pass in a kirlanguish with one attendant, and bowed to him as he rowed along the shore. Not three minutes elapsed before another boat full of armed men pulled swiftly down the bay, and the immediate event was the murder of the obnoxious favourite. The slave threw himself round his master to protect him from the Bostandges, and was instantly cut to pieces, whilst Mahmoud, without resistance, and in silence, fell at the same moment under the sabres of his assassins.

On the same day Halili-Aga, Nazir of Hyssar castle on the Asiatic shore, was also killed; and the report of the insurrection having reached Constantinople, the Sultan, not acquainted with the extent of the mischief, early on the next morning (the 26th) dispatched his commands for allaying the commotion, and punishing the mutineers. These were rejected with disdain, and

* A very tolerable full length picture of Mahmoud Rayf, drawn by W. Miller, and engraved by Sciavonetti, junior, may be found in the print-shops in London.

the insurgents assured of the co-operation of the Janissaries, deserted their respective stations, and assembled to the number of three thousand in the meadows of Buyuk-dere, choosing for their general Katchaya Oglou, one of their own body, and a prominent leader in the revolt. The rebels were now considered to have assumed an appearance sufficiently formidable to justify an offer of negotiation from the Sultan, which was accordingly transmitted from the Seraglio, and met with a rejection as decisive as that which had been given to the preceding orders. Receiving an accession of force from every quarter, they marched directly to the capital. The Janissaries rose on the 27th, and carried their kettles to the Etmeidan, or place of feasting, an open square near the aqueduct of Valens, which is allotted to the distribution of provisions to the soldiers, and has been the immemorial camp of their rebellious predecessors*.

On this decisive signal of revolt, the inclinations of the various orders began gradually to develop themselves, and it soon appeared that the Ulema, if they did not declare against the Sultan, were determined at least to remain neuter in the contest; for the Mufti, as if in concert with the Janissaries, and whilst the melancholy clanking of the kettles in their passage to the Etmeidan still sounded in the streets of Constantinople, issued an edict to the inhabitants of the capital and its neighbourhood, intreating

* The two large copper kettles in which the *tchorba* or soup of each oda is cooked, are placed in front of the respective tents of the chamber to which they belong. They are carried between two men on a pole, preceded by two other soldiers of the oda, one of whom bears a long skimmer, and the other a ladle; and as they pass along the streets, the Janissaries rise and make a reverent obeisance to the procession. The cook of each oda is a person of some importance, being a sort of provost-marshal or gaoler, and the Tchorbaji or Colonel, derives his name from the inspection of the rations.

them to take no part in the disturbance, to furnish the daily supply of provisions for the markets, and to consider the contest as a struggle in which they were totally unconcerned. The Franks of Pera were also exhorted to remain tranquil, and to feel assured that their lives and properties would be secure under every event.

The Sultan was now awakened to the sense of his danger: he assembled his ministers at the Seraglio, and the 28th of the month was passed in negotiation with the insurgents in the Etmeidan. During that day the fate of Selim was on the balance: he transmitted to the Etmeidan an offer to abolish the new institutions; to which the Janissaries returned no other answer than a demand for the immediate execution of all the ministers who had advised and presided over the Nizam-Djedid. Then it was that the Caimacam insidiously assured him, that the sacrifice was necessary, and would appease the rebels. All was not yet lost—if at that moment the gates of the Seraglio had been shut, a cannon had been fired, and the head of Mousa Pasha himself had been struck off and thrown over the walls, Selim would have triumphed, and retained the throne of his ancestors. But the instant peril, and the presence of his enemies, bewildered the faculties, and so absorbed the resolution of the Sultan, that he seems to have despaired of resistance, and to have placed all hopes of safety in submission alone. It was not suggested to his mind, that with the new troops of Scutari and Tchiftlik, and other soldiers in the vicinity of the capital, he might speedily assemble thirty thousand men, no less devoted to himself than inimical to the Janissaries, and that until their arrival he could maintain the Seraglio against the rebels, by arraying the forces of his numerous body guard. Yet the testimony of all the reports prevalent at this

day in Constantinople, concurs in the persuasion that such an opposition, with the instant death of the Caimacam, would have dismayed the insurgents and crushed the rebellion. But the traitor prevailed, and with a cruel ingenuity, contrived to include in the proscription, the names of two old and innocent men, the Kehayah Bey and Reis-Effendi, who were called to a conference with Mousa, and on leaving the room, unsuspicious of their danger, were carried away to the second gate, and strangled. The number of heads presented to the Janissaries early on the morning of the 29th, was seven; but the ruffians rising in their insolence, were not satisfied with the bloody offering, and recognizing the aged victims of the resentment of Mousa, declared that they had required another sacrifice. "*The heads were not those of the enemies whose punishment they had demanded.*" The Sultan hearing this last intelligence, sent for the Mufti, and on learning that he withheld his advice, found that he had ceased to reign.

The Janissaries, headed by the traitor Mousa, had already found their way into the Seraglio, when the Sultan retired to the mosck of the palace, and wrapping himself in the robe of Mahohomet, took his seat in the corner of the sanctuary. Here he was found by the Mufti, who intreated him to submit to the wishes of the people, and to resign his crown. Another report says, that previously to this moment, he had told his attendants that he would reign no more, and ordered them to bring his successor before him. The circumstances of his actual deposition were not exactly known; but on the evening of the same day (the 29th) it was understood in all the quarters of the capital, that Selim, the most injured if not the best of the Ottomans, had stept from a throne to a prison, and that the reigning monarch

was his cousin Mustapha the Fourth, eldest son of Sultan Abdulhamid.

This prince, when he was drawn from the luxurious obscurity of his harem to gird on the sword of Mahomet, was thirty years old; but not being possessed of a capacity sufficient to supply the defects of his education, the maturity of his age did not qualify him for the throne which he had been compelled so unexpectedly to usurp. From his advancement to the empire, he appeared the servant rather than the master of the armed multitude to whom he was indebted for his elevation; and the period of his short reign is not marked by any act of the sovereign, but only by the successes and defeats of the various individuals and parties of his subjects, in their continued struggle for predominance.—The beginning and the close, are the only transactions of his reign in which he himself may be said to have played any part. The Janisaries were in possession of the sceptre, and their enemies fell by the sword or the bow-string. The new institutions were abolished; and the new troops, after the excecution of their principal officers, dispersed.—Their triumph was but of a short duration; and the lawless exercise of their usurped authority filled the capital with complaints, and spread from the centre to the farthest provinces of the empire. It was in vain to hope for a suppression of their insolence from the feeble and intimidated Sultan; but the ambition of a daring subject effected that which should have been accomplished by the virtue of the sovereign.

Mustapha, Pasha of Rudshuk, retained in the surname of Bairactar *(the Ensign)* a memorial of the humble rank which he had originally held in the Turkish armies, and carried about him, affixed, as it were, to his person, a visible instance of that exalta-

tion of merit of which the Turkish history can furnish so many and such extraordinary examples. He was rude and illiterate, but of a vigorous genius, which supplied the expedients as well as the suggestions of ambition, and rising with every exigency, proved equal to the accomplishment no less than the creation of the most daring projects. His rise was as rapid as his endeavours were unremitting; and after repeatedly distinguishing himself in the armies of the empire, he attracted the notice of Selim, and was honoured with a pashalik.

It was the boast of Bairactar, that he owed his advance to the personal regard of the Sultan, and his subsequent conduct evinced that he respected Selim as his patron and his friend; but he was averse to the innovations of his master, and either from a suspected attachment to the Janissaries, or a confidence in his military prowess, was dismissed to the command of a body of forces on the frontier, and to the distant government of Rudshuk. From the moment he was informed of the deposition of Selim, it appears that he contemplated the bold design of seizing upon the government; and convinced of the pernicious measures of the Janissaries, or seeing no other way of raising himself than by depressing that lawless body, determined upon opposing the hardy troops of the provinces to the enervated militia of Constantinople.

So early as the October of the same year in which Selim had been dethroned, Bairactar dispatched to the Sultan a formal notice, that he should advance to the capital to reform the abuses of the state, and assist him in the administration of public affairs. Accordingly, he collected a force of nearly forty thousand men, composed chiefly of Albanians from the garrisons of Roumelia, and marching to Constantinople about the end of the year, encamped on the plains of Daout-Pasha, four miles from the walls

of the city. His arrival was the signal of submission. He convoked the chief men of the empire, and depositing the banner of Mahomet, which he had unfurled to give a sanction and support to his enterprise, made them swear to the gradual abolition of the Janissaries, and a restoration of the good order and tranquillity of the state. The Sultan was an unnoticed spectator of the arrangement: even the semblance of power was transferred from the Seraglio to the camp at Daout-Pasha; for the ministers of the Porte, and the missions of Pera, directed their visits of ceremony to the tent of the triumphant general, who, without any acknowledged title or specific office, was thus for several months in full possession of the Imperial power. But the Pasha, aware that the Mussulmans, accustomed to revere the representative of their prophet, might experience a renewal of favour for their degraded sovereign, resolved upon the elevation of a Sultan, who, in return for the crown, might render his authority legitimate, and give a sanction to his ambition.

The 28th of July, of the year 1808, was fixed upon by Mustapha for a hunting expedition to the forests of Belgrade, and it was determined by Bairactar to enter the Seraglio on the same day, during the absence of the Grand Signior, and preventing his return to the palace, finally to exclude him from the throne. Selim was yet alive in those apartments of the Seraglio which the crimes and misfortunes of the Ottomans have set apart for the confinement of their dethroned princes, and it was the preservation of the Sultan whom he resolved to restore, that prompted him to attempt by stratagem that which he might have accomplished by force. Unfortunately the secret of his intention was not confined to his own breast, but was entrusted to several of the ministers of the Divan, and the Grand Vizier, though a friend, was suspected

to have betrayed him to the Sultan; for on the appointed day, when Bairactar marched into the city, he found the gates of the Seraglio closed, the pages and body guard under arms, and every preparation for a determined resistance.

The victorious rebel disappointed, but not intimidated, gave orders for an immediate assault. The contest lasted only a short time, but the interval was fatal to Selim. On the sound of the first shot, the emissaries of the Sultan were dispatched to his apartments, where they found, as is reported, the dethroned monarch at his devotions, and attempted to surprize him whilst in the attitude of prayer. He discerned their purpose, and before the bow-string could be fitted to his neck, wounded one of the mutes with his hangiar, but being thrown upon his back, was overpowered, and instantly strangled.

From the murder of Selim the executioners proceeded to the apartments of Mahmoud, the youngest son of Abdulhamid, and the only remaining prince of the blood royal. There was still some hope for the Sultan in the eventual death of his brother. Selim was no more; the rebels, the audacious Bairactar himself, would respect the last of the Ottoman race. The mutes rushed into the chamber of the confined prince; but Mahmoud was no where to be found: the fond fidelity of a slave had concealed him in the furnace of a bath. The feeble contest continued under the walls, and the assailants thundered at the gates, whilst the search for the prince was prosecuted with redoubled eagerness and anxiety. The place of his concealment had alone escaped the scrutiny, and the fate of the monarchy depended upon whether or not the gates should be forced before the royal prisoner was discovered. What must have been the feelings of Mahmoud, what the sensations of his faithful slave, when the shouts of the Albanians proclaimed that Bairactar

had burst his way into the Seraglio? The insurgents rushed to the interior of the palace, headed by their leader, and by the intrepid Seid Ali, the Capudan-Pasha. Advancing to the third gate, they called aloud for the instant appearance of Selim, and the eunuchs of Mustapha casting the body of the murdered monarch before them, exclaimed, *Behold the Sultan whom ye seek!* Bairactar, overpowered at the sight, threw himself on the corpse of his murdered benefactor, and wept bitterly; but being roused by the exhortation of Seid Ali, who told him that this was not the time for grief but for revenge, proceeded hastily to the presence-chamber. Mustapha never shewed himself worthy of his crown until the moment when he was compelled to resign it. He did not despair of awing the rebels into submission by the Ottoman majesty: at least he was determined to fall with dignity, and on the entrance of Bairactar, was found seated upon his throne in his usual state, and surrounded by the officers of the Imperial household. The indignant chief was not moved by the august spectacle, but advancing towards the Sultan, drew him from his seat, saying to him in a bold and angry tone, WHAT DOST THOU THERE? YIELD THAT PLACE TO A WORTHIER!

The account of the conduct of the Sultan is variously related in the different reports of this last transaction of his reign; but whatever was the measure of his resistance, it proved ineffectual; for on the same night the cannon of the Seraglio announced to the people the dethronement of Mustapha the Fourth, and the elevation of Mahmoud the Second.

The first act of the new reign was the instalment of Bairactar in the post to which he had aspired, and which, at the hands of Mahmoud at least, he well deserved. No sooner was the seal of the empire committed to his charge, than the Vizier com-

menced his projected reform with the punishment of those who had been concerned in the first revolution, and the deposition of Selim. The traitor Mousa Pasha lost his head. The officers of the castles on the Bosporus, who had led the insurgents at Buyukdere, the most seditious of the Janissaries, and all those of the household who had opposed the deposition of Mustapha, were arrested and strangled. The last Vizier Azem was dismissed to the government of Ismael, to which place many others of the ministers, suspected rather than guilty of disinclination to the late transaction, were also banished. The savage order which destroyed the females of the harem near the shores of Prince's islands, was then issued and executed; and other acts of a complexion less inhuman, but equally decisive, convinced the inhabitants of the capital that the new minister was not to be deterred from the adoption of such measures as appeared to him calculated to restore the ancient vigour of the Turkish power.

The Vizier openly avowed his resolution of abolishing the Janissaries, or at least of reforming their system, and retrenching upon their privileges. He refused the disbursement of pay to any of the corps, except such as were in service, and performing either the duty of the internal police, or of an actual campaign against the enemy. The disorder and presumption which had so frequently disturbed the tranquillity of the capital, were entirely suppressed. Constantinople and its suburbs were protected by the presence of the provincial troops, and the peace and good order preserved by the Albanians of Bairactar, are still remembered with admiration and regret by the citizens of every denomination. Mahmoud was unable to oppose, and it may be thought that he approved the measures of his minister. It was natural that the

Janissaries should be the objects of his terror and his hate, and that he should be no unwilling instrument in the hands of the Vizier in promulgating the repeated acts by which their character was degraded and their influence undermined.

To restore the new troops of Sultan Selim, was thought too hardy and perilous an adventure, and by one of those errors which generally attend every temporising and middle system, it was judged more expedient to revive the military body of the Seimens, who might supply the place and be regulated according to the discipline of the former Fusileers. The name, however, of the re-established corps was more odious to the Janissaries than even that of Selim's soldiery, as belonging to an institution more ancient than their own; and they were only the more resolved to ruin the author of the innovation. Their actual subjection, and their fear of the provincial forces, no less than the complete dissimulation which it is a part of Turkish capacity at any time to command, contributed to favour their projects of revenge, and to deceive the confident Bairactar, who fell into the usual error of prosperity, and began to despise the enemy whom he had irreconcileably injured. He even seems to have felt some compunction for the depression and disgrace of the ancient soldiery of the empire, to whom it owed all its former glory, and amongst whom he himself had commenced his military career.

Being persuaded that they had submitted and were reconciled to his administration, he relaxed the severity of his proceedings against them, and between the hope of making use of them as friends, and the contempt of their resistance as enemies, came at last to the fatal resolution of breaking up the camp at Daout-Pasha, and dismissing the greater part of the provincial forces.

Previously to their departure, he resolved to confirm the union which he fondly hoped had by his efforts been formed between the two contending parties, the Janissaries and the other military bodies of the empire; and for this purpose the valley of Sweet Waters was chosen for the scene of an imposing ceremony, in which the oblivion of all former enmities, and the peace of the empire, were to be solemnly proclaimed and finally ratified in the face of the Ottoman nation. The plain of Kiat-Hane was lined on each side with tents, and preparations for a repast were spread under the long avenues on the banks of the Barbysses. The camp of Daout-Pasha and the barracks of the Etmeidan were emptied of their troops, and fifty thousand soldiers gallantly equipped and in arms, assembled at the feast. Bairactar himself, surrounded by the ministers of state and the chief Pashas of either army, presided at a feast, of which, whether we consider the importance of the object, the number and character of the guests, or the circumstances of the occasion that called them to the same table, there is not, I believe, any parallel in the history of the world. It is not the least astonishing part of the event, that the half of a vast multitude chosen from the lowest class, should, in any nation, be found capable of smothering their emotions, and of concealing from their companions, through a long series of artifices and professions, the real state of their feelings, and the nature of their designs.

At the conclusion of the repast the chief officers of the Janissaries, and the generals of the provincial army, at the command of Bairactar, rose from their seats, and unsheathed their sabres: in an instant the plain from the kiosk of Achmet to the Golden Horn flashed with the arms of the intermingled troops, who crossed

their swords, and swore on them and by the name of the prophet, an eternal fidelity to each other, and a steady allegiance to the new constitution.

The Albanians began their march on the succeeding morning, and the number of soldiers attached to the Vizier who still remained in the capital, amounted only to four thousand; but Cadi-Pasha, the friend and associate of Bairactar, with eight thousand Asiatics, was encamped on the heights and in the barracks of Scutari.

Two days after the feast at Sweet Waters, on the 14th of November, 1808, after the passevend had commenced their nightly rounds, a large body of the Janissaries issued from their quarters, and surrounding the palace of the Porte, at that time the habitation of the Vizier and the ministers, immediately set fire to the building. Bairactar and his friends, on the discovery of the assault, contrived to escape and shelter themselves in Barut-Hane, a small powder magazine of stone; but those who were unable to fly, were either destroyed by the assailants, or consumed in the conflagration. The Janissaries rushed to the other dwellings in which their enemies were lodged, and laid the vicinity of the Porte in ashes. Barut-Hane they attacked in vain, but in the middle of the night a tremendous explosion shook all the quarters of the capital, and it was found that the magazine, with the Grand Vizier and his companions, had been blown into the air. Whether this event occurred by accident or design, is at this day unknown, but it decided the issue, although it was far from proving the conclusion of the contest. The Seimens, the armed populace, and the Albanians, who would have rallied under Bairactar and perhaps have overpowered their anta-

gonists, were dispirited by the fatal event; but seeing that they were destined for slaughter, prepared for a determined resistance. The streets of the city during the whole of the 15th were the scene of a continued action, in which the Janissaries were worsted, but the Seimens suffered severely in the loss of the nephew of their late master, a youth of distinguished bravery, whom they had placed at their head. The Janissar-Aga on the same day imprudently made his appearance in the Etmeidan in the turban of the new regulation, and was massacred by his own soldiers, who chose for their general the next in command. The Galiondges of the arsenal, although Seid Ali the Capudan-Pasha had declared against the Janissaries, and the Topges, remained under arms, but took no part in the struggle.

On the 16th Cadi-Pasha passed over from Scutari at the head of his eight thousand troops, and marching through the court of St. Sophia, proceeded to the barracks of the Gebeges, in the vicinity of the mosck, where five hundred of the Janissaries had taken their stand. Cadi surrounding the square, did not attempt to force an entrance, but setting fire to the building, retained his regiments at their stations until the quarters were consumed, and the whole of the five hundred were burnt alive. The Asiatics, leaving the ruins in flames, made no efforts to extinguish the spreading conflagration, but departed in search of their enemies, and filled the streets with carnage. The town was in a blaze from the walls of the Seraglio to the aqueduct of Valens, and a man-of-war, by the order of Seid Ali, continued at the same time to play upon the Janissaries' barracks. The event was doubtful on the night of the 16th, during which the shrieks of the women, the shouts of the soldiers, and the repeated discharges

of fire-arms, declared to the terrified inhabitants of Pera that the sanguinary struggle had not ceased in any quarter of the city. The fire had raged for four and twenty hours, and the artillery of the ship was still beating upon the barracks of the Etmeidan, when, on the ensuing morning, the forces of the arsenal and of Tophana, announced that they had united themselves to the Janissaries, and thus gave the victory to the least deserving of the antagonists.

Until that moment Sultan Mahmoud, having closed the palace gates, awaited within the walls of the Seraglio the event of the contest, but the decision of the seamen and the cannoniers, rendered it necessary for him to consult his own safety by an exertion of the Imperial authority in behalf of the triumphant party. His counsellors, for it is not known that Mahmoud himself gave the order, thought fit to secure him from the victors by the death of the imprisoned Mustapha, who was strangled, and that so secretly, that the circumstances of his execution have never transpired. Having therefore nothing to dread from the former partiality of the Janissaries for his immediate predecessor, and seeing that their cause had been espoused by the most powerful and entire of the remaining military bodies, he dispatched his mandate to the ship to cease the cannonade, and transmitted at the same time to the Janissaries an assurance that the cause of their complaints did no longer exist—*the Seimens were abolished for ever*. No sooner was the resolve of the Sultan made known, than the firing ceased in every part of the city, except where the successful soldiery still vented their rage upon the unresisting populace. Seid Ali and Cadi-Pasha, on seeing their adherents disperse, left the Seraglio point in two wherries, and rowing hastily

up the Bosporus, fled with such speed, that although a corvette weighed anchor and proceeded in pursuit of them in less than three hours after their departure, they effected their escape. The head of Cadi has subsequently been sent to the Seraglio.

The Janissaries were not suddenly appeased by the conciliation of the Sultan, and the submission of their opponents: they employed the 18th of the month in destroying every vestige of the invidious institution. A large body passed over to Scutari, and burnt the magnificent barracks of Sultan Selim on the heights above that suburb; whilst another division marched to Levend Tchiftlik, and commenced an attack on five hundred Seimens, who with equal valour and success maintained themselves against a multitude of assailants, until their quarters were fired, and they perished in the flames. This was their last great massacre, and from this period, although some individual victims were afterwards sacrificed to their resentment, their fury appears to have been gradually allayed.

On the 19th, Mahmoud having issued a proclamation exhorting his subjects to keep the Bairam, which commenced on that day, in peace, they attended tranquilly and in good order the funeral of Mustapha, who was conveyed with much pomp from the Seraglio to the tomb of the Sultan Abdulhamid, his father. The same day the streets were cleansed and cleared of the dead, three thousand of whom were either buried or thrown into the sea. After a long search, the body of their great enemy, of the Vizier himself, was found under the ruins of Barut-Hane.

In an open space near one end of the Hippodrome, there are two trees standing by themselves, and at a little distance apart. Between these, by the feet, and with the head downwards, they suspended the disfigured corpse of Bairactar.

Such was the close of the most sanguinary of the three revolutions which occurred within the short period of eighteen months, and which, after dethroning two monarchs, and spilling the best blood of the empire, terminated in so entire a re-establishment of every former prejudice, that, for the Turks, the last twenty years have passed in vain; or, it may be averred, have produced rather the confirmation of ancient errors, than any of the benefits usually derived from experience. The Janissaries, since the fall of Bairactar, have made no effort to disturb the government; but having borne down all opposition, and not being agitated by any rival power, they cannot be said to have evinced a subordination either meritorious or unexpected.

The election of Yussuf-Pasha, a known enemy of their order, to the Vizierat, was thought an evidence that they had submitted to Mahmoud; yet the general popularity and peculiar situation of this Sultan, who in 1810 was still the last of the Ottoman princes, may well account for their acquiescence in a measure which bespoke no actual hostility, and could not be decidedly injurious to their interests: in fact, Yussuf has since been dismissed. It is reported, that the bow-string thinned their ranks, but no open innovations were attempted during the period of his authority. Of the late military institutions not a vestige remains to excite their apprehensions; for although the Topges retain a portion of that discipline which they learnt from De Tott, they have dropped the new regulations; and their services in the last revolution having produced the union of the two corps, every jealousy has been mutually laid aside. The schools of the arsenal, and the barracks of the bombadiers, are no less deserted than the exercising-grounds of Scutari and Levend Tchiftlik; nor can the pious alarms of the Ulema be now raised by the unhallowed en-

couragement of Christian refinements. The presses of Ters-Hane are without employ; the French language has ceased to be taught in the Seraglio; and the palace of Beshik-Tash is no longer enlivened by the ballets and operas which amused the leisure of the unfortunate Selim.

I have in my own mind long fixed upon this point, for bringing the labours of the writer and the reader to a close; and indeed it is suitable that the observations made on this my journey to the Levant, should terminate with the notice of that which occurred a few days previously to my taking a final leave of the Turkish capital.—The Ambassador had his audience at the Seraglio on the 10th of July: on the evening of the 14th we embarked on board the Salsette, and after touching at the Dardanelles and the island of Zea, where Lord Byron left the frigate on his return to Attica, we arrived on the 28th of the same month at Malta; from which place it may be recollected that the foregoing Tour originally commenced.—Here then I beg leave to conclude, and with the avowal of a sentiment which I should have endeavoured to express in my own language, had I not found it infinitely better turned, and more completely conveyed in the Latin of Ovid

. . . . Veniam pro laude peto: laudatus abunde
non fastiditus si tibi, lector, ero.

APPENDIX.

Inscriptions at Chæronea, given without any emendation, from Meletius, page 341.

Σέξτον Κλαύδιον αὐτόβουλον ὁμώνυμον τῷ Πατρὶ, ἕκτον ἀπὸ Πλουτάρχου, ἀρετην πᾶσαν ἐν βίῳ καὶ λόγοις ἐπιδειξάμενον, ἐν τῇ . . . . Φιλίσοφον ἐτῶν . . . . β΄. ἡ ϖρὸς Μητρὸς Μάμμη Καλλικλέ . . . ι. οἱ Γονεῖς, καὶ αἱ Α'δελφαὶ τῶν ἥρω . . . δη . . . β . δ. . . .

[Εἰς δὲ τὸν Ναὸν τῆς Παναγίας ἐν λίθῳ].

Α"ρχοντος Φιλόξένου, μηνὸς ἀλαλκομενήϑ πεντεκαιδεκάτῃ, ἀλέξων ῥόδωνος ἀνατίθησι τὴν ἰδίαν δούλην Διονυσίαν τὸν τῆ ζῆν χρόνον ἀνάθεσιν ποιούμενος διὰ τοῦ συνεδρίου κατὰ τὸν νόμον.

Α"ρχοντος Καφισίου, μηνὸς Βουκατίου τριακάδι, Κράτων Α'μινίϑ, καὶ Εὐγίτὰν Γκαρέτου, συνευαρεσουντων καὶ τῶν Υἱῶν, ἀνατιθέασι τὸ ϑελικὸν αὐτῶν κοράσιον Σωσίχαν ἱερὸν τῷ Σέραπι παραμίναν. Κράτων καὶ Εὐγιτὰν ἕως ἂν ζῶσιν ἀνενκλήτως τὴν ἀνάθεσιν ποιϑμενοι διὰ τῶν συνεδρίϑ κατὰ την νόμον.

Α"ρχοντος Διοκλέους τοῦ Σιμμίου, μηνὸς Συναομοχώου πεντεκαιδεκάτῃ δεξ . . . . . [τὰ λοιπὰ διεφϑαρμένα].

Α"ρχοντος Πάτρωνος, μηνὸς πααϑανίου, παρόντος αὐτῇ τοῦ ἀνδροχόου σαμίχου τοῦ Φιλοξένϑ, ἀνατίϑησι δῶρον τὰς ἰδίας δούλας Καλλίδα καὶ πυϑινίν . . . . [ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ λίϑῳ εἰσὶ καὶ αλλαι πλεῖσαι, ἀλλὰ διεφϑαρμέναι]. [ἐνἄλλῳ]. Εὐνόμα ἀμφίλυτος Κριτόλα ἀπουϑίας ἀρταμίδιει λειϑίη ενπεδωνος . . . . . ἄρχοντος μηνὸς Θηλϑθίου πεντεκαιδεκάτῃ, παλλὰς Κράτωνος ἀνατίθησιν τὴν ἰδίαν θεράπαιναν Καλλῶ Γερὰν τῇ ἄρτεμι . . . . . καὶ τὰ λοιπά.

[Ἐν ἑτέρῳ λίθῳ]. Κριτόλαος ἀρισίων.

Κάλλις Καλλιπίδας Ἀρταμίδειῖ λειθίῃ. [ἐν ἑτέρῳ.] χαίροις σωτῆρε, καὶ ἐν θνητοῖς ποθητὲ. [ἐν ἑτέρῳ]. εὐχαριστήριον.

[Εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν Παρασκευὴν τῆς Δωριτοῦς, ἐν τῇ πλακὶ τῆς προσκομιδῆς].

Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ Υἱῷ . . . . . Θεοῦ Τραϊανῷ Παρθικῷ Υἱωνῷ, Θεῷ Νερούα ἐγγόνῳ Τίτῳ Αἰλίῳ Ἀδριανῳ ἀντι . . . . ενω ευσεβεῖ σεβαζῷ Ἀρχιερεῖ μεγίζῳ Δημάρχῳ . . . . . σεξου . . . . . ιας τὸ γ˜ Υπάτῳ γ˜ Πατρὶ Πατριᾶς ιγγνπτ.

[Ἐν ἑτέρῳ ἴδωλον ἀνού ἔχοντι καὶ κυνὸς, καὶ ἐπιγραφὴν], πολυξένης. καὶ ἄλλαι οὐκ ὀλίγαι.

The inscription from Stiris is more accurately given in Wheler, book iv. p. 323.

Inscriptions at Orchomenos.

It is mentioned in page 270, that these inscriptions would be here noticed, but they have been inserted in the Appendix to my fellow-traveller's poem, and the stone itself is either on its way to England, or is actually in this country, so that it would be superfluous to give them a place in this work, unless I had it in my power to do that which it appears may be done, and by giving an accurate copy of them, *explain the dialect and restore the metres of Pindar*. See Childe Harold, 2d edit. note at the end.

Inscriptions in the Church of St. George, at Talandios in Bœotia, from Meletius, p. 346.

Α᾽γαθῇ τύχῃ. Ε᾽δοξεν τῇ ἱερᾷ γερουσίᾳ τοῦ σωτῆρος Α᾽σκληπιοῦ ἐν κοινῷ σήλην ἀναγραφῆναι, [ἐν ᾗ σήλῃ ἦναι τὰ ὑπογεγραμμένα]. ἀντὶ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων, ὧν ευ᾽εργετήθη παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ μνήμης ἀγίσης Γ᾽ούλιος Α᾽ρισέας. ἐχαρίσατο διὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῇ γερουσίᾳ χωρίδιον συφλ ..... ριον πουτι πλεισιογείτωνες ἀπὸ μὲν Η᾽οῦς Α᾽υριθάλαμος, καὶ ϖρὸς Νότον Καλλίσης κληρονόμων, ἀπὸ δὲ Α᾽ρκτου ἀυρ .....Θεόδωρος. ἀπὸ Δύσεως οἱ ἀρέσκοντες Ο᾽λμωνίου κληρονόμοι. ἀπὸ δὲ Μεσημβρίας συμ ..... ορος ονιος καὶ οἱ Νικοσράτου κληρονόμοι ἐπὶ τι ..... Φυτεύση τοὺς γερουσίας τὰς καὶ ἀχε ..... αἰώνιον ἀναφέροτον. ὁμοίως ἔδοξεν κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν. καὶ τὰ ἑξης.

Page 377. On re-examination, there is nothing which makes the insertion of this inscription of any purpose, especially as all the inscriptions at Eleusis, as well as at Megara and Ægina, have been copied by Villoison.

Explanation of the Inscriptions from the Panéum at Vary.

At the Landing-place.	*On one side of the loose Stone.*	*On the other side of the loose Stone.*
Αρχεδημος ο	Αρχεδεμος η[ο φερ]	[Αρχε]δαμος η ο φερ
φηραιος, ο νυμ-	αιος και Χολ[λει]	[αιο]ς καπον Νυ[μφ]
φοληπτος φρα-	δες ται[ς] Νυμ[φ]	αις εφυτευσεν
δαισι Νυμφ[ω]ν	[αι]ς οικοδο[μεσε]	
αντρον εξηργ-		
ησατο		

Inscriptiones Antiquæ, Part II. p. 76, Oxon. 1774.

The other words in the inscription do not require any explanation, except the ΑΡΠΟΣ, which Chandler thought part of a word, directing the worshippers where to place the offering.

Page 527. I beg to compare what Belon said of the learning of the Greek monks, with that which Montfaucon advances in his Palæographia, p. 438, on the authority of John Commenus the physician, namely, that in the libraries of Mount Athos were many ancient books, treating of every subject and science, and that at the very time Belon travelled, the monk Mathusalas copied the works of Aristotle for his own use*.

The body of Greek Chemists, composed by the monks and other learned persons of Alexandria, and continued at Constantinople after the taking of the city, is in many of the great libraries of Europe. It is to be found in those of the Vatican, the Escurial, of Milan, Venice, and Paris. The copy in the latter library was compiled by Theodore Pelican, a monk of Corfu, in 1478, and being in modern Greek, is, I should think, as early a specimen of the Romaïc as the translation from Boccacio or the Belisarius. Fabricius, in the eighth chapter of the sixth volume of his Bibliotheca Græca, regrets much that it has not been edited by a person skilled in the language as well as the science.

In this place it may be as well to insert what Cantemir says of the learning of his countrymen:—"We are not to imagine, with the generality of Christians, that Greece is so far sunk in barbarism, as not in these latter ages to have produced men little inferior to the most learned of her ancient sages. To say nothing of times more remote from us, even our days have seen three Patriarchs of eminent reputation for learning; one of Constantinople and two of Jerusalem. He of Constantinople was Callinicus, a very eloquent orator, who, which seldom happens, died in his patriarchate: those of Jerusalem were Dositheus, and his kinsman and successor Chrysanthus, yet, as I hear, alive. For the first, besides other monuments of his

* See l'Academie des Inscript. tom. xxxviii. p. 71.

learning, we have three printed volumes of controversial writings against the Latins. Besides these, there flourished at Constantinople Meletius, Archbishop first of Arta, and afterwards of Athens, a man skilled in all parts of learning, but chiefly studious of those Helmontian principles (or rather those of Thales), which he also explained to me for the space of eight months; Elias Miniati, a sacred monk, a most acute philosopher, and eminent for his knowledge of both dogmatic and scholastic divinity, afterwards Bishop of Messene in Peloponesus; Marcus Larissæus, an excellent grammarian; Metrophanes, a sacred deacon, chiefly studious of poetry, and a happy imitator of the ancients; Licinius, born at Monembasia or Malvasia, philosopher and physician, and both ways eminent. He was chief physician of our court. His skill and experience in the medical art procured him both esteem and authority amongst the Turks. He afterwards left Constantinople, and in his own country was honoured with the title of a Count by the republic of Venice. About a year after he was taken in Monembasia by the Turks, and, as I am informed, publicly hanged in Constantinople for a literary commerce which he had before held with the Venetians. Constantine, son of Ducas, Prince of Moldavia, superior to most in the ancient Greek, and in philosophy a scholar of Spandonius; Andronicus, of the noble race of the Rhangavi, justly praised for his knowledge of the Greek tongue in its purity, and for his reading the Fathers. To these I might justly add, Jeremias Cacavela, a Cretan by birth, a sacred monk, and preacher of the great church at Constantinople, from whom I drew the first precepts of philosophy; Anastatius Condridi, a Corcyrean by birth, preceptor to my sons; as likewise Anastatius Nasius, a Macedonian, a man whose eminent knowledge in Greek rendered him sufficiently known both in England and Germany*."

This is very much in the style of Procopius the Moschopolite's

* Ottoman History, Part I. book iii. p. 92, note 10.

catalogue, and commemorates many of the same men. I conceive Prince Cantemir himself to have been a greater honour to his country than any one of the persons whom he here notices.

Romaïc Pronunciation, page 549 of this volume.

The following is a sketch of what appeared to the disciples of Erasmus the classical pronunciation, and, together with some remarks from other sources, is given from the treatises in the Sylloge of Havercampius; chiefly from that of Mekerchus. The Romaïc pronunciation is put opposite to the letters, in the characters of the English Alphabet.

A = A, sometimes broad and open, sometimes like the *a* in *mate, plate**;

Pronounced always as the Italian A, and the *a* in *vast, past.*

B = V,

Was a labial consonant, like our B, and pronounced as we sound the letters in Βομβεω and Βαμβαινω. It was originally an aspirated P; and the Æolians and Dorians employed it sometimes as a pure or simple aspirate, writing ΒΡΟΔΟΣ for ΡΟΔΟΣ†. The change of the Beta to Veta, originated probably from the necessity of spelling by means of the B, Roman names beginning with a V, which, after the incorporation of Greece in the Roman empire, so frequently recurred, as to induce by degrees an alteration of sound in the original Greek letter. It has before been mentioned, that the Tartars cannot pronounce the B: the early Scythian settlers in Greece may have decided the change in favour of the V. It is evident, that what was

* See Analytical Essay on the Greek Alphabet, p. 21.

† Analytical Essay, &c. pp. 6, 7.

gained by one letter was lost by another, and when the latter Greeks wanted to spell any foreign word containing a B, they had no other way of representing it but by μ and π: thus, Anna Commena writes Robertus, Ρομπαρτος. When this change took place is not exactly known; the similarity between the labial letters may have occasioned an accidental confusion in early periods: thus, *Octavius*, is on some medals Οκταβιος. But long after that period proper names from the Latin were spelt with a B, as is seen in Plutarch, Dion, and other historians, take for example, Βροῦτος, Στράβων, Τιβέριος; and words also from the Latin have the same conformity; *plebis* and *urbano* being spelt, in Theophilus Antecessor. *Institutionib. de Jure. Nat. Gent. et Civil*, πλέβις and ἐρβάνα. Latin words from the Greek prove the same fact: βοω made *boo*, βάρβαρος *barbarus*; not *voo* and *varvarus*. An initial V in Roman names was rendered by ου, as Ὀυαλεριος, Ὀυαλής, Ουιργιλιος, for *Valerius*, *Valens*, and *Virgilius*, as if that diphthong had something of the sound of our W. Modern languages, in some words taken from the Greek and Latin, preserve the sound of B, not V. The German and Dutch "bosch," (a wood) and the French "bois," are evidently from βοσκη; and "blaspheme," is from βλασφημεῖν; as well as the French "embrazer," and English "brazier," from ἐμβράξειν.

The verse of Cratinus,

ὁδ' ηλιθιος ὡσπερ προβατον βῆ βῆ λεγων βαδιζει,

shows the sound of the B to have been not V, but like the first consonant in "bleat," a word itself taken from βλήχειν. It may be said, that the Greeks had not the power of pronouncing our B, and that although *va, va,* was not so like the bleating of a sheep as *ba, ba,* it was the nearest representation of which their alphabet would admit. To which I answer, that as the modern Greeks have in $\mu\pi$, a distinct B, it is nearly a certainty that their ancestors also had that letter, and that the ancient Greeks were supplied with a V, or something very like it, in the sound of their Digamma.

Γ = G, except before ε and ι, when it is *y*, and before γ, κ, χ, ξ, when it has the power of *n*,

Appears to have been pronounced always hard. The *g* in "gref-fier," "graver," and "engraft," shows what it was in γραφειν, the original word. Whether it ever had the sound of *n*, may admit of doubt.

Δ = DTH, or *th* in *that*,

Is like the D in the modern languages of Europe, and not Th as in Romaïc, for the Th is represented by Θ. Dionysius also puts it between the T and Θ.

E = A, as it is sounded in *pate*, or the E as we read it in *Æschylus*.

Similar to the Italian pronunciation, but sometimes like the short I of the Latins; for *Britanni, Domitianus,* and *Capitolium,* are spelt Βρετανοί, Δομετιανός, and Καπετωλιον. There was no difference in the mode of pronouncing the long and short vowels*.

Z = Z,

Seems to have been equivalent to δς soft, as we pronounce zephyr, not to σδ, notwithstanding the assertion of Dionysius in his treatise, περὶ συνθέσεως ὀνομάτων†; for Quintilian (lib. xii.) affirms ζ and ψ to be the most agreeable letters of the Greek alphabet, which will not apply to "*sd.*" *Zoucken* (to seek), *zoomen* (to surround), *zien* (to boil), are evidently from ζητεῖν, ζωννύειν, and ζέειν.

H = E.

The vocular sound in *bread.* Mekerchus instances also *meat, great,* and *heat;* which shows either how liable pronunciation is to

* See Analytical Essay, p. 21, and Plutarch in his treatise concerning the EI at Delphi, and Dionysius. Περὶ συνθέσεως ὀνομάτων.

† Διπλᾶ καὶ λέγεσιν αὐτὰ, ἤτοι διὰ τὸ σύνθητα εἶναι, τὸ μὲν, ζ, διὰ τε, σ, καὶ, δ.—Sect. 14.

change, or that he was not well acquainted with the English. The real sound is decided by Dionysius; and the Erasmians bring a variety of proofs that it was much more open and broad than the Iota: *μηκᾶν*, signifies to bleat like a goat; and *βλήχειν*, to bleat like a sheep; and if the sound is at all preserved, it should be, as before mentioned, a short A. The Irish, in saying Jasus instead of Jesus, have preserved the original sound of ΙΗΣΟΥΣ, a word which is one of Mekerchus's examples.

Θ = TH, in *thing*.

The same as in the Romaïc. The Thocter of the Dutch is evidently from *θυγατηρ*. The English excel in the pronunciation of this letter; and the *th* in their own language, as well as the *sh*, is a simple consonant, and should be marked, says Mr. Tooke, by a single letter*. The Copts, the modern Greeks, and ourselves, have alone preserved the real Θ†.

I = E.

This letter appears to have been pronounced like our E, and by no means like our letter *I*, which is diphthongal. Dionysius calls it the last or the inferior vowel, *ἔσχατον δὲ πάντων τὸ ι·* and Cecilius, *pumilio*, a dwarf. A curious speculation might be instituted respecting the *Ἰωτακισμὸν*, or *πολυΐωτα*, of the modern Greeks, who have resolved the *η*, *υ*, *ει*, *οι*, and *υι*, into this vowel. In Henry Stephen's Apology for the Ancient Pronunciation of the Greek Tongue, there is an example of the effect which might be produced by this confusion of letters—*Μὴ σὺ μὲν ἔιποις μοὶ ὅτι ἡ πόλις ξύμπασα σὴ τοῖς λοιμοῖς φθέιροιτο, ὁιονεὶ ποίμην τοῖς θηρίοις. καὶ γυνὴ σῆ τεθνήκοι ἤδη σοὶ, καὶ τρεῖς υἱοί ὥστε πρὸς την τῶν λοιπῶν σωτηριαν χρῆσθαι δεῖ μετοικήσει ταχιστη*; which, according to the present system, would be, *Mi si*

* Diversions of Purley, Part I. p. 93.

† Analytical Essay, p. 13. I shall take afterwards occasion to notice Mr. Villoison's remarks respecting this letter, as well as some other of his opinions on this subject.

*men ipis mi oti i polis simbasa si tis limis phtirito, ioni pomni tis tiriis: ke yini sou tetniki idi si, ke tris ii: oste pros ten ton lipon sotirian criste di metikisi takisti**. Athenæus (p. 60) says, that only one word in Greek ends in ι, which is μελι. In Romaïc it is a common termination.

K = K, but in some districts CH.

Always *k* harsh, not only before consonants, but also before all the vowels. The same may be said of the Latin C, which is very improperly pronounced like an *s* before *e*, *i*, and *u*. The most ancient K (ↄl) is a junction of two Gammas†.

Λ = L.

The same as in the Romaïc, and as it is pronounced by the English.

M = M, but together with π has the sound of B,

As in Romaïc, except that no alteration took place when put before π, as the β was equivalent to B.

N = N, but before β, μ, π = M.

Also as in the vulgar Greek, and usual pronunciation, but without any exception for the three letters; for if ν sounded like μ, how came Fabius to say that in Greek no words ended in μ, on account of its kakophony? Perhaps some sciolists have introduced this alteration, seeing that the Latin prepositions *an*, *in*, and *con*, when compounded, change their final letters into *m*.

Ξ = X.

It had the power of *ks* or *gs:* thus φοινιξ, appears from the genitive φοινικος, to have been *foiniks*, and ἄντυξ, which makes ἄντυγος, *antugs*.

* P. 400, Sylloge. Altera. tom. ii.

† Analytical Essay, p. 5.

O = O.

This letter was like the Italian O, and had the same sound as *u* in some Latin nouns; Φάβιος and Ποπλικόλας, were written to represent Fabius and Publicola. Ὅλκας seems the original of our *hulk*, and ὅτι is the *uti* or *ut* of the Romans, who had, as the modern Italians still have, a propensity to pronounce even their own *o* like an *u**. The modern Greeks, and the English in their O, except in words where it is followed by a consonant or mute vowel (as in *mode* and *bode*), have corrupted the sound of the letter†.

Π = P.

Equivalent to the P in English, and as it is now pronounced by the Greeks and other nations.

P = R.

Aspirated or pronounced more gutturally than the English R, and in a similar manner to the Welsh. *Rhaider*, a waterfall, in that language, is derived, it should seem, from ῥέεθρον or ῥέω.

Σ = S.

In which manner it was always pronounced by the ancient Greeks. The sound of the σ in σακκος, is exactly given in our *sack*. Pindar calls it κιβδαλον, *adulterina littera*, and Dionysius mentions that some poets had written whole odes without it‡.

* See Diversions of Purley, Part I. p. 96.

† Analytical Essay.

‡ Εἰσὶ καὶ οἱ ἀσίγμους ᾠδὰς ὅλας ἐποίουν.—Sect. 14. The Orientals write for a trial of skill, poems which they call *gazels*, from which one letter is entirely banished. The Persian poet Giami hearing a gazel, in which there was no A or Elif, said it would be better if the poem had no letters at all.

T = T, but when after ν is made D.

It was like the Latin *t*, and never the *d*; for Ταντάλος was spelt *Tantalus* by the Romans, not *Tandalus*, and *Antonius* was rendered by the Greeks Αντονιος.

Υ = E, or the *i* in *little*.

The real force of this vowel it is difficult to determine. The Erasmians, and the best living authority for solving questions in Greek archæology, have preferred the French accented *u**. Γρύζειν (to grunt), ὀλολύζειν (to howl), and κοκκυξ (a cuckoo), are words in which the sound was the representative of the sense, and could not have been pronounced after the manner of the modern Greeks.

Φ = a labial aspirate between F and Ph.

The latter, according to the opinion of Priscian, was the real pronunciation of the Φ; for although the Greeks, in spelling Latin words in their own characters, made use of it to represent the F, yet they could, in fact, not utter the sound of that letter. Cicero says that they were unable to pronounce the name of Fundanius. The Erasmians thought the F and Φ were the same. I shall not plunge into the labyrinths of the Digamma, nor attempt to examine the pretensions of F, Φ, V, or W, to the sound of that lost character.

X = CH; sounded gutturally in the manner of the Jews, the Welsh, and the Florentines.

Pronounced probably in the same way by the ancient Greeks.

Ψ = PS and BS.

The ancient sound of this letter is preserved in the Romaic: ψαλμὸς and Ἄραψ, are the Greek *psalmus* and *Arabs*.

* Analytical Essay, p. 22.

Ω = O.

Plato in his Cratylus and Phædrus, Aristotle in his Poetics, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, assert that it differs from *omicron* only in quantity; but that this difference was sufficiently distinct, may be observed by Nero's jocose saying of Claudius. "*Morari eum inter vivos desiisse* producta prima syllaba jocabatur," are the words of Suetonius*. The ω was like our double *o* in *moor*.

The Diphthongs.

AI = Æ.

It should be observed, that if these combinations of vowels had been distinguished in writing only, and not in pronunciation, their name would have been *digraphs*, and not *dipthongs*. With respect to the AI, Terentius Scaurus, in his Treatise on Orthography, says that the ancient Latins wrote the diphthong with an *a* and an *i*. Ennius, Lucretius, Martial, and even Virgil, have the *ai* instead of the *æ*. Moschus, in his epitaph on Bion, mentions that the hyacinth is marked with αἰ αἰ, and this flower is striped with black veins, representing the two vowels. Now the interjection of grief is nearly the same in all languages, and has a strong similarity to the *ai*, but none to the *æ*. Μαια became *Maia*, not *Mea*, and gave the sound to our *May*. The English, in reading Greek, pronounce this diphthong correctly.

AΥ = AV, before β, γ, δ, ζ, λ, μ, ν, ρ, and AF before ϑ, κ, ξ, π, σ, τ, φ, χ, ψ.

This diphthong was something similar to the αυ, as it is pronounced by the Italians. Aristophanes represents the barking of a dog by αὖ, αἶ. The Latins put *aula* and *austerus* for ἀυλή and ἀυστηρὸς, and the

* Lib. vi. in vit. Ner. Claud. Cæs. cap. 33.

Greeks wrote Κλάυδιος Φαῦστος for *Claudius Faustus*, and Παῦλος for *Paulus*. It has been objected, that, according to Cicero*, the word Cauneas sounded to the ears of Crassus at Brundusium, like *Cave, ne, eas;* but Mekerchus gets over the difficulty, by asserting that the Latin V consonant was like our W, so that *Cauneas* and *Cave ne eas*, were not very dissimilar.

EI = E.

Pronounced as the *ei*, an *egg*, in Flanders, and the French *ei* in *plein*. It cannot be the same as the *i* in sound, or Cicero, in his letter to Papyrius Pœtus†, would not have said that the word *βίνει*, the imperative of *βινεῖν, coire*, had a different sound from *bini*. An epitaph of eight lines discovered at Rome, shows that the old Romans spelt their long *I* with *EI*.

Eϒ = EV, before *β, γ, δ, ζ, λ, μ, ν, ρ,* and EF, before *ϑ, κ, ξ, π, σ, τ, φ, χ, ψ.*

The English pronunciation of EU, approximates to, but does not entirely represent, this diphthong. Εὖρος, Τεύτονες, and Ἐυζέβιος, were in Latin, *Eurus, Teutones*, and *Eusebius*, not *Evros, Teftones*, and *Efsevius*.

OI = E

Like the *oi* in the French *soin* and *besoin*, consequently pronounced correctly in the English schools. Had it been otherwise, and like the Romaic *oi*, how could Strabo have spelt Boii, *βοῖοι*? If *i* and *oi* had been sounded alike, there could have been no controversy respecting the old oracle—

ηξει Δωριακος πολεμος και λοιμος αμ αυτῳ.

For according to the modern Greeks, the words *λοιμός* and *λιμὸς*,

* De Div. lib. ii. † Lib. ix. Epist. Fam.

are not to be distinguished from each other in common speech. It must be owned, however, that the whole strength of this argument lies in the word ὠνομάσθα, used by Thucydides*; for if the debate had gone to inquire how it had been *written*, the whole force of the fact would tend to the contrary side of the question.

ΟΥ = OO.

It was as we read it, and like the same diphthong in our word *plough*. The Latin U represented the two letters *o* and *u* conjointly, and *Tullius, Junius, Brutus,* were written Τελλιος, Ιενιος, Βρετος. Martianus Capella spells *conticuere* by κοντικεηρε. The Latins also, in converting the proper names Λυκᾶργος and Πλᾰτᾰρχος into their own characters, made them *Lycurgus* and *Plutarchus*. How this diphthong came to represent the Latin *v*, may perhaps be understood by sounding the two letters rather distinctly in Ουάῤῥων and Ουαλέριος, according to our method of reading, which will then come very near to the *w*—ou *a*rrone, *wa*rrone, &c.

ΥΙ = E.

This was pronounced as in the French *huile*, and had the vocular sound in our word *wheel*. If it had been like οι and ει, which it is in the modern Greek, it would not have been reckoned one of the three diphthongs called κακόφανοι.

ΗΥ = EV and EF, according to the rule, for AU and EU.

Sounded as in our schools, as far as respects the separation of, and the hiatus between the vowels. If ηυ had been like ευ, there would have been no change in making ἠυχόμην from ἔυχομαι.

The same observation may be made of ΩΥ.

In order to render the sound of the Italian *ce* and *ci*, or our *ch*, the modern Greeks make use of τζ.

* Lib. ii. page 81.

In addition to the above account of the Romaic pronunciation of the letters, it is necessary to add, that for the pronunciation of the words, or in order to read after the manner of the moderns, no other rule is required than a strict observance of the accents, the presence or absence of which, determines what we call the quantity of the syllables, in modern Greek; and it should be also mentioned, that the three accents have the same power, and are not to be distinguished from each other in the recital either of verse or prose. The use of the aspirate is equally obsolete with that of the long vowels. An example will convey the clearest notion of the manner in which the best scholars of modern Greece read the first poet and father of their language. The *a* in the following words, is to be pronounced like that letter in *ate*.

Mēnin āedthe Theā Peleiādtheo akelāos
Oolomānen ē. merē akæēs ālge ātheke
Pollās d' ipthēmoos psekās āedthe proēapsen
Erōone, aftoōs dē elōrea tēvke kēnessin
Æonæse te pāse. Dtheōse d' etelēeto voolē.

Without entering into the controversy started by the younger Vossius, in his book *de cantu Poematum et viribus Rythmi*, or going the length of that scholar and Henninius, in decrying all those accentual virgulæ, which do not quadrate with the natural quantity of the syllables*, we may with safety assert, that the ancient Greeks, whatever attention they paid to their προσῳδίαι, *tones* or *elevations*, did not read the first lines of Homer as they are written above. In a short account of the late Professor Porson†, I find that *he was of opinion that Mr. P. a modern Greek of Salonica,*

* Primatt's Defence of Greek Accents, p. 408. See Foster on Accents, Introduction, page vi. and page 113.

† London, 1808, printed by Baldwin.

who had also a considerable knowledge of its ancient language, read Homer so as to preserve both accent and quantity, p. 18. Any decision of that great authority would be reckoned oracular; but having inquired of one or two persons full as likely to have collected these detached Sybilline leaves as the author of the pamphlet, I have reason to think that Mr. Porson did never approve of the Romaic rules in reading Greek. Mr. P. of Salonica I have never seen: he may have adopted a new method, but Mr. Psallida of Ioannina, whom I suppose to be equally versed in the language, I have heard recite Homer, and exactly in the usual manner of all the modern Greeks. One might think it sufficient to settle the question, that Tzetzes, who has given in his Chiliads such a lamentable proof of the abuse of accent, was sensible of the depravation of the language, and openly lamented the barbarism of his times, in regard to the corruption of pronunciation and metre, in the introduction to his iambic poem—*περὶ παιδων αγωγῆς*. Now it is clear that the strolling muse of which he complains—

μέσης αγυριτίδος·
Ἣ την ποδων εὐρυθμον ὰ τηρεῖ βάσιν.

would never have existed, if accent had not prevailed over quantity to a degree not known by the ancient Greeks (who admitted no such verse); and that consequently the present practice is of a comparatively later date. But of this point I shall say a few words in another place.

The present Hellenic scholars, although they are equally able with Tzetzes to write verse according to all the rules of metre, yet they do not, like him, acknowledge the errors of their recitation, nor are at all aware of that fault, which in fact gave rise to the barbarous poetry of the present day. It is not, of course, meant to be asserted, that the true method of reading Greek is understood by

the scholars of the English or any other university, who, in the recital of either prose or verse, prove, at least by their own practice, that the Greeks had recourse in writing to a variety of signs, of which they made no manner of use*.

Page 550. If the reader should wish to see a very different opinion with respect to the corruption of the Greek language, he will find it in Primatt's fifth chapter on Greek Accents.

In page 559 of this volume, I have stated an intention of giving an extract from Portius's Romaic Grammar, but seeing by the public prints, that a work of a similar nature is about to appear in a volume by itself, and considering also, that those who are curious in such points, may probably have Du Cange's Glossary (which contains the Treatise of Portius) in their possession, I have not thought it necessary to complete or introduce any part of the abridgment. At the same time I deem it advisable to insert from this author, a general outline of the change which the language has experienced in passing from the ancient to the modern Greek.

Id porro nobis in præsens adnotasse suffecerit linguæ istius corrup-

* The accented verse from the Antiope of Euripides, in red and black letters, which was found in the hollow-ways of Resina, March 6, 1743, upon a wall on the angle of a street leading to the theatre of Herculaneum, shows how much those were deceived who considered that accents were not introduced until the seventh century.

ὡς ἔνστο φὸν βέλεμα τας πολλὰς χεῖρας νικᾶ.

It is cited by Polybius, lib. i. 35, and is in Barnes' Fragments of Antiope. See Primatt's Defence of Greek Accents, p. 232. Accents were arranged, and perhaps reduced to more certain rules, by Aristophanes of Byzantium, who lived in the 149th Olympiad, 200 years before Christ, but were not invented, says Primatt (page 37), by that grammarian. Isaac Vossius dates the corruption of sound from the times of Antoninus and Commodus.—De Cantu Poem, p. 28. Ibid. p. 267.

tionem ac depravationem, ut rem leviter et quasi per transennam attingamus, in eo præsertim versari, quòd Græci hodierni literam pro litera ponant, alias addant, alias etiam adimant, terminationes denique nominum passim mutent, verbi gratiâ γ. pro δ. ponunt, ut in γιὰ, pro διὰ, pro ν. ut in τυραγνιζειν. Ε. pro ι. ut in ξυλένιος, κριθαρένιος, pro ξυλινὸς, κριθινὸς. Ζ. pro duplici τ. aut σ. ut in ταράζειν, ἀλλάζειν. Η. pro ε. ut in πονέλικὸς. Λ. pro ρ. ut in Πλῶρα, φοῦλκα. Ξ. pro σ. ut in πείραξις. ξε. pro ἐκ, ut in ξεχωρίζειν, et similibus. Ο. pro α. ut in διάρθωσις. Π. pro Φ. ut in ῥαπάνη. vel pro β. ut in ἐμπάινειν. Ρ. pro λ. ut in ἅρμη, ἁρμυρὸς. Τ. pro Θ. ut in φλάνειν. Υ. pro α. ut in ἀνυμένειν. vel pro φ. ut in ἀςραύειν pro ἀςράφλειν, ἐύθασε, pro ἔφθασε. Ψ. pro υς. ut in δούλεψις, pro δούλευσις. Addunt et interserunt literas, γ. in παλεύγειν, καίγειν, ἑρμηνεύγειν. Υ. in στερεύειν, τελεύειν, pro στερεῖν, τελεῖν. Ν. in φέρνειν, σύρνειν, ἀιμαλώνειν, &c. Demunt literas, ut in βλέμα, ἀδία, χρία, πνέμονας, πέλερος, σωπαίνειν, ξαναλέγειν, νὰ, pro βλέμμα, ἀδεία, κρεία, πνέυμων, πένθερος, σιωπαίνειν, ἐξαναλέγειν, ἵνα, &c. Jam verò quoad terminationes, variè illæ à Græcis mutantur. Masculina in ης, efferunt in ας, ut φαυλαῖὰς dicunt pro φαυλῆὶὴς. Adjectiva in ώδης, in ερὸς terminant, ut pro μυθώδης, ὑλώδης, καπνώδης, μυθερὸς, ὑλῆερὸς, καπνοῖερὸς dicunt. Masculina in ης terminationem ab accusativo mutuantur, ut ἀέρας pro ἀήρ. Masculina substantiva in ων, interdum ex dativo formantur, ut in ἀηδόνι, pro ἀηδὼν: interdum, ex accusativo, ut in ἀιῶνας, πνεύμονας, pro ἀιὼν, πνευμών.

Masculina in αξ, υξ, ων, ας, et alia quintæ declinationis nominativum ab accusativo plurali mutuantur, ut in πίνακας, λάρυγκας, ἔλωπας, δαφνῶνας, γίγαῦλας. Masculina adjectiva in ος, vel in ων, sæpe in άρης terminantur, ut in ψαριάρης, ἀποκρισιάρης, ληςμονιάρης: vel in ένιος, ut in ξυλένιος, σῖαρένιος, κριθαρένιος. Quædam masculina in ος, ex tertiâ et quartâ declinatione nominativum habent desinentia in άκι, ut σχοινάκι, μυθαρακι, λυχνάκι, ὀρθυάκι, ῥυάκι, γονᾶλάκι.

Feminina in η, in ι. terminantur ut in ἀγωγή. quæ in ότης desinunt nominativum habent ab accusativo, ut in φαυλότητα, ἀδελφότῆτα: quæ vero in ις, sæpe in ια deflectunt, ut in κλεψιὰ, παραλυσιά. vel in ιμον, ut σκάψιμον, χύσιμον, δέσιμον: aut nominativum ab accusativo desumunt, ut in ἀλυσίδα, κονίδα, ψαλίδα. Neutra in ον desinunt in ι ut in ἐργαςῆρι, σκεπάρνι, ἀλεῦρι: vel in ιν, ut in σιχάριν, γεράκιν, &c. Diminutiva in τζικὸς ferè semper efferuntur, ut in ἀγριετζικὸς, pro ὑπάγριος: denique adverbia in ως, in ὰ etiam desinunt, ut in ἀγριὰ, pro ἀγρίως, &c.

ECCLESIASTICAL GREEK.

Meletius' Account of Albania.

1. Η' Α'λβανία, ἤτοι ἡ Α'ρβανιτία κοινότερον λεγομένη, εἶναι τὸ Δυτικὸν Μέρος τῆς Μακεδονίας, την ὀνομασίαν λαβοῦσα ἀπὸ τῶν Α'λβανῶν, οἱ ὁποῖοι δὲν εἶναι ἐκ γένους τῶν Γ'λλυριῶν, ὡς τινες οἴονται, οὐτ' ἐκ τῶν Α'λβανῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ Α'σίᾳ, ἀλλὰ κατάγονται ἐκ γένους Κελτικοῦ, οἱ ὁποῖοι ἦλθον εἰς την Γαπυγίαν τῆς Γταλιας, εἶτα ἐξ αὐτῆς διέβησαν εἰς τὸ Δυρράχιον, κακεῖθεν διεσπάρησαν. Πόλεις λοιπὸν ἀπαριθμοῦνται κατὰ μὲν τὸ σύνορον τῆς ἄνω ῥηθείσης Δαλματίας, κληθεισης ἀπὸ τοῦ Δαλμινίου, τὸ ὁποῖον ἦτον ποτὲ Πόλις μεγάλη, αὗται. μετὰ τὸν Κόλπον τοῦ Κάταρο, κατὰ την Α'κροθαλασσιαν εἶναι. Α'ντίβαρον, κοινῶς Α'ντίβαρ, Πόλις ποτὲ μὲ Θρόνον Α'ρχιεπισκόπου, εἰς τὸν ὁποῖον ὑπετέλθν ἐννέα Ε'πίσκοποι. Ο'λχίνιον, τὸ ὁποῖον πρότερον ἐκαλεῖτο Κολχίνιον, καὶ τώρα Δολτζίνι, Κάςρον ὀχυρὸν, μὲ Λιμένα χωρητικόν.

2. Μεσόγειοι δὲ Πόλεις ταύτης εἶναι Σκόδρα, κοινῶς Σκούταρι. παράκειται ταύτῃ τῇ Πόλει καὶ Λίμνη, τῆς ὁποιας οὐ σμακρὰν κεῖται Δρίβασον. πλησίον τοῦ Δρείνου Ποταμοῦ, ὁ ὁποῖος χύνεται εἰς τὸν Σάον Ποτ:, εἶναι ἡ Δρεινόπολις μὲ Θρόνον Ε'πισκόπου, κοινῶς λεγομένη Δρεινάθὰρ. Θρόνον Ε'πισκόπου ἔχει καὶ τὸ Δριβασον. αὗται αἱ Πόλεις ευρίσκονται ὑπὸ την ἐξου-

σίαν τῶν Τούρκων, τοῦ δὲ Η'γεμόνος, ἤτοι τοῦ Πασιὰ ὁ Θρόνος εἶναι εἰς τὸ Σκούταρι, καὶ αὗται αἱ Πόλεις εἶναι τῆς παλαιᾶς Γλλυριδος, τὴν ὁποιαν χωρίζει ἀπὸ τῆς Μακεδονίας ὁ Δρειλων Ποταμὸς, λεγόμενος κοινῶς Δρῖνο, εἰς τᾧ ὁποίᾳ τὸ ςόμα παράκειται ἡ Λισσὸς Πόλις, ἢ καὶ Ε'λισσὸς, κοινῶς λεγομένη Α'λέσσιο, ὑπὸ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τῶν Τούρκων, καὶ αὕτη οὖσα εἰς τὴν ἐσχάτην ἀποχώρησιν τοῦ Γ'λλυρικοῦ Κόλπου, ὅστις κοινῶς λέγεται Κόλφο δί Δρεῖνο. ἐνδότεραι δὲ κατὰ τὸ μεσόγειον, εἶναι Σιπάρουντον, κοινῶς Σελατίνα, Θερμίδαυα, κοινῶς Δάγνο, μεταξὺ τῆς Σκόδρας καὶ τᾧ Σιπαρόντου ἑυρισκόμενον. πλησίον τᾧ Ο'μφαλᾧ Ο"ρος, τὸ ὁποίον κοινῶς λέγεται Παπαδάρος, κείνται Πόλεις ποτὲ, ἡ Ε'πικαρία καὶ τὸ Ε'ιμινάκιον. ἀναμεταξὺ τᾧ Δρείλωνος καὶ τᾧ Πανυάσου τῶν Ποταμῶν, τρέχει ὁ Γκανός Ποταμός.

3. Τὸ Δυτικὸν Παραθαλάσσιον Μέρος τῆς Μακεδονίας, τὸ ὁποῖον ἄρχεται ἀπὸ τοῦ Δυρραχίου, καὶ λήγει εἰς τὸν Κέλυδνον Ποτ:, τὸν χωρίζοντα τὴν Μακεδονίαν τῆς παλαιᾶς Η'πείρου, Ταυλαντία λέγεται, περιέχθσα τοὺς Ε'λυμιώτας καὶ τὴν Ο'ρεστίδα. ἐκλήθη αὕτη καὶ Νέα Η"πειρος, ὡρὸς διαφορὰν τῆς Παλαιᾶς Η'πείρθ, καὶ Πόλεις ἔχει ταύτας, Δυρράχιον, κοινῶς Δουρράτζο, Πόλις τὸ πάλαι περίφημος, μὲ Θρόνον Α'ρχιεπισκόπου καὶ μὲ Λιμένα. ἐκτίσθη αὕτη, μετὰ τὴν ἅλωσιν τῆς Τρωάδος, ἔτη 120., εἰς Χερσόννησον, τῆς ὁποίας ῥαδίως δυναται ὁ ἰσθμὸς νὰ κοπῇ, καὶ ωρότερον ἐκαλεῖτο Ε'πίδαμνος, καὶ Ε'πίδαμνον, ἀλλὰ μὲ τὸ νὰ ἐφάνῃ Ο'ιωνὸς ὐκ ἀγαθὸς αὐτὸ τὸ ὄνομα εἰς τοὺς Ρ'ωμαίθς, ὡσὰν ὁποῦ ἐσημείωνεν ἐπὶ δάμνον, ἤτοι ἐπὶ ζυμίαν ἔχουσι νὰ πηγένουν την, ὠνόμασαν Δυρραχιον. ὁ σμακρὰν ταύτης εἰσέρχεται εἰς την Θάλασσαν ὁ Πανύασος Ποτ:, κοινῶς λεγόμενος Σπιρνάτζα. Ε'ρίβοια, ἡ ὁποία τῶν Παρθυαίων ἦτον, ἔχθσα Ο"ρος τᾧ αὐτᾧ ὀνόματος, κοινῶς λέγεται Κρόϊα, Πόλις τανῦν ωρωτεύουσα, καὶ ὀχυρὰ, ἐυρισκομένη κατὰ τὸ μεσόγειον, πλησίον τᾧ Λισάνα Ποτ:, μεταξὺ τᾧ Δυρραχίου, καὶ τοῦ Δεβώρου, τοῦ νῦν Δρίβιμ λεγομένου, ὁδὲ Χαλκοκονδύλης Κρούαν ταύτην καλεῖ: ἡ Πατρὶς τοῦ περιφήμου Γεωργίου Καςριώτου τᾧ Σκενδέρμπεϊ, καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς. Πόλις μεσόγειος τῶν Ταυλαντίων ἦτον ποτὲ ἡ Α"ρνισσα, τανῦν κρημνισμένη, καὶ κοινῶς λεγομένη Α'λάδα. μετὰ τὸν Πανύασον Ποτ: εἰσέρχεται εἰς τὸ Γόνιον Πέλαγος ὁ Α"ψος Ποτ:, κοινῶς Καυριόνι λεγόμενος. μετὰ

τοῦτον ἔιναι Πύργος, Πόλις ποτὲ Παραθαλασσία, καὶ κατὰ τὸ μεσόγειον ἦτον Ταυλάντιον, κοινῶς τανῦν Ταμωρίτζα, ἢ κατ' ἄλλους, Μουσαιχία. ὀυ πολὺ σμακρὰν τοῦ Πύργου εἰσέρχεται ὁ Κενουσὸς Ποτ: καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον ὁ Λῶος Ποτ:, κοινῶς λεγόμενος Βοοῦσα, ἐγγὺς τοῦ ὁποίου ἦτον ἡ Α'πολλωνία, κοινῶς τανῦν Πόλλινα, κρημνισμένη, Πόλις ποτὲ ἐυνομωτάτη, κτίσμα Κορινθίων καὶ Κερκυραίων, τοῦ Ποταμοῦ μὲν ἀπέχουσα Σταδίους δέκα, τῆς δὲ Θαλάσσης 60., ἤνθισεν αὕτη εἰς τὰς σπεδὰς τῶν γραμμάτων, εἰς τὸν καιρὸν τῶ Καίσαρος: ὅθεν εἰς ἀυτην ἐσάλθη ἀυτὸς ὁ Καίσαρ Ο'κτάυῖος, νέος ὤν, χάριν μαθήσεως. εἰς ἀυτην ἐχάραττον καὶ ἀργυρᾶ νομίσματα. ἀπ' ἀυτῆς ἄρχεται ἡ Ε'γνατία ὁδὸς, καὶ τελευτᾷ μέχρι τοῦ Ε"βρου Ποτ:, καὶ τῶν Κυψέλλων, εἰς κάθε Μίλιον ἔχουσα σήλην. εἰς την Χώραν τῶν Α'πολλωνιατῶν εἶναι πέτρα τὶς, πῦρ ἀναδιδοῦσα, Νυμφαῖον καλεμένη, ὑπ' ἀυτῇ δὲ κρῆναι ῥέουσι χλιαρῶ Α'σφάλτου, καιομένης ὡς εἰκὸς τῆς Βώλου τῆς Α'σφάλτιδος. μετὰ τὰς ἐκβολὰς τῶ Λώου Ποτ: ἔιναι Α'υλὼν, Πόλις παραθαλασσία, καὶ Ε'πίνειον ποτὲ, καλεῖται κοινῶς Α'υλῶνας, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Ι'ταλων Βαλῶνα, τὴν ἐκυρίευσαν οἱ Βένετοι ἐν ἔτει 1690., ἔιτα μετ' ὀλίγους μῆνας, διωχθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν Τούρκων, καὶ κρημνίσαντες ἀυτὴν κατέλιπον. μετ' ἀυτὴν ἦτον Πόλις παραθαλασσία τῶν Ε'λλημιώτων ἡ Βουλλὶς, ὥσπερ καὶ μεσόγειος τὰ Ε"λυμα, κληθεῖσα ἀπὸ Ε'λύμου τῶ νόθω Υ'ιοῦ τῶ Α'γχίσου. ἀυτὴν τινὲς οἴονται νὰ ἔιναι τὰ Κάνινα, Πόλις πλησίον τοῦ Α'υλώνος ἐυρισκομένη κατὰ τὸ μεσόγειον, καὶ ἄλλοι νὰ ἔιναι ἡ Χειμάῤῥα, ἀλλ' ἀπατῶνται, ὅτι ἀπ' ἀυτῆς ἡ Χειμάῤῥα, ἀπεχει 25. Μίλια. τῆς δὲ Ο'ρεσίδος ἦτον ἡ Α'μαντία, Πόλις παραθαλασσία, ἥτις τανῦν λέγεται Πόρτο Ρ'αγουζέο, μεταξὺ τῶ Α'υλωνος, καὶ τῶ Ω'ρικοῦ, ὀυ σμακρὰν τῶν Α'κροκεραυνίων Ο'ρῶν. ὁμοίως καὶ ἄλλη Α'μαντία ἀυτῆς ἦτον Μεσόγειος, λεγομένη κοινῶς Α'βόσμα. ἐκλήθησαν αὗται αἱ Πόλεις ἀπὸ τῶν Α'μάντων τῶν περὶ τὸν Ε'μαφήνορα, οἱ ὁποῖοι μετὰ τὴν ἅλωσιν τῆς Τρωάδος, διέβησαν εἰς τὴν Η"πειρον, καὶ τελευταῖον κατώκησαν τούτους τοὺς τόπους, περὶ τὰ Α'κροκεραύνια Ο"ρη. αὕτη ἡ Χώρα ἐκλήθη Ορεσὶς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ορέσου, τῶ καταφυγόντος εἰς ἐτῶτον τὸν τόπον. τελευταῖον ἔιναι ὁ Κέλυδνος Ποτ: ὅστις χωρίζει τὴν Ο'ρεσίδα τῆς Μακεδονίας, ἀπὸ τῆς Παλαιᾶς Η'πείρω λέγεται κοινῶς ὄτος Σαλνίκη.

4. Ταύτης τῆς Ε'παρχίας μεσὸγειοι Πόλεις, παρὰ τὰς ῥηθείσας, ἔιναι καὶ αὗται. Α'λβανόπολις, ἡ Μητρόπολις ποτὲ τῶν Α'λβανῶν. Λευκὴ Πέτρα, ἔρημος. τῶν δὲ Ε'ορδετῶν Πόλεις ἦσαν, οἱ Σκαμπεῖς, τὴν ὁποίαν τινὲς λέγουσι νὰ ἔιναι τὰ Βελάδαγρα, λεγομένη ὑπὸ τῶν Τούρκων Α'ρναοὺτ Μπελιγρὰδ, Πόλις τετειχισμένη ἐπὶ τῆς κορυφῆς τινὸς Βουνοῦ, μὲ Θρόνον Ε'πισκόπου. ἄλλοι δὲ λέγουσιν, ὅτι οἱ Σκαμπεῖς νὰ ἔιναι ἡ Στρούγγα, καὶ τὰ Βελάδαγρα νὰ ἔιναι ἡ Λευκὴ Πέτρα. Δαυλία, πιστεύουσι πολλοὶ, ὅτι αὕτη νὰ ἔιναι τὸ Ε'λιμπασάνι, Πόλις ὀνομαστὴ, καὶ Ε'μπόριον διάσημον. Δήβομα, κοινῶς Δαρδάσσο κατὰ τὸν Μολέτιον, καὶ ἄλλαι, περὶ τῶν ὁποίων ἐν τῷ περὶ Μακεδονίας ἐροῦμεν. τανῦν ὅμως εἰς ἐτοῦτα τὰ μέρη ἔιναι Πολίσματα ἀκουστὰ, Βοσκόπολις, Γγιόρτζα. καὶ τὰ λοιπά.

ROMAIC.

THE HISTORY OF THE FIRST OLD MAN AND THE STAG.

From the Translation of the Arabian Nights.*

Ετυτη ἡ ελαφος ὁπυ βλεπετε, λεγει ὁ γερων ητον εξαδελφη μυ· και την εστεφανωθηκα εις γυναικα μυ οντας ιβ', χρονων. και εζησα μαζιτης τριαντα χρονυς χωρις να αποκτησω μεν κανενα τεκνον. αλλ' εγω εχωντας επιθυμιαν δια τεκνα, αγωρασα μιαν σκλαβαν, με την ὁποιαν αποκτησα εναν υἱον, τον ὁποιον ἠγαπυσα ὁλοψυχως, · και ὁταν ὁ ὑιοσμυ εφθασεν εις χρονυς δωδεκα της ἡλικιας τυ, εγὼ δια καποιαις μυ αναγκαιαις ὑποθεσεις μελλωντας να μισευσω εις ενα ταξιδιον μακρυνον, αφησα τον ὑιον μυ και την μηλερα τυ εἰς την ἐπισκεψιν τυτης της γυναικος μυ, συσταινωνλας τυς εις την αγαπην της και εις την περιποιησιν της, εως ὁπυ να επισ῾ρεψω απο το ταξι-

* The accents are omitted in this specimen, as the Romaïc accentuation is exactly similar to that of the Ecclesiastical Greek, and it was found a difficult matter to print them correctly from any London press.

διον. αλλ' ἡ γυναικα μϐ, ὁπϐ ειχε λαβει φθονον, μισος και ζηλιαν ἐναντιον εις τον ὑιον μϐ και εις την μητερα τϐ, μετα τον μισευμον μϐ αυτη ἐυρε τον τροπον δια να πληρωσῃ την επιθυμιαν της, εδοθη εις την μαγικην τεχνην, και εις ολιγον καιρον την εμαθεν· εις τοσον ὁπϐ με αὐτην την μαγειαν εμεταμορφωσε τον μεν ὑιον μϐ ἐις μοσχαριον, την δε μητερα τϐ εις αγελαδαν. επειτα κραζει τον ζευγητην μϐ και λεγει τϐ. ἰδϐ σϐ παραδιδω τϐτην την αγελαδαν με το μοσχαριον της, δια να τα φυλαξῃς ἐξω εις το χωριον δια χρειαν τϐ οσπιτιϐ, κἀια την παραγγελιαν τϐ αυθεντος σϐ.

Οταν εγυρισα εγω απο το ταξιδιον μϐ, ερευνησα και ερωτησα δια τον ὑιον μϐ, και δια την μητερα τϐ την σκλαβαν μϐ, πϐ ειναι. μου αποκριθη ἡ γυναικα μϐ, ὁτι ἡ μεν σκλαβα αποθανεν, ὁ δε ὑιος μϐ εχει δυω η τρεις σχεδον μηνας, ὁπϐ εφαθη απο το σπιτι, χωρις να ἰξευρῃ ϐτε αυτη τι εγινεν. εγω εις τετοιαν ειδησιν ελαβον μεγαλην λυπην δια τον θανἀτον της σκλαβας. δια δε τον ὑιον ελαβον καποιαν ελπιδα παρηγοριας, μηπως και τον ξαναειδω. αλλα μετα ἐξ μηνας εφθασε και το Μπαιραμι χωρις να λαβω καμμιαν ειδησιν δια τον ὑιον μϐ. τοτε επαρηγγειλα τϐ ζευγητϐ μου να μϐ φερῃ την πλεον παχὐεραν αγελαδαν δια να την θυσιασω εις Κορμπανι. ὁ ζευγητης επληρωσε την ωροσλαγην μϐ, και μϐ ἐφερε την αγελαδαν, ἡ ὁποια ητον ἡ σκλαβα μϐ εις εκεινην την μορφην. βλεπω την αγελαδαν να κλαιῃ, και να καμνῃ καποια κινηματα, ὁπϐ με επερακινησαν εις ευσπλαγχνιαν δια να μη την θυσιασω. αλλ' ἡ γυναικα μου ὁπϐ ητον παρον, εμεταχειρισθη καθε τροπον και πανϐργιαν, εις τοσον ὁπϐ με εκἀλαπεισε να ωροσλαξω τελος παντων τον ζευγηλην δια να την θυσιασῃ· το ὁποιον και εκαμεν ὁ ζευγητης. αλλ' αφ' ϐ την ησφαξεν εμεινε το πελξι μονον και τα κοκκαλα, με ολον ὁπϐ εφαινελο πολλα παχεια. ὁταν λοιπον την ειδα ετξι ακαμνην, επροσλαξα τον ζευγητην δια να μου φερῃ ηνα καλον και παχυ μοσχαριον να θυσιασω, και αυτος μϐ εφηρε τον ὑιον μϐ εις το σχημα τϐ μοσχαιρϐ. τϐτο, οτι με ειδεν ευθυς ωρμησε, και επεσε εις τϐς ποδας μϐ λϐγκριζονἀς και κλαιοντας, ὡσαν να ηθελε να μϐ φανερωσῃ πως ειναι ὑιος μϐ, και να μη τον θαναλωσω. εγω απο μιαν εσωτερικην κινησιν τϐ αιματος ελαβον τοσην συμπαθειαν και ευσπλαγχνιαν, ὁπϐ αποφασισα να μη το θυσιασω. τοσον ἡ φυσις μου εκινησε την καρδιαν

εις ελεος, ὁπϐ επροσαξα τον ζευγητην δια να το γυρισῃ οπισω εις το ζευγαρι, και να μϐ φερῃ ἑνα αλλο. ἡ γυναικα μϐ εμεταχειρισθη τοσϐς τροπϐς δια να με καλαπεισῃ να το θυσιασω δια τοτε, ὁμως εγω παντὸλε σταθερος εις την γνωμην μϐ, της ὑποσχεσθην διὰ το ερχομενον Μπαιραμι, δια να παυσῃ.

Την ερχομενην ἡμεραν απο την αυγην ηλθεν ὁ ζευγητης μϐ, και με εζητεσε δια να μϐ ὁμιλησῃ, και να μϐ φανερωσῃ ἑνα μυσηριον, και λεγει μϐ. αυθεντη, εγω εχω μιαν θυγατερα, ὁπϐ καταλαμβανει την μαγειαν, και εχθες ὁταν ειδεν ὁπϐ εγυρισα οπισω το μοσχαριον καθως με επροσαξες, ϖρωτον εγελασε, και ὑστερα εκλαυσε. και την ερωτησα την αιτιαν, και μϐ ειπεν ὁτι τϐτο το μοσχαριον ειναι ὁ ὑιος τϐ αυθεντος μας, ὁπϐ ἡ γυναικα τϐ ἡ κυρα μας το εμεταβαλεν εις μοσχαριον, και την μητερα τϐ εις αγελαδαν, και εγελασα χαρϐμενη, δια το να το ειδα ζωντανον. επειτα εκλαυσα δια την μητερα τϐ, ὁπϐ εθυσιασθη.

Εγω ακϐωντας τετοια λογια απο τον ζευγητην, ετρεξα ευθυς δια να ειδω τον ὑιον μϐ· τον αγκαλιαξω, τον φιλω, ὁμως αυτος δεν εδυνετο να μϐ αποκριθῃ. κραξω ευθυς την θυγατερα τϐ ζευγητϐ, την παρακαλω, και της ταξω ὁλα μϐ τα ὑπαρχοντα, αν ημπορῃ να μεταμορφωσῃ τον ὑιον μϐ εις την ϖρωτην τϐ μορφην. και αυτη μϐ απεκριθη, ὁτι ημπορει, και ειναι ἑτοιμη να το καμῃ, ὁμως με δυω ὑποσχεσεις τοιαυτας, ηγϐν να της δωσω τον αυτον μϐ ὑιον δια ανδρα, και να της δωσω ελευθεριαν δια να τιμωρησῃ εκεινην, ὁπϐ τον εμεταμορφωσεν εις τοτοιον σχεμα· και εγω της ὑποσχεθηκα και τα δυω ζητηματα. τοτε αυτη ελαβεν ἑνα αγγειον γεματον νερον, επανω εις το ὁποιον ειπε καποια λογια μυστικα επειτα γυριζοντας ϖρος το μοσχαριον, τϐ ειπεν, ω μοσχαριον, ανισως και εισαι φυσικα αληθινον τετοιον, καθως τωρα φαινεσαι, να απομεινῃς παντοτε τετοιον, ειδε μη και εισαι ανθρωπος μεταμορφωμενος εις μοσχαριον απο τεχνην μαγικην, σε ϖροσταζω με τϐτο το νερον να λαβῃς την φυσικην σϐ μορφην, και το ειδος. και λεγοντας αυτα τα λογια τϐ, εχυσεν επανω το νερον. ω τϐ θαυματος εν τω ἁμα εμεταμορφωση εις την ϖρωτην τϐ ανθρωπινην μορφην. και βλεπωντας εγω τον αγαπητον μϐ ὑιον, τον αγκαλιασα, τον εφιλϐσα, και απο την χαραν μϐ εγινα αλλος εξ αλλϐ. επειτα ευθυς εμεταμορφωσε την γυναικα μϐ εις ταυ-

την την ελαφον, ὁπϑ βλεπετε· και τϑτο της το εξητησα εγω δια να μην ειναι τοσον ασχημη. μετα ταυτα ὑπανδρευσα τον ὑιον μϑ με την κορην τϑ ζευγητϑ κατα την ὑποσχεσιν μϑ. και μετ' ολιγον καιρον ὁπϑ εσυνεβη τϑ ὑιϑ μϑ και εχηρευσεν, αυτος εμισευσεν εις ταξιδιον, και ἑως τωρα επερασαν τοσοι χρονοι, και καμμιαν ειδησιν μη λαμβανωντας δι αυτον, αποφασισα να διαβω εις διαφορϑς τοπϑς εις αναζητησιν τϑ. και μην ενεμπιστευομενος εις αλλον ταυτην την γυναικα μϑ την ελαφον, την φερω μαζι μϑ ὁπϑ ὑπαγω. αυτη λοιπον ειναι ἡ Ιστορια μϑ, και ταυτης της ελαφϑ. ϖως σας φαινεται, δεν ειναι μια Ιστορια ϑαυμαστη και ϖαραδοξος; λεγει το Τελωνιον. εχεις ὁλον το δικαιον· ιδϑ λοιπον δια χαριν σϑ, χαριζω ἑνα τριτον απο το εγκλημα τϑ ϖραγματευτϑ.

Ευθυς ὁ δευτερος γερων ὁπϑ ειχε τα δυω σκυλια εγυρισε ϖρος το Τελωνιον, και τϑ λεγει. ϑελω να σϑ διηγηϑω εκεινο, ὁπϑ εσανεβη μεταξυ εμϑ και τϑτων των δυω σκυλων, και ειμαι βεβαιος, ὁτι ϑελει φανῃ πλεον ϑαυμασιωτερα απο εκεινην ὁπϑ ηκϑσες· αλλ' ὁταν σϑ αρεσῃ, μϑ χαριζεις το δευτερον τριτον της συμπαθειας τϑ ϖραγματευτϑ; λεγει το Τελωνιον. ϑελω σϑ καμει το ζητημα. και αρχισεν ὁ δευτερος γερων εις τον ακολεθον τροπον .... Αλλ' ἡ Χαλιμα ὁταν ειδε ϖως επλησιασεν ἡ ωρα, ὁπϑ ὁ βασιλευς εμελλε να ὑπαγῃ εις το ϖροσκυνημα τϑ, και επειτα εις το συμβϑλιον, αφησε την διηγησιν. ἡ ὁποια τοσον εκινησε την ϖεριεργειαν τϑ Βασιλεως, ὡστε ὁπϑ επιϑυμωντας να ακϑση το τελος, ανεβαλε τον καιρον ἑως εις την ερχομενην αυριον ἡμεραν. βλεπωντας ὁ Βεζυρης τον Βασιλεα, ὁπϑ δεν τον ϖροσταζει κατα τον νομον δια ϑανατωσῃ την Χαλιμαν, ἑυρισκετο εις μιαν ὑπερβολικην χαραν· ὁμοιως και ἡ Φαμιλια τϑ. ὁλοι τϑ παλατιϑ, και ὁλος ὁ λαος κοινως εχαιρον, και εϑαυμαζον την μεταβολην μην ιξευροντες την αιτιαν.

The following specimen is the conclusion of a romance, entitled,

UNFORTUNATE LOVE,

HISTORY THE SECOND,

OF A CORCYREAN DRAGOMAN OF THE VENETIAN EMBASSY AT CONSTANTINOPLE.

The young man, it seems, is deeply in love with Choropsima, whilst Mairam is deeply in love with him. The parents of Choropsima are in opposition to every arrangement. Mairam does her utmost to persuade Andreas that Choropsima is false, and has been seen talking to a young man, the son of a rich Armenian: both she and Andreas are sick at heart with their passion. Mairam sends a letter in verse, with which the specimen opens: Andreas rejects it with scorn: she dies, after singing a song. The Dragoman's servant relates, that, passing Choropsima's door, he heard the music of a marriage-feast: this throws him into fits; but recovering, he sings *or rather murmurs* some verses, and fainting away, expires, *without having sacrificed to Venus or her son*. Choropsima resolves to live single; and the whole concludes with the praise of true love, and an anathema against hard-hearted parents.

Η' Μειρεμ δε ευθυς ὁπε ἡ γρεα ανεχωρησεν, ἡτοιμασε το ακολεθον ραβασακι προς τον τζελεπη Ανδρεα·

Ψυχημε Κυρ Ανδρεα!

Αν δεν πονῃς κἀνενα, λυπησε κἀν εμενα,
πε θα σε ζερηθω·
Και δεν εχ' αλλον φιλον, πιζον καθως σοι δηλον,
να ξεμυζηρευθω.
Η καν τον ἑαυτον σε, λυπησε μοναχος σε,
πε θα με χωρισθης.
Και δεν εχεις κἀνενα, πιζην ὡσαν εμενα,
να παρηγορηθῃς.

Μη γινεσαι αιτια, μια καθαρα φιλια
να απομακρυνθη,
Γιατι αποτυγχανεις ζον τοπον όποιαν βανεις,
και θελεις λυπηθη.
Αυτο ζοχασθ μενον, πως της ξωης τον χρονον,
όλον εις το εζης,
Εχω να τον περασω, εγω όταν σε χασω,
με ζεναγμας οξεις.
Ανισως και γνωριξεις, ότι το νταγιαντιζεις,
μετα χαρας κ'εγω,
Λεγω το πεπρωμενονν, ετζ' ητον γεγραμμενον,
να παγω να πνιγω.

Αφ' ό δε το ετελειωσε το εβθλωσε και ετζι ανεπαυθη ολιγον κειμενη εις την κλινην όλην την νυκτα. το δε πρωι ευθυς κραζει δια της βυζαρας της την γειτονισσαν και την λεγει, παρακαλω, μητερα μθ, θελω σε μεινη ύποχρεως, αν με καμης αυτο, όπθ θα σε ειπω. πεσμε, κορη μθ, της αποκρινεται ή γειτονισσα, πεσμε. ή Μειρεμ θν την λεγει, εγω ηκθσα, ότι συχναζεις εις το σαραγι τθ πρεσβεως της Βενετιας, και δεν αμφιβαλλω να μην ιξευρης και τον Δραγθμανον τθ κυρ' Ανδρεαν; ή γειτονισσα της αποκρινεται, μαλιςα, τον γνωριζω πολλα καλα. λοιπον αγαπθσα να τον δωκης αυτο τθ ραβασακι, και ύςερον να με φερης αποκρισιν. ή γειτονισσα την λεγει, διατι κορη μθ οχι. αυτο ειναι πολλα ευκολον. και ετζι επηρε το ραβασακι και ανεχωρησε φιλοδωρηθεισα ύπο της Μειρεμ μεγαλως.

Ελθθσα δε ή γειτονισσα παραχημα εις τον τζελεπη Ανδρεαν τον εδωκε το ραβασακι και εκοντοσαθηκεν. αυτος δε περνωντας το ραβασακι και αναγινωσκωντας το επι της κλινης κειμενος εδαιμωνισθη παρευθυς, βλεπωντας πως ειναι απο την Μειρεμ. όθεν το εξεχισε παρευθυς λεγωντας την γειτονισσαν της να μη πατηση πλεον εις τον ονδαν τθ και τθ αναφερη δια εκεινην, ή όποια εγινε πρωτη αιτια τθ χωρισμθ τθ απο την Χορωψιμαν, και της ζερησεως της ζωης τθ· ευθυς δε όπθ ιδε και ηκθσεν αυτα ή γειτονισσα

ετρεξε και τα ανεφερεν ολα την Μειρεμ, ἡ ὁποια απο την λυπην της και απελπισιαν ελιγοθυμησε, αδυνατησθ, ενεκρωθε εχασε τας αισθησεις της ὡσαν εκεινη, ὁπθ πιπτει εις αποπληξιαν. τρεχει ευθυς ἡ βυζασρατης την τριβει, την ταραζει, την βρεχει με ξυδι, και ετζι ηλθεν ολιγον εις τον ἑαυτον της και αρχισε να τραγωδηση το ακολθον με μιαν φωνην τοσον σιγανην, ὁπθ μολις ηκθετο.

Ταχ' ανθρωπος εσταθη,
Τα τοσα βασανα μθ,
Διαστημα δεν διδθν,
Τα πρωτα δεν τελειωνθν,
Ολαις ἡ δυστυχιαις,
Σε μενα εγενηκαν,
Τα μυθολογημενα,
Νιοβη και Εκαβη,
Μα τι να συντυχαινω,
Κιαυτο δια παιδειαν,
Ομως, ω σκληροτατη,
Δειξε καν απλαγχνιαν,
Αφ' ὁ με βασανιζῃς,
Κακια κ'ευσπλαγχνια,
Σπολατε ζην ξωην μθ,
Κιαν πεθαινα μακαρι,

αλλος κανεις να παθῃ,
νεα και παλαια μθ;
συχνα πυκνα τα διδθν,
κ'ευθυς νεα φυτρωνθν.
πθναι σταις ἱστοριαις,
εμπρακτως και φανηκαν.
αληθευσαν σε μενα,
ὁποιος με τῃ δεν βλαβει.
πθ μολις αναπναινω,
να ζω με τυραννιαν.
τυχη θυμον γεματη,
σε λογθ μθ τελειαν.
ζωην τι με χαριζεις,
δεν εχθν συμφωνια.
δεν σ' εχω την δικην μθ,
το γνωριζα για χαρι.

Τελειωνωντας δε αυτα τα λογια παλιν ενεκρωθη πρισσοτερον απο το πρωτον και λεγωντας δυω φοραις το αχ με αναστεναγμον απο το βαθος της καρδιας εγινε θυσια εις τον ερωτα ελεεινη, παραδθσα το σωμα της τη μητρι της γῃ δια την αστοχαστον και χωρις ανταποκρισιν αγαπην της· την ερχομενην δε ἡμεραν ερχεται ὁ δθλος τθ φιλθ μας απ' εξω και τον λεγει, τζελεπη απερασα απο το σπητι τθ τζελεπη Στεπαναγα και ηκθσα διαφορα μθσικα οργανα, ὡσαν να ειναι κανενας γαμος. δεν απετελειωσε τον λογον ὁ δθλος

και ευθυς επεσεν ὁ τζελεπη Ανδρεας εις λειποψυχιαν, ενεκρωθη ὁλος απο την απελπισιαν τϐ στοχαζομενος, ὁτι πλεον ἡ Χοροψιμα τϐ απεταξεν. ὁ δϐλος δε τρεχει, τον τριβει, τον σηκωνει, τον βρεχει, και μολις εδυνηθη να ελθῃ ολιγον εις τον ἑαυτον τϐ. ειτα δε αρχισε να τραγῳδησῃ, η καλλιον να ειπω να μεμεριση το ακολεθον.

Το αγγελικον σϐ ηθος, με κατηντησεν εις βυθος,
Και των στεναγμων το πληθος μϐ ηφανισε το στηθος.
Η ζωημϐ ειν' πλια μυθος κ'εμεινα νεκρος ὡς λιθος.
Αχ! αχ! αχ! — — — — — — — — —
Παντα το κορμι' ταραζει, απο καθε μικρον ναξι.
Και ὁ ερως με τρομαζει, Θανατον ευθυς με ταζει.
Καθε σϐ ματια με σφαζει, την καρδιαμϐ την ἁρπαζει.
Αχ! αχ! αχ! — — — — — — — — —
Την καρδιαμϐ την καιμενη, ῥωτησαι την τι παθαινει;
Και αυτη απελπισμενη, κι' απ' τον ερωτα χαμενη,
Δεν ιξευρει τι να γενῃ, το κεφαλι σϐ προσμενει.
Αχ! αχ! αχ! — — — — — — — — —

Και αφ' ὁ το ετελειωσεν, επεσε παλιν εις λειποθυμιαν, και μη οντος τϐ δϐλϐ εκει να τον βοηθησῃ, κατελυτϐ τον βιον τϐ ελεεινως μητε τῃ Αφροδιτῃ, μητε τῳ ὑιῳ της Θυσιαν προσενεγκων.

Την ερχομενην δε ἡμεραν το εμαθε και ὁ τζελεπη Στεπαναγας και ἡ κορη τϐ και μετενοησαν ὁπϐ δεν επρολαβον το πραγμα. ἡ Χοροψιμα δε κατα-πολλα ελυπειτο δακρυϐσα. αλλ' εις ματην· επειδη να τον βοηθησῃ πλεον δεν ημπορϐσεν· εις ανταμειβην δε της πιστης τϐ αγαπης απεφασισε να μεινῃ και αυτη πιστη αχρι Θανατϐ αποφευγϐσα καθε ερωτα· και ετζι και τα τρια ὑποκειμενα, ὑστερηθηκαν πασης χαρας και ευφροσυνης, και πασης αισθη-της ἡδονης δια τον πιστον ερωτα, ὁπϐ ειχον, και εγιναν παραδειγμα μιας καθαρας μεν αγαπης εις τους ὑιϐς και Θυγατερας, κακϐ δε φερσιματος των γονεων, οἱ ὁποιοι προκριναν τον Θανατον των ὑιων τϐς των δεισιδαιμονιων.

Glossary of some Words in the Specimen of a Romaïc Romance.

Ραβασακι, a note; τζελεπη, Mister, Signior; ξεμυστηρευθω, I make manifest; νταγιαντιζεις, thou sufferest; βυζαστρα, a nurse; γειτονισσα, a neighbour; πεσμε, tell me; σαραγι, the palace; ξυδι, vinegar; πεναι, *i. e.* πε ειναι, where are; γεματη, full, filled; σπολατε, bid farewell; σπητι, the house; καταντησεν, has reduced; κορμιμ, my body; ναζι, affection, movement; ταζει, promises.

The title of the book containing the Romance, is as follows: "The Effects of Love, or Ethicoerotic History, with *Political* Songs. Put together in the vulgar dialect for the gratification and delight of Young Gentlemen; and dedicated to the Most Noble Archon, Magior, &c. &c. Stephen Yannoviki—Vienna, 1792. From the Hellenic Press of George Ventote."

ROMAIC ECHO SONG*.

Η'χὼ πέμς τάχα ποῖον, εἶν' ἐκεῖνο τὸ παιδίον
Ο'πὲ ῥίπτει ἐλευθέρως, σαϊτιαῖς εἰς κάθε μέρος;
(Ε'ΡΩΣ)

Πέμ' ἀλήθεια εἶν' ἐκῆνο, πῶς οἱ μῦθοι τῶν Ε'λλήνων,
Ω'ς ἐράνιον τὸν λέγεν μὲ θεὺς συγκαταλέγεν;
(λέγεν)

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* That the metre of this song may more distinctly be seen, it has been thought advisable to insert the accents, although, for the reason before given, those marks are omitted in the Romaïc specimens of any considerable length.

Μὰ δὲν κάμνει πᾶν τὸ τραῦμα ςαῖς καρδαῖς ὡς μέγα θαῦμα,
Ὡ'ς ἡ ἀκανγώδης ῥάνμη πᾶ καθ' ἕνα ἀποκάμνει,
(κάμνει)

Α"ραγε τί προξενεῖη, εἰς αὐτὸ ὅπᾶ κινεῖη;
Πάντοτε νὰ μᾶς πεερὰζῃ, καὶ ποτὲ δὲν ἡσυχάζει.
(χάζει)

Εἶναι κὶ ἄλλη τυραννία, καὶ χειρότερη παιδεία,
Η" ὡσὰν αὐτὴ κἀμμία, ςὴν σκληρότητα ὁμοία;
(μοία)

Ποία εἶν' αὐτὴ εἰπέ την, πανταχᾶ φανέρωσὲ την,
Γ'ιὰ νὰ μάθεν τὸν φονέα, πάθες καὶ φθορᾶς γονέα,
(νέα)

Καὶ αὐτὴ ςὴν τυραννία, τί λὲς νἄχῃ συντροφίαν,
Ο'πᾶ πόλεμος ἂν λάχῃ, νὰ μὴν πάκῃ κἂν μονάχη.
(νἄχῃ)

Καὶ ποῖον σύντροφον νὰ ἔχῃ, γιὰ νὰ ἡμπορῆ νἀντέχῃ
Τόσον ὅπᾶ νὰ θαυμάζῃ, ὁ καθ' εἷς ν' ἀνασενάζῃ
(νάζῃ)

Τώρα πέμε ἕνα σίχον ὅσα πρότερον μὲ ἤχον,
Ε'λαλᾶσες ἓν πρὸς ἕνα, εἰς τὸν σίχον τὸν καθ' ἕνα
(ἕνα)

Νὰ ὁ σιχος ἀπεκρίθη, παρευθὺς ἐσιχεργήθη.
Ε'ρως λέγαν κάμνει χάζι, μία νέα νἄχῃ νάζι.
(νάζι)

The Romance and the Echo Song are a complete specimen of the modern Greek, such as it is spoken at this day, with all its contrac-

tions, combinations of words, and other barbarisms. The following pages will convey a more favourable notion of the style to which the learned of the Romaïc writers are able to raise their degraded language.

THE SPEECH OF PHORMIO,

From the Romaïc Thucydides.

Βλεπων τον φοβον, ω ανδρες στρατιωται, τον οποιον εχετε δια το πληθος των πολεμιων. σας εκραξα δια να σας πληροφορησω, ότι δεν πρεπει να φοβησθε τα μη αξια φοβθ· καθοτι αυτοι οί πολεμιοι, πρωτον μεν επειδη ενικηθησαν προτερον παρ' ήμων, και εν ταυτῳ επειδη γνωριζθσι και αυτοι, ότι δεν εχθσι τα αυτα προτερηματα προς ήμας, ετοιμασαν τον πολυαριθμον τθτον στολον, και δεν ετολμησαν να ελθωσι καθ' ήμων, επιστηριζομενοι περισσοτερον εις την στρατιωτικην δια ξηρας εμπειριαντων, ωσαν να ανηκη μονον εις αυτθς ή ανδρια επειδη νικωσι πολλακις εις τας πεζομαχιας· εντευθεν στοχαζονται, ότι θελθσι κατορθωσῃ το ιδιον και εις τας ναυμαχιας· τθτο ομως εν λογῳ δικαιῳ ανηκει τοσον περισσοτερον κατα το παρον εις ήμας, όσον εκεινοί καυχωνται εις τον πολεμον της ξηρας· (επειδη κατα την ανδριαν αναμφιβολως δεν μας ύπερτερθν παντελως) οντες δε έκατεροι έκατερων εν διαφοροις πραγμασιν εμπειροτεροι, εκεινοι μεν εις την τακτικην της πεζομαχιας, ήμεις δε εις την εμπειριαν της ναυμαχιας, έπεται να ύπερτερωμεν προς το παρον εις την τολμην. και προς τθτοις οί Λακεδαιμονιοι, οί όποιοι δια την ιδιαν δοξαν και ύπολῃψιν εχθσι την ήγομονιαν των αλλων συμμαχων, παρακινθσιν εις τον πολεμον τθς περισσοτερθς με βιαν, χωρις να αναδεχθωσιν έκθσιως τον κινδυνον· καθοτι αν δεν εβιαζοντο, δεν ετολμθσαν να ελθωσιν εκ δευτερθ εις πολεμον, εν ῳ ενικηθησαν προτερον ύφ' ήμων κατα κρατος· μη λοιπον, μη φοβεισθε την τολμην αυτων· πολυ δε περισσοτερον και βεβαιοτερον φοβον προξενειτε εσεις εις αυτθς· καθοτι και τθς ενικησατε προτερον, και προς τθτοις στοχαζονται, ότι δεν ηθελετε αντισταθῃ εις αυτθς, αν δεν

ηλπιζετε να κατορθωσητε κατ' αυτων εκ δευτερα την νικην· επειδη οἱ περισσοτεροι των ανθρωπων, ὁσοι κινδυνται κατα τινος, δεν πιστευουσι τοσον εις της καρδιας την τολμην (καθως οἱ εχθροι μας εν τω παροντι) ὁσον εις την ὑπερβαλλουσαν δυναμιν· αλλοι ὁμως, ὁσοι τους απαντωσι με μιαν δυναμιν ὑποδεεστεραν παρα πολυ, και εν ταυτω χωρις να ειναι βιασμενοι, αντιπαρατατονται κατ' αυτων ὡς πληροφορημενοι βεβαιως εις την σταθεροτητα της καρδιας των. τα ὁποια αυτα σοχαζομενοι οἱ εχθοι μας, περισσοτερον μας φοβουνται δια το παραλογως ὑποδεεστερον ἡμων ναυτικον, παρα αν ειχομεν ἑνα σολον αναλογον προς τον σολον αυτων και προς τουτοις πολλα στρατοπεδα ειδαμεν νενικημενα ὑπο μιας ολιγωτερας δυναμεως, πολλακις μεν δια την απειριαν της τακτικης, εσθοτε δε και δια την δειλιαν· τα ὁποια ειναι δυο ελαττωματα αλλοτρια παντελως την σημερον εις ἡμας. ὡς τοσον εγω, ὁσον το επ' εμοι δεν θελω συγκροτησῃ τον πολεμον μεσα εις το σενον, μητε θελω πλευσῃ ενδον του κολπου· καθοτι γνωριζω, ὁτι ἡ σενοχωρια δεν συμφερει εις ἑνα μικρον σολον εμπειρον και ελαφρον εις τον πλουν, να νικηται εναντιον εις ἑνα πολυαριθμον και ανεπιτηδειον ναυτικον. επειδη μητε να ὁρμησῃ τις εισβαλλων κατα το δεον δεν δυναται, μη βλεπων μακροθεν την ταξιν των πολεμιων· μητε παλιν να αναχωρησῃ οπισω κατα την χρειαν δια την πυκνοτητα των εχθρων και την σενοχωριαν του τοπου· και παλιν μητε να διαπερασῃ τις, διασχιζων την ταξιν των εναντιων. μητε παλιν να επιστρεψῃ οπισω· τα ὁποια ειναι προτερηματα ἑνος σολου εμπειρου και ελαφρου εις τον πλουν. αλλ' ἑπεται εξ αναγκης να καταντησῃ ἡ ναυμαχια εις ταξιν πεζομαχιας· το ὁποιον συμφερει μαλιστα εις το πολυαριθμον ναυτικον. ὡς τοσον περι τουτων θελω φροντισῃ εγω ὁσον το δυνατον· εσεις δε φυλαττοντες την ταξιν σας ἑκαστος επι των νεων δεχεσθε τας παραγγελιας μετα προθυμιας, και μαλιστα εν ὡ το διαστημα, εξ' ὁ θελει γενῃ ἡ προσβολη του πολεμου, ειναι ολιγον· ἑπανω δε εις τον αγωνα φυλαξατε αναγκαιως ευταξιαν και σιωπην· τα ὁποια συμφερουσι και εις παν ειδος πολεμου, και περισσοτερον εις το ειδος της ναυμαχιας, και εναντιωθητε γενναιως εις τους εχθρους κατα την αξιαν των απερασμενων κατορθωματων σας· αυτη ἡ ἡμερα μας παρασταινει ἑνα μεγαλον αγωνα ἡ να σηκωσωμεν ὁλοκληρως την ελπιδα των Πελοποννησιων

απο την θαλασσαν, η να καμωμεν τους Αθηναιους να φοβωνται περισσοτερον να μη ξερηθωσι το βασιλειον της θαλασσης· και τελος παντων αναφερω εις την μνημην σας εκ δευτερου, ὁτι ενικησατε το περισσοτερον μερος αυτων· και αἱ ψυχαι των νικηθεντων δεν συνηθιζωσι να εφορμωσιν εις τους ιδιους κινδυνους εκ δευτερου ὁμοιως με την ιδιαν τολμην και προθυμιαν.

Hist. lib. ii. cap. πθ. p. 209.

A suspicion that I may appear not to have given their due weight to the numerous translations of the modern Greeks, has induced me to insert the foregoing extract from the Romaïc Thucydides, printed at Vienna in 1805. This work is the composition of Neophytus Lucas, a Greek, who resided, and, as I believe, still lives at Vienna. It is in ten volumes, and besides having the original on one side, and the translation on the opposite page, contains also a subjoined commentary to facilitate the study of the historian. Neophytus has prefixed a dedication in Hellenic to Dositheus, Metropolitan of Wallachia, which commences with an invocation of Phœbus Apollo, and Themis—Καὶ Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων ἀξιοῖ, καὶ Θέμις ἡ δέσποινα δικαιοῖ, Πανιερώτατε Δέσποτα, τοῦτό σοι τὸ λιτὸν. ὅσον ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν πόνων, προσενεχθῆναι. The translator has also prefixed a short detail relative to his author, and the excellence of his history; of which the following short specimen will not only show the Hellenic style, but the acknowledged deficiency of the modern Greeks.

Ὁρων γαρ τους εν Ευρωπη αλλογενεις, ὁσον μεν επτοηνται περι τον συγγραφεα, ὁιαν δε επιμελειαν και φιλομαθειαν περι την βιβλον επεδειξαντο ταυτην, πολλακις εις την εαυτων ἑκαστοι, καιτοι ουκ ευστοχως ὁι πλειους ὡς αυτοι τουθ' ὡμολογησαν, μεταφρασαντες γλωσσαν, και εκδοντες εις φως, ησχηνομην ατεχνως και αναξια επασχον. ειγε των ἡμετερων τοιουτον προπατορα εχοντες ξυγγραφεα, ὁι μεν αγνοοιεν ὁλως, ειτις ποτε Θυκιδιδης γε-

γονεν εν τοις Ελλησιν, οι δε και ειδοτες φρικη συνεχοιντο, ωστε και χρησθαι αμφιλαφως, ιμαντελιγμον οιον εν πολλοις το πραγμα ολως οιομενοι. ειδε τινες αυ τθλαχιστον και εχρησαντο, ουτως επιπολαιως και εν χρῳ το τθ λογθ, θδ ευτυχως, ως εμαυτον πειθω, ωστε μηδεν οι πλειθς αυτων, μικρθ δειν, αποφερεσθαι πλεον, η μη δε την αρχην, ἁτως ειπειν, επεχειρησαν τθ πραγματος ἁψασθαι.

A note attached to this Preface shows me, that in an enumeration of the learned men amongst the Greeks, should be mentioned a physician, resident, it seems, at Vienna, Silvester Philites, a friend and encourager of Neophytus, who concludes a panegyric of him by exclaiming affectionately, Αι Ζευ πατερ! τοιθτοι ειεν ἡμιν δεκα υιες Αχαιων! θχ' οιδ' ει Ὁμηρῳ μαλλον αξιον περι Νεστορος, η εμοι ταυτα περι σθ, φιλ' ἑταιρε! δικαιον ειη λεγεσθαι.

Besides the Thucydides, I take the opportunity of mentioning, that there is in Greece, though rarely to be met with, a spirited translation of the Gierusalemme Liberata, and that a Romaïc Epictetus with notes, has the character, with a friend of mine in whose judgment I must have every confidence, of being a very creditable performance. I have also now before me Æsop's Fables; Erophile, a pastoral drama, by George Chortachi, a Cretan, *the Coryphæus of poets*, printed at Venice in 1772; and the new Robinson Crusoe; all of them belonging to the Hon. Frederic North, whose collection of Romaïc books at Zante, Constantinople, and England, amounts, as I understand, nearly to a thousand volumes. Notwithstanding, however, the number and the merit of the Romaïc literati, in spite of the large schools of Constantinople, Ioannina, Aia-Balè, Nea Moni, and Kidognis, and with a due respect for the labours of the Venetian and Austrian presses, I must repeat my original assertion, that *there is no diffusion of knowledge in Greece*.

When Mons. Villoison was at Athens he discovered an inscription, which he showed to the *dascalos* or schoolmaster of the city, who

assured him that it was not in the Greek language; first, because he himself could not read it; and, secondly, on account of its making mention of certain games called Nemean, which never were heard of in ancient Greece*.

Page 573. To the notice of the libraries in the Levant, I should add, that a Greek of the name of Mano, who has a house near Buyukdere, on the shores of the Bosporus, has a very valuable and large collection of books, partly there, and partly at Yassi.

In addition also to what I have asserted of the language and literature of the modern Greeks, I beg to subjoin, that in saying that the Romaïc was not an established tongue until a century after the Turkish conquest, I mean distinctly, that the actual language of the Greeks of the present day cannot be traced higher than that period. The Body of the Greek Chemists in the King's library at Paris, written in 1478, which I presume to be as old as the translation from Boccacio, or the Belisarius, whose date I do not know, is said to be written in the vulgar tongue; but the Iliad in trochaics, of which I have seen a much earlier copy than that of Pinelli (mentioned by Harris), dated in 1528, and edited by one Nicolaus Lucanus, is also said in the programme to the volume, to have been written *formerly in the vulgar tongue*—

ΟΜΗΡΟΥ ΙΛΙΑΣ ΜΕΓΑ. ΒΛΗΘΕΙΣΑ ΠΑΛΑΙ ΕΙΣ ΚΟΙΝΗΝ
γλῶσσαν νῦν δὲ διορθωθεῖσα, καὶ διατεθεῖσα συντόμως καὶ κατὰ βιβλία, καθὼς ἔχει ἡ τῦ Ὁμῆρυ βίβλος, παρὰ Νικολάυ τῦ Λευκάνυ. κ. τ. λ.

Mr. Harris has by some inadvertency dated the Pinelli Homer one hundred years too early, having put 1540 instead of 1640 (α. χ. μ.); and he says that the work was probably some centuries earlier, which may be collected also from the above-quoted phrase. Since then that

* L'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xlvii. p. 308.

style in which the trochaic Iliad is written, is called by Nicolaus Lucanus *the vulgar tongue,* it may be necessary to see whether the composition is altogether *Romaïc,* or only that depraved language which bears more resemblance to the Hellenic than to the present Greek. An insertion of a few lines from any portion of the work, will show that the Iliad is not written in Romaïc; and it will be quite conclusive to observe, that the editor in 1528 prefixed a glossary, in which certain *hard* or *Homeric* words contained in the poems, are explained in the common dialect* : so that what was κοινη γλωσσα at one time, was to be rendered at another in the vulgar tongue, in order to become intelligible; a plain proof that the words κοινη γλωσσα, were used by the contemporaries of Nicolaus Lucanus, to signify that the language was not *Hellenic.* At the same time I must avow, that the trochaic Iliad uses the auxiliary verbs in the composition of the future and past tenses, and dispenses with the simple infinitive; a circumstance which leads me to suppose, notwithstanding the opinion of Mr. Harris as to its antiquity, that it was written after the time of the Chiliads. The grief of Achilles for the loss of Patroclus, is told in the following strains. Antilochus exclaims,

Ὦμοι Ἀχιλλεῦ ἀκούσεις
ἥτις νὰ μὴ ἔιχε γένη,
εἰς τὴν γὴν ἀποθαμένος,
ὁ θρασὺς ἔλαβε ἑκτωρ,
οἱ ἀργεῖοι εἰς ἐσένα,
τὸν δὲ ἀχιλλέα τότε

νῦν κακίστην ἀγγελίαν
κεῖται Πάτροκλος ὁ φίλος
καὶ τὰ ἔλαμπρα σου ὅπλα
νῦν πιστεύω νὰ τὸν φέρουν
λέγει ἀντίλοχος τοιαῦτα.
σκότος καὶ μεγάλη λύπη

* Καὶ ἐπειδὴ εἰσὶν ἐν τῇ δὲ τῇ βίβλῳ πολλαὶ λέξεις δειναὶ, ἤγουν ὁμηρικαὶ, ἐγένετο καὶ πίναξ, ἐν ᾧ πίναχι, εὑρήσεις ταύτας τὰς ὁμηρικὰς λέξεις ἁπλῶς ἐξηγημένας.—Programma to the Homer.

τὸν ἐσκέπασε τὸν ἄθλιον δὶ ἀυτὸν τὸν σύντροφόν τε
μετὰ δύο τε δέ σὰ χέρια ἐκ τῆς γῆς χῶμα λαμβανὲι
καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν κονίζει ὡς ἄν ἔιχασι συνήθειαν
ὅταν ἦσαν λυπημένι κ᾽ ἐις τὴν χῆν καθίσας τότε
τὸ ὡραῖον πρόσωπόν τε ἤσχυνε κ᾽ εμολυνέτο
τὴν ξανθήν τε δὲ κόμην ἐξανίσπα διὰ τὴν λύπην.

Such poetry may be thought worthy of the vignette accompanying the description,



and would be almost understood by a Greek of this day. But the reader will discern a difference between the style and language of these verses and those of the Romance, and, until a sight of the Belisarius, or any other book of early date, shall make me alter my opinion, I must revert to my original position, that the Romaïc may be supposed to have assumed its present form somewhat about a hundred years subsequently to the Turkish conquest.

POETRY.

Page 578. The generality of the Romaïc poems are in the fifteen-syllabled measure, or divided into eight and seven syllables, and so composed of stanzas of four lines instead of distiches, but exactly of the same metre. This kind of verse was originally designed for tetrameter iambic catalectic; and Forster in his Essay on Accent and Quantity (p. 126), has selected two specimens of similar verses from Aristophanes and Terence.

Ως ἡδὺ καινοῖς πράγμασιν καὶ δεξίοις ὁμιλεῖν
Καὶ τῶν καθεςώτων νόμων ὑπερφρονεῖν δύνασθαι.

Nam si remittent quippiam Philumenæ dolores
Quot commodas res attuli? quot autem ademi curas.

Of which the Latin is the best and closest, and the same as these English verses:

I'll climb the frosty mountains high, and there I'll coin the weather;
I'll tear the rainbow from the sky, and tie both ends together.

Primatt goes further than Forster in his defence of accents, and contends that the Greek acute had a lengthening power belonging to it. How otherwise could Plautus have read Φίλιππος and Φάιδρωμος, Phīlĭppŭs and Phædrŏmŭs? How could Ovid have said,

strictumque Orionis ensem,

except that he obeyed the antepenultimate accent of Ὠρίωνος? Ausonius also makes īdŏlă, ērĕmŭs, and tētrāgŏnŏ, dactyls, because εἴδωλα, ἔρημος, and τετράγωνος, had their antepenultimates long. The English, in saying St. Helēna, and idēa, are not regulated by the

former quantity of those words, but by the accentuation; as are the Italians in their pronunciations of words ending in *ia*, as *philosophia*. The metre of all the modern European languages is a metre of accent, not quantity.

To this it may be some sort of a reply, that we know from the experience of our language, that accentuation, or *stress*, the effect of it, varies according to whim and fashion. The word *mankind*, which, in Pope, is equally long in the last and first syllable, is in several poets prior to his age, long only in the first. A few years ago every one pronounced nabob as it is given in the Rumbold epigram, ending

"And sternly answer'd *na-bob*."

There is no reason to suppose, that although the rules for accentuation were more certain and defined than our own, they were not occasionally affected by any of the circumstances which change our pronunciation; and if the Greek poets had followed the accents, or had allowed their acute to have a lengthening power, is it not likely that in some words there would have been a difference between the writers of different ages? Would not there have been a few instances of a syllable which is long in one being short in another, or *vice versa?* Besides, since the known effect of an obedience to accentuation produced the Chiliads of Tzetzes, how came it, if accents had always a similar force, that none of these verses were written in former ages? It is true, that Dionysius has talked of that faulty species of poetry which is similar to prose*, but it by no means appears from this, that there was amongst the ancient Greeks a separate sort of vulgar poetry, like the political verses. The critic alludes rather to that poetry, which as Aristotle says of the verses

* Μηδεὶς καὶ ὑπολαμβάνετω με ἀγνοεῖν, ὅτι κακία ποιήματος ἡ καλεμένη Λογοείδεια δοκεῖ τις εἶναι, κ. τ. λ.—sect. 26.

of Empedocles, resembled Homer's *only in the metre**; or to those *versus senarii* of the comic writers, of which Cicero has observed in his Orator, that they are so like discourse, that the number and verse can *scarcely* be perceived. He does not say that they have not verse or number; and Horace, talking of the same poetry, tells us how it differs from prose—

——————————— pede certo
Differt sermoni sermo merus.

The scholiast on Hephæstion, has been adduced by Forster, to prove that the στίχος λογοειδὴς, was a species of political verse; but I shall observe, that the instance brought by this writer, convinces us to the contrary—

Ἵππες καὶ ξανδὰς ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα.

This is prosaic, but nothing to the purport of the vulgar poetry of the Chiliads; nor would any proof, except the finding of several consecutive lines, in which the accent regulated the metre, be sufficient to establish the antiquity of the measure in question.

It would be tedious to give specimens of the various Romaïc metres, which are diversified according to the tunes and dances to which the poetry is applied. The charm of a gingling rhyme is never neglected; and most of the fifteen-syllabled songs, even when not divided into quatrains, in the manner of the English distich before quoted, rhyme at the eighth as well as the last syllable. By the following *cotzakias*, which I have translated literally, we may judge of the taste of the modern Greeks, and from the last stanza, shall, I think, form no unfavourable opinion of it.

* Οὐδὲν γὰρ κοινόν ἐστιν Ὁμήρῳ καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλεῖ, πλὴν τὸ μέτρον.

COTZAKIAS.

Τὸν ἐρανὸν κάμνω χαρτὶ	If all the ocean were of ink,
Τὴν θάλασσαν μελάνι	And paper all the skies,
Νὰ γράψω τά πισμάτικα	Should I attempt to write my woes,
Καὶ ὅλα δὲν μὲ φθανει	They never would suffice.
Ἴσως θαῤῥεῖς κ'ἂν μ' ἀρνηθῆς	You hope, when you deny me thus,
Πῶς θενὰ κιτρινίσω	To make me wan with woe ;
Γαροφαλάκι θαγενῶ	But I, thy passion to provoke,
Δία νὰ σὲ δαιμονίσω	Like violets fair will grow.
Κυπαρίσσακι μῦ ὑψηλὸ	My lofty cypress, hear me speak,
Σκύψε νὰ σὲ λαλήσω	And bend thy head so high ;
Ἔχω δύω λῦγια νὰ σ' ἐπῶ	Two words alone I ask, and then
Καὶ ἀπὲ νὰ ξεψυχήσω	Will be content to die.

This specimen of the alternate verses of the modern Greeks, which they repeat for a continuation, and with no other connection than that they all have some reference to love, is inserted in Dr. Pouqueville's account of the Morea, which contains also one of the songs which are sung by the leaders of the Romaïc dances, and repeated after the choryphæus by the whole string of the performers. At each verse or *strophe*, as Dr. Pouqueville calls it, some change takes place in the figure or footing of the dance. He gives it the name of the *Romaïc Ranz de vache*.

Κόρη μαλαματένια μυ	My maiden of gold! my beautiful jewel*!
Καὶ μαργαριταρένια μυ	
Κάμνεις τοὺς νέους καὶ χαίρουνται	The young all delighted, thy presence survey ;
Τοὺς γέρους καὶ τρελαίνουνται	The aged entranc'd, look their wisdom away.
Κάμνεις καὶ μὲ τὸν ὀρφανὸ	I too must despair, as I find thee so cruel;
Πιάνο μαχαίρι νὰ σφαγῶ	Then bring me a dagger, a lover to slay.

* Μαργαριταρένια μυ, literally, *of pearls*. Hibernice, *my jewel*.

Σιῶπ' ὀρφανὲ μὴ σφάξεσει	Peace, pitiful boy, why tell us of killing?
Καὶ' ἀπ' ὀμορφιαῖς μὴνοιαξεσε	These charmers should ne'er be the cause of thy sorrow:
Κ' ἐμεῖς νὰ βοῦ τὴν φέρομεν	We'll bring thee another, since this is unwilling,
Τὴν κόρην ὀπῦ ξεύρομεν	Another much fairer and kinder, to-morrow.

The copy in Pouqueville has many faults, and appears to have been taken down by some one unacquainted with the Romaïc pronunciation, or, it is very probable, by a Greek ignorant of the spelling of his own language. I should mention, that a great many words which are in common use, are not contained in the Romaïe dictionaries. Βοῦ and *νοίαζε* are not in Ventote*. One might almost suspect them to be the French *vous* and *ennuiez*. It is nearly impossible to make out some of the words, through the barbarous contractions and unions with which they are obscured. The θα, which is sometimes joined with the next verb, seems the sign of the future tense, as θα γενῶ, I will become.

I shall leave every one to make his own comments upon the specimens of the Romaïc before given; but I cannot help noticing Mr. Villoison's opinion on this subject, as that learned person has paid a critical attention to the language, not only in the libraries of the French capital, but in the Levant, where he travelled with Mr. de Choiseul Gouffier, and was sent upon a mission by Louis XVI. in search of MSS. Mr. Villoison, in the researches which he read at the French Academy of Inscription on the 12th of May, 1772, delivers a decided opinion, that the Romaïc is but a dialect of the ancient

* The dictionary does not include these words; it contains, however, the definition of that hateful animal a Tory. Tory—Ὄνομα ἐν Ἀγγλία τῶν ὀπαδῶν Καρόλε Β. νῦν δὲ τῶν ὀπαδῶν τῆς Αὐλῆς. Tory—*In England, the name for the partizans of Charles II., but now of a partizan of the court.*

Greek*; and he enlarges upon the utility of paying more attention to it than had yet been bestowed upon the language. For the study of Hellenic manuscripts, a knowledge of the Romaïc is indispensable. "Souvent on trouve," he says, "dans un manuscrit Grec, une date, un remarque, qui indique son age, l'original d'apres lequel il a été copié, le nom de celui qui l'a transcrit, ou de ceux à qui il a appartenu, et le lieu où il a été découvert: c'est en Grec vulgaire que ces particularités qui peuvent être de conséquence sont écrites."

Following up his notion that the Romaïc is a dialect of the Hellenic, he brings as proof, that some ancient roots may be discovered in the vulgar tongue of the modern Greeks, which are not to be found in the extant works of the ancient writers. In Hesychius, Suidas, Eustathius, and the Etymologicon Magnum, ναρὸς and νηρὸς signify *humid*. Νηρεὺς, Νηρηΐδες, and Νήριον, *a sea-god, the water-nymphs*, and a sort of plant which, according to Dioscorides, grows in marshy places; all these, as well as the two adjectives, were originally formed from Νερὸν, *water*, the modern Greek word; so that the line in Lycophron, ἐν χθονὸς νηροῖς μυχοῖς, does not mean *in terræ humilibus*, as usually translated, but *humidis recessibus*. The extreme antiquity of many Romaïc terms can not be denied. Apollonius in his dictionary, and Hesychius, mention that the word ἔρανος, had amongst the Persians the signification of *royal tents*. Now in modern Greek, ἐρανιὰ is the canopy of an altar. There is however in French a similar phrase—*le ciel du lit*. Indeed Mons. Bonamy† observes, that the language contains many expressions which could only be derived from the French, and probably from the period of the Latin conquest; and he even thinks the indeclinable participles, such as γραφοντας, λαλεντας, *writing, speaking*, deduced from the

* Alors il n'est qu'un dialecte de l'ancien Grec.—Page 64, tom. xxxviii. l'Académie des Inscriptions, &c.

† L'Académie des Inscript. tom. xxiii. p. 250; tom. xxxviii. p. 61.

same source; a notion successfully combated by Villoison. Mons. Villoison discovered amongst the Tzacones, in Mania, the language of the ancient Dorians, the dialect of Pindar and Theocritus*. The whole body of his proofs I have not seen; but I shall remark, and I trust without presumption, upon one asserted fact relative to pronunciation, on which much stress has been laid. This is the use of the Sigma for the Theta, which is said to prevail amongst the Maniotes.

The speech of the ancient Lacedemonians differed in some respects from that of the rest of Greece, and, amongst other particularities, they pronounced πάρσενε σιά for πάρθενε θεὰ, and σιῶν for θεῶν, as may be seen in that comedy of Aristophanes entitled *Lysistrate*. Villoison, it should be seen, advances this fact, not only to prove his general assertion respecting the preservation of the Doric dialect in Mania, but in an argument against the antiquity of the usual pronunciation of modern Greece†. It is nothing, says he, that you prove the modern sound to be like the Laconian; for the Laconian was different from the rest of Greece. Upon which the editor of the memoirs well observes, "Peut être les Grecs seront-ils satisfaits de l'aveu qu'au moins leur prononciation actuelle est la même que celle des anciens Lacons." It would be well for the argument, if the sound of the Sigma was confined by Villoison to the Mainotes, which, however, it is not; for he allows that the Athenians call their town Asini. Now I was three months in Athens, and never heard it so called; on the contrary, the Θ was to my ears a complete *O Th*. The origin of the mistake will soon appear. To prove the antiquity of this *sibilation*, if I may so call it (which, according to his own account, was, we see, not confined to the Laconians), Mr. Villoi-

* L'Académie des Inscrip. tom. xlvii. p. 284.

† Ibid. tom. xxxviii. p. 66, note (a).

son quotes Eutychius, who died Patriarch of Alexandria in 940, and who wrote a history in Arabic, edited, with a Latin version, by Pococke in 1658.—In this history the Greek *Thetas* are represented by an Arabic *Tse* (Θεοδοσιος, is *Tseodosius*—Θεος, is *Tseos*), which, says he, is equivalent to the English *Th*, and which it may be, but still will have no sound of the Sigma. Since Mr. Villoison does not know how the English of the present day pronounce their letters, he cannot be expected to teach us what sound the ancient Greeks gave to the character of their alphabet. Nevertheless, I was naturally very eager to know the opinion of such a scholar on the disputed point of the pronunciation; and from what I can collect of his way of thinking, in the Anecdota Græca, and in the Memoirs of the Academy, it appears to me, that he is, on the whole, against the antiquity of the present common method; for he replies to the indefinite praises of De Guys and others on the softness of the Romaïc, that such a quality is by no means a proof of its correctness and antiquity—*car adoucir une prononciation est souvent l'altérer*. He does not believe that Crusius, who travelled from the year 1394 to 1427*, could have heard the words, ἐυλόγι μένα Δέσποῖα, and ὁ Θεὸς ἐυλογέιτω σέναν, pronounced *efflogi mena despota*, and *o theos efflogito senam;* for he might have written it in his own German fashion. This seems to me very improbable: he was writing Latin, and wished to convey in that language the sound of the words to his ears. He agrees that the B had lost its sound in the time of Alexius Commenus, which it is indeed impossible to deny. In Philip Bounarotti's observations on some fragments of ancient glass vases, adorned with figures (Florence, 1716), it is seen, that the Greek words πιε and ζησης, are found written on drinking-cups in Roman characters, thus, *pie, zeses*. On which Villoison observes, "Si autem Latini H ut iota pronunciassent utique *zesis* non zeses scripsissent; unde patet Græcos

* See Turco Græcia, p. 44.

recentiores τσ H, ut et quærundam aliarum literarum pronunciationem immutasse. Sic eosdem Græcos recentiores constat e capite secundo grammaticæ linguæ Græcæ vulgaris a Simone Portio scriptæ, et ex aliis, sæpe in præantepenultimam et nonnunquam in quintam syllabam rejici accentus, qui a veteribus non longius rejici poterant quam in antepenultimam, si autem recentiores Græci eam pronunciationis partem, quæ in accentibus posita est, corruperunt cur non, et eam quæ ad literas pertinet*." Here follows a long note, which, as Mr. Villoison thinks that he has by it reconciled the very strong arguments on both sides of this vexed question, and as it shows that the present pronunciation is much older than usually supposed, I here insert.

"Nono autem sæculo receptam vulgo fuisse, et passim invaluisse istam pronunciaturem, quæ αι et ε οι et υ confundit, et tot tantorumque mendorum causa fuit, hinc evincitur, quod summus ille Bentleijus, pp. 38, 39, stupendæ illius ad millium epistolæ, ex edit. Venet. in fol. 1733, in qua Joannis' Malalæ chronicon Josephi Genesii de rebus Constantinopoli quatur libris nunc primum editis, subjectum est in publica Oxonii bibliotheca librum reperiisse se observat, antiqua manu notatum, continentem mille regulas de recta scribendi ratione, quarum XL docent, quando αι scribere oporteat et quando ε; totidemque ubi οι et ubi υ; hunc que librum esse Theognosti Grammatici quem laudat aliquoties Etymologici auctor (qui proinde nono sæculo anterior esse non potest) hujusque Theognisti, apud quem ea omnia reperiuntur quæ illi accepta referuntur in Etymologico Magno, ætatem resciri ex præfatione, cujus initium est

. . . . τω δεσποτη μϐ.

Hinc sequitur nostrum Theognostum qui tempore Michaelis Balti, cujus, dum regnaret, historiam scribebat, vir maturus esse debuit,

* Anecdota Græca, tom. ii. Diatriba, p. 126, edit. Venet. Fratrum Colet. 1781.

non Leoni Sapienti qui multo post, sicilet ab anno 889 usque ad 991 imperavit, sed Leoni Armenio suam dedicasse Orthographiam; in qua cum tradiderit præcepta necessaria ad vitandam confusionem ortam e promiscuo αι et ε, οι et υ sono ac usu, hinc quoque colligitur hanc pronunciationem quæ tum invaluerat, et vulgo recepta erat nono sæculo, ubi jam omnia confuderat et permiscuerat, longe anterioram fuisse; quod vel ex antiquissimo patet Alexandrino Codice, e tot monumentis longe etiam antiquioribus, ubi hæ litteræ passim confusæ et promiscuæ usurpatæ sunt, et e Copticarum literarum nominibus, *vida zida hida, thita, mi ni,* quæ Græcos characteres eorum que pronunciationem tunc temporis vigentem, perfecte repræsentant. Imo si meam mihi sententiam exponere liceat, vel apud ipsos antiquissimos Græcos το H nec ε, nec ι, purum prossus sonuisse credo sed hujus quendam fuisse medium inter utramque vocalem sonum, eumque ab utraque litera tenui intervallo discretum, ac pro variis et locis et hominibus ad hanc aut ad illam proprius accedentem, proinde que obnoxium confusioni quam postea invexit incultioris ævi negligentia, quamque nec superiorum ætatum homines imperiti ac rudes omnino vitaverunt, cum illa non offendere posset nisi solas Antiquissimorum Græcorum, eorumque paulo urbaniorum ac humaniorum, teretes et religiosas aures, longo usu, qui postea obsolevit, subactas. Sic apud Romanos qui promiscue scribebant *classeis* et *classes, naveis* et *naves,* vicinus esse debebat τῦ ει, τῦ ι, et τῦ ε sonus. Ita Cicero de Oratore, lib. iii. cap. xii. (Cotta noster cujus tu illa lata, Sulpici, nonnunquam imitaris, ut *iota* literam tollas, et e plenissum dicas, non mihi Oratores antiquos, sed Messores videtur imitari). Sic *fatah* et *damma* Arabica modo *a,* mode *e,* et modo *o,* modo *u* sonant, ac varie pro variis efferuntur locis, ut et multæ recentiarum linguarum ac præsertim Orientalium literæ quarum sonos lævissimum discrimen plurimos, ac omnes fere hospites et peregrinos prorsus fugit. Hâc sola via conciliari posse arbitror firmissima illa argumenta quæ pro utra-

que Græcæ linguæ pronunciatione adeo vexata utrimque afferuntur."

He then goes on to prove that the modern Greeks pronounce the Θ like the ancient, using much the same arguments as are before stated. In some respects, however, he seems to incline to the Romaïc. He found in the yard of a bishop's house at Castri in Lesbos, a sepulchral inscription, in which the XAIPE was written XEPE; and observes, "La confusion qu' entraine une prononciation beaucoup plus ancienne que plusieurs personnes ne le croient, a occasionè cette faute du graveur*." In another house at Castri, he found ΕΙΣΙΔΙ put for ΙΣΙΔΙ, and at Megara, ΕΙΟΧΕΑΙΡΑΝ and ΝΕΙΚΗΦΟΡΙΔΟΣ for ΙΟΧΕΑΙΡΑΝ and ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΙΔΟΣ†. Without any wish to answer this objection to the diphthongal sound of *αι* and *ει*, I shall merely observe, that the date of these inscriptions is not known; and that Isaac Vossius himself, the principal advocate of the ancient *bivocals*, allows, that as early as the times of Claudius and Nero, the diphthongs had begun to lose their double power amongst the Greeks, having before lost it amongst the Latins, even prior to the age of Cicero‡. I refer to Primatt's first chapter on Greek Accents, for a hardy defence of the single sounds, in which the reader who has examined the opposite arguments, will find that nearly all the facts relative to this disputed point, are adduced on both sides of the question by the two parties in the contest.

To the detail before given, of Mons. Villoison's notion respecting the language of the Tzacones (which might have been suggested to him by the hint concerning them in Du Cange, inserted in this volume, page 557), I must add, that the same learned person avers, that there are seventy dialects of Romaïc. How this is to be

* L'Académie des Inscript. tom. xlvii. p. 306.

† Ibid. p. 355.

‡ De Poemat. Cantu, p. 16.

proved, according to the usual latitude of the term dialect, I cannot conceive. Symeon Cabasilas, as has been seen, did indeed inform Crusius, that there were *seventy dialects, and perhaps more*. The variation must be very trifling, to admit of so many diversities.

One of the peculiarities which is observable in the Romaïc, is the adoption of generic for specific terms, as well as the use of specific words generically: thus, instead of ἱππος, *a horse*, the modern Greeks say αλλογος, *a brute;* and κιφος, which Pausanias in his third book informs us was the old Messenian word for a crown, is now an exclamation of success.—The last instance Mr. Villoison might have chosen to call to the aid of his own hypothesis. The adoption of the plural ειναι for εστι, is well worthy the consideration of the grammarian.

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ACADEMIE IONIENNE

Prix Olympiadiques.

Les membres de l'Académie Ionienne rappellant incessamment à leur pensée qu'ils sont des Grecs, ayant toujours devant eux ce qu'étaient leurs ancêtres, pleins du désir de voir les descendants de pareils hommes se rendre vraiment leurs fils, ils ont dit:

Nos pères ont élevé par leur génie un édifice que le temps n'a pû détruire. Ils ont travaillé pour le bonheur des nations. Et, long-temps après qu'ils n'étaient plus, l'Europe leur devait les progrès de l'esprit humain, qui placent ces derniers siècles à coté des siècles de nos pères.

Pour enflammer les ames du feu qui les fait créer les grandes choses, la Grèce assemblait ses enfants, elle appellait au milieu d'eux les Pindares, les Simonides, les Hérodotes. Sous la sauve-garde des muses elle confiait la gloire des héros à la postérité.

Et pour unique recompense aux applaudissements de ses douze tribus, elle ceignait le front de l'auteur d'un grand chef-d'oeuvre, comme celui de l'auteur d'une belle action, avec un simple feuillage.

Descendants de ces hommes, Vous qui vivez encore sur les lieux qui redisent leur gloire, et Vous que le malheur a dispersés sur la terre, entendez notre voix.

Nos faibles mains vous offrent des prix de l'ancienne Grèce.

Nous n'aurons point à les donner devant un concours de deux cent mille citoyens, nous ferons bien plus encore, nous les décernerons en présence de toutes les nations et devant la statue du Héros qui nous aime.

Nous nous supposerons en présence de tout ce qui reste encore du peuple Grec, nous nous supposerons en présence de tout le peuple des Français et des autres peuples. Et nous dirons:

Enfants des Grecs, dans l'oeuvre de l'un de vous, nous venons de reconnaître encore le génie de nos pères. Deux mille ans n'ont pû l'éteindre. Nous venons d'en recueillir une étincelle. Puissent vos acclamations, unies à celles de tous les autres hommes être l'esprit vivifiant qui la développe en flamme immortelle.

Quand la domination des Romains, dégénérés, s'écroulait sur ses pieds d'argile, la langue de Cicéron et de Tacite, quoique altérée, n'était point encore méconnaissable dans les anciennes provinces de cet immense colosse. Les états de l'Italie parlaient encore l'idiome du Latium quoiqu'en y melant les expressions barbares du vainqueur. Ils auraient pû, peut être, relever leurs dialectes jusqu'à la dignité, jusqu'à la noblesse de la langue latine. Ils suivirent une autre marche, et les doux chants de Philomèle changèrent en accents musicaux la langue majestueuse des monarques de la terre.

Nous portons bien plus haut notre ambition et nos vues. Nous nous addressons à des hommes la plupart sans patrie et nous leur parlons de la gloire de leurs pères; nous leur disons, que la grandeur et la fierté de l'ame ont leur image dans la noblesse et la fierté du langage, et qu'ils doivent parler un idiome qui les rappelle incessamment à la grandeur, à la noble fierté qui caractérisaient le peuple des héros.

Notre langue est dechue sans doute; mais, comme les autres langues de l'Europe moderne, elle n'est pas encore méconnaissable dans la physionomie de sa langue maternelle.

Elle s'est déja relevée de la corruption où des temps d'infortune l'avaient plongée, et les Rigas, les Coraïs, les Ducas, ont fait des pas marqués dans la route que nous voulons indiquer. Marchez donc sur les traces de ces hommes, dont le beau talent n'est égalé que par la beauté de leurs ames. Faites plus que les suivre, portés par leurs progrès même devancez-les, c'est dans cette noble carrière quil est honorable d'être tour-à-tour et le vainqueur et le vaincu.

Si devenus maîtres de cette philosophie qu'ont perfectionnée les modernes,

vous portez sa science analytique dans l'examen de votre dialecte, vous vous direz bientôt; peu de perfectionnements encore, et le langage corrompu des Grecs modernes deviendra l'un des plus beaux dialectes de l'ancienne Hellénie.

Mais cette même analyse vous dira qu'une langue qui n'ose employer les infinitifs de ses verbes; qui rejette presque tous leurs participes; qui joint à leurs futurs, à leurs passés, à leurs conditionnels des temps superflus, trainants et fastidieux; qui rejette presqu'en entier un cas de ses noms et ses plus utiles particules; est une langue qui se prive à plaisir de ses plus précieuses richesses.

Enfin elle vous dira, cette analyse, qu'une telle langue n'attend qu'un génie audacieux autant que sage, pour franchir de timides barrières et trouver le secret d'un stile plein de nerf, de concision, de grandeur et d'harmonie; plein du beau caractère des anciens dialectes de la Grèce, et pourtant, si peu différent du parler populaire de Constantinoples, de Smirne, et de tout l'Archipel, que dans ces lieux et dans le reste de la Grèce, il puisse être compris avec les plus légers efforts d'attention.

S'il est des écrivains qui ayent le courage de marcher dans la carrière que nous leur indiquons, nous osons leur promettre une gloire durable pour leurs écrits en eux mêmes (car, dit un grand écrivain, c'est la langue qui sauve les ouvrages); et nous leur assurons cette gloire bien plus grande que n'eût aucun peuple du monde, celle de rappeller sa langue degradée à son antique perfection.

O vous, qui peuplez ces contrées, si pendant plus de quatre siècles un aveugle systéme fermait vos esprits à la lumière des sciences, des lettres et des arts, cette époque a passé, et ses vils souvenirs tomberont tout entiers dans l'oubli; mais sous l'égide qui vient de s'étendre sur vous, rien ne peut plus borner vos vastes destinées; vous avez en votre main de revivre ou de rester morts pour la postérité: choisissez.

Tous les quatre ans nous présenterons à l'Europe le tableau de ce qu'auront fait les Grecs pour se régénérer, en lui offrant l'analyse raisonnée de tous les ouvrages publiés dans notre langue pendant cette courte période. Quelques olympiades encore, et l'Occident ramené de son erreur dans l'opinion qu'il s'est formée des Grecs, ne les jugera plus les fils barbares de ce peuple qui pût justement traiter de barbares tout ce qui n'était pas Lui.

Il sera beau de voir l'Europe attentive aux efforts d'un peuple qui, terrassé

par le malheur, entreprend de se relever, de lui même, jusques à sa première majeste.

Tous les quatre ans nous donnerons un prix à l'auteur qui, dans le grec moderne le plus pûr, aura composé et publié l'oeuvre la meilleure; et à celui qui, avec un égal talent d'écrivain, aura traduit et publié l'un des beaux ouvrages des nations modernes, et surtout de la Nation Française.

Dans la salle de nos séances nous suspendrons la couronne d'olivier sauvage dont nous aurons ceint le front du vainqueur, et nous inscrirons au dessous, l'olympiade où le prix aura été remporté, les noms de l'auteur, de son ouvrage, de sa patrie, et de l'ecole qui l'a formé: ce seront là les trophées de l'Académie. En présence des plus grands hommes de la nation, comment rien d'indigne d'eux pourra-t'-il jamais sortir de son sein!

Par un Synchronisme heureux, le 15 Août 1807 l'armée Française arrivait à la vue de ces rivages, le 15 Août 1808 l'Académie Ionienne tenait la première des séances solemnelles qu'elle avouées à célébrer son bienfaiteur et son protecteur: enfin ce même été 1808 eût été celui dans lequel les Grècs eûssent renouvellé leurs jeux olympiques pour la 647*e* fois, si les empires, ne mouraient pas aussi, comme l'homme, peu après qu'ils ont brillé.

Partant donc de cette époque, où l'Académie prenait naissance sous l'auspice des Français, les premiers de nos prix seront distribués le 15 Août 1812. Ce sera la première année de la 648e. olympiade.

Nous n'offrons qu'une réminiscence de ces époques solemnelles, nous laisserons au temps à developper un prémier germe que nous jettons pour la postérité.

Nous donnerons pour prix une médaille. Elle portera l'emblème de l'Empereur des Français avec ses mots; *NAPOLEON, beinfaiteur et protecteur:* c'est le cachet de l'Académie. Au revers nous graverons une étoile avec ces mots; *Au Génie, l'Académie reconnaissante.* Sur le contour de la médaille séront écrits, les noms de l'auteur et de son ouvrage avec le quantième de l'olympiade. La médaille sera de fer; c'est la monnaie de Lacédémone; c'est celle de l'honneur et de la vertu, revetue des empreintes de l'immortalité.

Un jour nos majestueuses panégyries renouvelleront leurs vastes concours, d'autres juges nous succederont dont la gloire fera bientot oublier la nôtre; mais leur grandeur même sera notre ouvrage, et ce sera là la gloire que le temps ne pourra nous ravir, et qui nous rendra chers à tous les vrais amis des idées grandes et libérales.

P.S. L'Académie ne jugera que des ouvrages qui seront envoyés à son sécrétariat (francs de port) et elle devra les avoir reçus au 1er Mai 1812, pour donner les premiers de ses prix olympiadiques. Pour le premier concours l'Académie recevra les ouvrages de tous les auteurs vivants qu'elle qui soit la date de leur publication.

A Corcyre, 1re année de la 647ê olympiade,
(Juin 1809).

Le Secrétaire pour la langue Française,
CH. DUPIN.

ACADEMIE IONIENNE

Enseignement public.

PROSPECTUS.

Le 15 Août 1808, l'Académie Ionienne fit connaitre aux Corcyréens qu'elle allait leur ouvrir des cours gratuits et publics de physique et chimie, d'histoire naturelle, de physiologie et d'hygiène. Elle tint plus qu'elle n'avait promis: à ces premiers cours, elle ajouta celui d'anatomie et d'opérations chirurgicales, que M. le docteur Razis par un mouvement digne d'éloges, s'offrit à professer, quoiqu'il ne fût point encore au nombre de nos collègues.

Un dénuement absolu d'instruments en tout genre, d'emplacements même pour opérer les expériences de chimie et les dissections anatomiques, toutes ces causes ont nui aux premiers cours ouverts par l'Académie. Cependant malgré tant d'obstacles, ces cours n'ont point été faits sans quelques succès.

L'Académie a vu, nous oserons dire avec orgueil, des personnes dèja mûries par l'âge et le travail, des officiers pleins de mérite, et des hommes habiles dans les diverses branches de l'art de guérir, honorer constamment de leur présence les cours de ses professeurs.

Mais en même temps l'Académie a vu avec douleur qu'elle avait fait un vain appel à la jeunesse Corcyréenne, l'Académie n'a point trouvé de pères qui ayent chéri l'instruction de leurs fils, et point de fils qui ayent senti que l'instruction pouvait etre un bienfait pour eux mêmes. Cependant l'Académie avait paru taxer injustement quelques parens d'un vain orgueil, en leur disant, avec menagement, qu'un amour propre aveugle et mal calculé peut-être, les empêchait

d'envoyer leurs fils à des écoles publiques quelqu'elles fussent. Combien l'Académie verrait avec plaisir l'expérience démentir ces assertions qui lui coutent, et qu'elle s'empresserait d'avouer qu'elle a eû tort de vous faire un reproche, que tout lui donne aujourd'hui le droit de renouveller!

Aux cours de l'année dernière, nous devons ajouter un cours de litterature Grecque, ouvert par notre collègue le docteur Mavromati; c'est un nom qui vous est connu et qui porte avec lui son éloge. Le docteur Mavromati developpera les beautés des principaux chef-d'oeuvres de vos ayeux. Il fera proprement pour vous un cours National. Il est beau de voir que c'est sous l'égide du Gouvernement Français qu'apres deux mille ans de silence, les philosophes de l'Hellenie renouvellent leurs leçons eloquentes.

Cours de Physique et de Chimie.—On s'est borné dans la première année à faire connaître les loix de la physique générale et sur tout de l'astronomie physique, dans laquelle on a pris pour base le traité de l'ancien élève de l'Ecole Polytechique M. Biot. Cette année la physique particulière, et s'il se peut la chimie, seront développées d'apres les leçons de cette même école par ses anciens élèves MM. Augoyat et Dupin.

Histoire Naturelle.—M. le docteur Pierri professera la botanique en général, et spécialement l'histoire naturelle des Isles Ioniennes.

Medecine.—Monsieur le docteur Gangadi professera la physiologie et l'hygiène appliquée spécialement aux habitants de ces contrées, d'après les bases offertes par la nature du climat et la salubrité spécifique des diverses regions de ces Isles.

Chirurgie.—Monsieur le docteur Razis, professera l'anatomie et dans le même temps il fera un cours d'opérations chirurgicales et d'obstétrice.

Belles-Lettres.—Monsieur le docteur Mavromati ouvrira un cours de littérature Grecque, il fera sentir le caractere des divers genres de constructions grammaticales et l'esprit des tours oratoires ou poetiques, il marquera comparativement les beautés dont ils sont susceptibles, avec les défauts qu'on doit éviter pour écrire avec élégance et pureté la langue Grecque. Il passera de ces éléments à la comparison des auteurs, en cherchant à reconnaitre la trempe de leur genie dans le caractère de leur stile, et l'élevant successivement des plus simples études aux plus composées; il parlera tour à tour, des prosateurs didactiques, des philosophes, des historiens, des orateurs: enfin il étendra sa methode jusqu'aux ouvrages des poëtes, en faisant sur le stile de la poesie les études qu'il aura dèja présentées sur le stile de la prose.

Au premier Octobre, époque de l'ouverture des cours, l'Académie fera connaître les jours et les heures choisies par ses professeurs pour donner leurs leçons.

A Corcyre, Août 2è année de la
147è olympiade (1809).

Le Secrétaire pour la langue Française,
CH. DUPIN.

Page 583. The History of the Patriarchs of Jerusalem, written by Dositheus, and printed in 1715, mentions the Seraglio library; and Gregorias Ghika, Waywode of Wallachia, printed at Leipsic in 1772, in two volumes folio, a commentary on the bible, entitled, σειρα των πατερων, a book which all the Greeks of the fanal assured the Abbé Toderini, the author of the book on Turkish literature, was procured from the same collection by the Prince's ancestors. The story told in the volume which was hunted out of the records of the Imperial library by Villoison, and is given in the eighth volume of the Notice of the MSS. in that collection, which is subjoined to the last edition of the Academy of Inscriptions, printed at Paris in 1810, will account for the possession of any rare manuscript volumes by wealthy individuals or corporations in Greece, and the σειρα πατερων is known to have been in the Seraglio library. The words of Monsieur Girardin, in his two letters to the Minister of Louis the Fourteenth, are decisive, especially those of his second epistle. Je me suis, Monsieur, exactement informé de ce qui concerne celle (la bibliothèque) du Grand Seigneur, et je puis vous assurer quelle est sans ordre, et sans catalogue. Les MSS. Grecs ne consistoient qu'en 200 volumes, ou environ; et le Pere Besnier, apres les avoir examinés, n'a trouvé que ceux dont j'ai pris la liberté de vous envoyer le mémoire, qui meritassent d'en être tirés pour la bibliothèque de sa majesté. Tous les autres, mal conditionnés et

qui ne contiennent que des auteurs imprimés depuis long temps, ont néanmoins été vendus sur le pied de 100 livres chacun; ainsi IL N'EN RESTE PLUS DE CETTE LANGUE DANS LE SERRAIL.

The MSS. selected by Besnier, were as follows: 1. All the works of Plutarch, a copy of the thirteenth century. 2. Many of the works of Hippocrates and some others—fourteenth century. 3. The Chain of the Fathers (σειρα πατερον)—eleventh century. 4. Homer's Iliad—fifteenth century. 5. The Cassandra of Lycophron, Oppian, Dionysius Periegetes, Ammonius on the Isagoge of Porphyry, and a few other works—twelfth and thirteenth centuries. 6. Many of the works of Plato, and the golden verses of Pythagoras, fifteenth century. 7. The Orations of Dion Chrysostom—fourteenth century. 8. Many works of Xenophon, Plato, Hero, Ptolemæus, Appian, Manuel Phile, and others—fifteenth century. 9. The great Syntax of Ptolemæus—fourteenth century. 10. Some works of Philostratus, Alciphron, and others—eleventh century. 11. The nine books of the History of Herodotus—twelfth century. 12. The annals of John Zonaras—thirteenth century. 13. The Homilies of Jacob the Monk on the Virgin Mary, and some other productions of the same kind—eleventh century. 14. The Chronography of George Syncellus—eleventh century. 15. A voluminous collection of medical treatises, to which are prefixed the Aphorisms of Hippocrates—sixth century. 16. And finally, a Latin tract, *Pauli Savetini Ducensis,* concerning military tactics and warlike engines, with figures —the fifteenth century.

The Abbé Sevin, who was sent by Louis the Fifteenth in search of MSS., was assured at Constantinople, that all the Greek volumes had been burnt by Amurath the Fourth; but how unfounded that assurance was, has been before seen. The Abbate Toderini, a subsequent traveller, gives a list of oriental books in the Seraglio, which a page of the palace was forty days in copying.

The monastery of Patmos was found by Villoison, to contain a better regulated collection of MSS. and printed books, than any other library in the Levant. He saw there a variety of ecclesiastical works, but only a few profane authors, of which he remarks none but the Dialogues of Plato, and a part of Diodorus Siculus from a recent hand. It possessed, however, an excellent collection of some early editions, although much worm-eaten and otherwise injured. His words are: *On y trouve aussi beaucoup de bons livres Grecs imprimés, et egalement rongés par les vers; la plupart des bonnes éditions des Peres Grecs, quelques unes des Aldes et des Etiennes, entre autres les Poetæ Græci Principes, et le Tresor de la langue Grecque de HenriEtienne; l'Anthologie en lettres Majuscules de Lascaris; le Démosthêne si precieux de Bernard Feliciani, Venise,* 1543, *le Suidas de Chalcondyle, l'Euripide d'Alde, enfin plusieurs autres editions primaires, devenues fort rare, parce qu'elles sont anciennes et sont allées se perdre en Gréce et sur tout dans les couvens de Mont Athos; l'Eustathe de Rome, les Commentateurs Grecs d'Aristote les Commentaires de la langue Grecque de Budée; quelques auteurs Italiens et Latins, comme St. Augustin de civitate Dei.* See the same volume, p. 31.

Page 641. The inscription was copied by Villoison, and is given as follows, in the Academy of Inscription, vol. xlvii. p. 304.

ΥΜΝΩ ΘΕΟΝ
ΜΕΛΗΤΑ ΠΟΤΑΜΟΝ
ΤΟΝ ΣΩΤΗΡΑ ΜΟΥ
ΠΑΝΤΟΣ ΔΕ ΛΟΙΜΟΥ
ΚΑΙ ΚΑΚΟΥ ΠΕΠΑΥΜΕΝΟΥ.

Page 660. Plates 39 and 40, of Part II. of the Ionian Antiquities, contain a view of the Gymnasium at Ephesus.

Only ACCEN

RENSI ET, remains of the inscription on the arch on Mount Prion.

Page 704. Phanodicum quod attinet, id nominis (ut credide-rim) raro alibi observatum. Peropportune tamen occurrit apud Scholiastem Apollonii Phanodicus historicus, Deliacorum auctor; Idem que, ut videtur a Laertio semel atque iterum laudatus, tan-quam de tripode, sapientis dicto, deque Thalete et Biante scriptor*.

It is possible, that some persons not smitten with the love of antiquity, may be surprised that a treatise of great learning, and no inconsiderable length, and so much and such repeated attention have been bestowed upon a memorial which, translated word for word, from Chishull's Latin interpretations, is as follows:

1.	2.
Of Phanodicus I am (*i. e.* the Hermæan statue) the son of Hermocrates of Procon- esus. And I the bowl, and the stand of the bowl, and the cover, to the Prytaneum gave as a memorial, to the Si- geans; but if any thing I should suffer, to take care of me I will command the Sigeans. And he made me, Æsopus, and his brothers.	Of Phanodicus I am, the son of Her- mocrates of Pro- conesus. The bo- wl truly, and the cover of the bowl, and the stand, to the Prytaneum gave he, to the Sigeans.

Page 706. There was, however, a Sigéum in the times of the Christian Emperors. *Revixit tamen seculis Christianis et sub metropoli Cyzicenâ Episcopatûs honore floruit*†.

* Chishull, Inscriptio Sigea, p. 32.

† Sigea Inscriptio, p. 2, Lond. 1728.

Page 749. The seventh plate in the second volume of Banduri's Imperium Orientale, gives a bird's-eye view of the straits of the Dardanelles, the sea of Marmora, and Constantinople. When it was taken is not mentioned in the plate, but it was after the building of the castle of Koum-Kale in 1659. In this view some old walls are put on Cape Sigéum; other ruins, called *Ruins de Troye,* are seen underneath, on the left bank of a river, apparently the Mendere, which is called Xanthus or Scamander; and the stream, now the Thymbrek, is named the Simois.—This notice is of so much importance, that I regret much that it is not inserted in the text.

Page 757. I am desirous of propping up my own scepticism on the subject of the Troad, by the authority of no less a person than Chishull, who visited the country in the year 1701, and who says of the site of the city—"But still we must be cautious of pointing out and distinguishing the very place; since in the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, we are assured by Strabo, that there remained not the least footstep of ancient Troy to satisfy the curiosity of the most searching traveller. So vain are the accounts of our modern *journalists,* who pretend to have seen the walls, the gates, or other ruins of Troy: that which now remains, being nothing but the rubbish of New Ilium, or of that city once attempted there by Constantine*."

Pompey's Pillar. Page 870.

The inscription on Pompey's Pillar is given by Sebastian Erizzo, and, as Mons. Villoison has observed, evidently more exactly than in most other copies—

OCT. CAE. AUG. FLAV. CIAN. FAB. FIL. CLA. FRON.

* Travels in Turkey, p. 35.

Flavius Ciannidius commanded the Claudian legion when Augustus gained the battle of Philippi, and he it was that erected the column, to commemorate the arrival of that conqueror on the shores of the Bosporus*.

The Corinthian Column in the Seraglio. *Page* 948.

"In relation to this inscription (Fortunæ Reduci ob devictos Gothos), the medal of Belisarius may be observed, on the reverse of which are the words **DEVICTIS GOTHIS.**

"On the opposite plane of the basis is this religious device:



"†

* L'Académie des Inscript. tom. xlvii. p. 315.

† Chishull's Travels in Turkey, p. 46.

EXPEDITION TO THE DARDANELLES.

The following notice of the enterprise which, under the above name, has been the object of so much obloquy, may serve to change the opinion of those who have hitherto imputed the objectionable parts of the measure to the misconceptions of Lord Grenville's ministry.

It seems that the English fleet, having passed the straits on the 19th of February, came to an anchor at ten o'clock on the morning of the 20th at Princes' Islands, eight miles to the south of the Seraglio Point. This anchorage had been recommended in a dispatch addressed to Mr. Secretary Fox by His Majesty's Ambassador to the Porte, Mr. Arbuthnot, so early as the 29th of September, 1806*. The ships, however, might have taken a position less distant from Constantinople, for the Endymion frigate, after they anchored, moved to within a little more than four miles of the town, and the squadron itself might have got still nearer, if it had stood on towards the city, instead of dropping down to the Islands. One of the advantages originally proposed by the Ambassador, as likely to be gained by this position, was the cutting off the communication between the two continents, and so starving the city into submission†. It may be now of no service to ask, how such an object could be obtained by a force stationed in the sea of Marmora, when the whole canal of the Bosporus was in possession of the Turks; for, without examining into the wisdom of such a project, it is certain, that when the expedition sailed, it was not a slow siege, but active

* See No. 5, Papers presented to the House of Commons, pursuant to their Address of the 16th of March, 1808.

† No. 5, Papers, &c.

operations, which were to be undertaken against the town*. The nearer therefore the fleet could be stationed to the city, the more imposing would be its menace, and with the greater facility might open hostilities have been carried into effect.

The dismission of the General Sebastiani, and the surrender of the Turkish fleet, with a supply from the arsenals, was to be demanded; and Lord Collingwood recommended, that only half an hour should be allowed for the deliberation of the Porte. His Lordship was justly desirous of losing no time by negotiation; but he was not aware that the Turks are the most dilatory people in the world, and would be driven by such a demand of impossible promptitude, to the bravery of despair. There were two extremes to be avoided, the one just mentioned, and the admission of such a negotiation on the part of the Turks as could only be intended to gain time. It appears by Lord Collingwood's order to Admiral Duckworth, that these demands were to be made "when the squadron was disposed in such stations as to compel compliance;" but it is not exactly known whether the actual proposal was made to the Porte. The Endymion had charge of the Ambassador's dispatches to the Grand Vizier when she left the fleet at anchor; but as our force was not at that time in *such a situation as to compel compliance,* it may be presumed the real terms were not therein decisively stated. The requisition respecting General Sebastiani was, however, either actually conveyed to, or understood at, the Divan.

On the 21st, the day after the anchoring, Isaac Bey, a minister of the Porte, arrived with a flag of truce. Mr. Arbuthnot, whose opinion was to guide the Admiral as to the necessity of commencing hostilities†, and with whose advice and assistance the whole affair

* Lord Howick's Letter to the Lords of the Admiralty, No. 1, Papers presented to the House of Commons, ordered to be printed 23d March, 1808; Orders from Lord Collingwood to Sir John Duckworth, No. 2, Papers, &c.

† Orders from Lord Collingwood, &c. Papers, No. 2.

was transacted*, consented to open a negotiation: a letter, containing a project, as a basis on which peace might be preserved, was dispatched through Isaac Bey; and a gentleman of the British Factory, who communicated some of the circumstances to me, went on shore to receive the answer. On the 22d the breeze served, and although some apprehensions were entertained on account of the current, it appears the fleet would have got under weigh, and have attempted at least to work up to join the Endymion, had not the Ambassador "desired that a few hours might be given for an answer to his letter†." Mr. Arbuthnot's dispatch to Lord Howick, dated Malta the 10th of April, 1807, has the expression, that "once for a moment a hope existed that the wind was about to change‡;" but the Commander-in-Chief's letter says, that "for a few hours the breeze was sufficient to stem the current where they were placed."

The negotiation was carried on until the 27th, but from the morning of the 22d the weather was calm, with light contrary winds, and on the 28th it blew strongly from the north.

At the conclusion of the negotiation, the Turks endeavoured to erect a battery on one of Princes' Islands, and in attempting to dislodge them from a convent, owing to misinformation received by the Admiral, an English officer and several marines were killed. The heads of some of them were shown in triumph at Constantinople. The wind continued to blow down the Bosporus, and the Commander of the expedition was now "*convinced of the utter impracticability of his force making an impression, as at that time the whole of the coast presented a chain of batteries; as twelve Turkish line-of-battle ships, two of them three-deckers, with nine frigates,*

* Vice-Admiral Duckworth's Letter to Lord Collingwood, Papers, No. 7.

† Vice-Admiral Duckworth's Letter to Lord Collingwood, No. 7, Papers, &c. p. 16.

‡ Papers presented to the House of Commons, pursuant to their Address of the 16th of March, 1808, No. 9.

were with their sails bent, and apparently in readiness, filled with troops; and as 200,000 soldiers were said to be in Constantinople,"* and he was also of opinion, *"that he might have coped with the batteries alone, or with the ships, if they came out of port, but not with them as described, so as to be afterwards able to repass the Dardanelles."* Accordingly he weighed anchor on the morning of the first of May, and after standing off and on to see if the fleet would give him battle, bore up, and arrived on the evening of the 2d off Pesquies Point (Abydos), where the squadron anchored. The next morning the Dardanelles were again forced, but with a loss which was reckoned very severe, and which being added to the failure of the expedition, has not yet been effaced from the mind of the English public.

Such is the simple detail of the expedition itself, as far as it is recorded in the official papers delivered to Parliament. Let us now look into the origin of these unfortunate operations, and endeavour to collect to whom their conduct and issue are fairly to be ascribed.

It has generally been supposed that the circumstances under which His Majesty's Ambassador, backed by the letter of Rear-Admiral Louis, commanding a squadron of three line-of-battle ships off the Dardanelles, recommended the passage of an English fleet to Constantinople, were materially altered by the three weeks which elapsed from the date of Admiral Louis's letter, to the actual passage of the Dardanelles†. On this ground, and this alone, as far as I can judge, has the odium of the failure of the expedition been thrown upon the Cabinet at home. Whether this delay was imputable to the King's Government, will be seen by the dates of the several dispatches: Mr. Arbuthnot's letter, finally announcing that "the time might

* Vice-Admiral Duckworth's Letter, &c. Paper No. 7, p. 16.

† Nos. 7, 8, 9, of Papers presented to the House of Commons, pursuant to their Address of the 16th of March.

shortly arrive when His Majesty would be obliged to act hostilely against the Turkish empire*," was received at Downing-street on the 9th of November. The orders to Lord Collingwood to detach the squadron to act against Constantinople, were sent on the 22nd of the same month, and given by his Lordship to Sir John Duckworth on the 13th of January; but previously to this period, in consequence of some differences between the British Ambassador and the Porte, which were adjusted, Sir Thomas Louis, with three sail of the line and two frigates, was sent to the Dardanelles, in pursuance of instructions from Lord Collingwood dated the 22d of November, which squadron, "if the Ambassador thought it necessary and proper," was to appear before Constantinople†. Sir Thomas Louis, in a dispatch to Mr. Arbuthnot, dated the 26th of January, off the Dardanelles, told the Ambassador, "*that he might depend on the squadron's proceeding to Constantinople, in spite of opposition on the part of the Turks, whenever he might think such a measure necessary, as he was confident of performing that service with facility*‡." To this opinion Mr. Arbuthnot referred His Majesty's Ministers in his dispatch to Lord Howick§. If therefore the service could have been performed at that time, and the Ambassador, who had the sole direction of the operation, did not command such an appearance of the fleet before the capital, the English Ministry are surely to be absolved from all blame of unnecessary delay; and if more than three weeks from the date of Sir Thomas Louis's letter of the 26th of January, were gained by the Ottoman Government‖, the reason why a circumstance so fortunate for the Turks was suffered to occur, when a squadron competent and ready to prevent it was under the Ambassador's order,

* Dispatch, No. 5.

† Papers, Inclosure No. 2.

‡ Second Inclosure in Paper No. 9.

§ Paper, No. 9.

‖ Dispatch from Mr. Arbuthnot to Lord Howick, Paper No. 9.

is not to be demanded of the Cabinet at St. James, but the bureau diplomatique of Pera.

The true point of enquiry will be seen also by a view of the transactions on shore immediately preceding, and during the period of, the expedition. On the 29th of January the Ambassador and his suite, together with every individual of the British Factory, were invited to dine on board the Endymion frigate at anchor in the harbour of Constantinople. As they were sitting at coffee after nightfall in the cabin, they found the ship under weigh. Her cables had been cut. The assurance that they had been saved from certain destruction, did not prevent the merchants, who had left their counting-houses open, and even their papers exposed, from earnestly intreating to be allowed to land and abide the event. The story now told at Constantinople is, that a few strong words hastily delivered at the Divan by the Secretary of Legation, Mr. Wellesley Pole*, who during the long period of the Ambassador's unfortunate retirement from public business carried on all the political intercourse between Great Britain and the Turkish empire, occasioned a hint to be dropped, that a repetition of such a menace conveyed in such a manner, would be answered by the opening of the Seven Towers; and at the time of the Ambassador's flight from the capital, not only imprisonment, but death, and "the most severe tortures that malice could invent†," were

* The Turks had interfered with the governments of Wallachia and Moldavia, in a manner which was judged a violation of their treaty with Russia: Mr. Pole, in terms which his better judgment would disapprove, threatened the capital with twenty sail of British line-of-battle ships, and was so far thought to have gained his point, that Mr. Arbuthnot reported that the negotiation had taken a favourable turn (No. 6, Papers, &c.); and the recommendation of the Russian Minister Italinsky, conveyed to Count Woronzow at London, procured the Secretary, unless I am much mistaken, a pension of eight hundred pounds per annum, *for having risked the character of England in behalf of another power, with whom in a few months she was in open war.*

† Rear-Admiral Louis's Letter to Lord Collingwood, Paper No. 5.

understood to await all the English at Constantinople, should they be seized as hostages, and should the fleet fire upon the forts or the capital. Whether these apprehensions were well founded I cannot myself determine, but they were not credited at the time by the English residents, and are now the subject of universal ridicule. Mr. Arbuthnot, however, by his sudden departure, certainly removed one of the obstacles, which in case of the seizure of his person, might have impeded the operations of our forces; and as he joined the squadron off the Dardanelles on the 31st, no such change could have taken place in the state of defence at the Dardanelles during the interval from the 26th to that day, as could prevent the squadron from proceeding to Constantinople. The delay then must have originated either from the state of the wind or the advice of the Ambassador. Rear-Admiral Louis does indeed in his letter of the 5th of February to Lord Collingwood, seem to have changed his opinion delivered ten days before, and to have thought that a greater force was necessary to accomplish the purposes of the expedition*; but the facility with which the passage was made, and circumstances afterwards known of the state of public feeling at Constantinople, would make it appear, that his apprehensions were unfounded. The additional force under Sir John Duckworth arrived on the 10th of February, and the Ambassador declining the invitation to return with the Capudan-Pasha in the Endymion to Constantinople, the squadron sailed through the Dardanelles, as before described, on the 19th of the same month.

On the appearance of the fleet before the capital, the Grand Signior was convinced of the necessity of submission: he sent for General Sebastiani, whom he had for some time admitted to a familiarity of intercourse never before witnessed between a Sultan and an Ambassador, and said, that, however reluctantly, he must require his immediate departure. The General acquiesced in the decision, and

* No. 4, Papers relative to the Expedition to the Dardanelles.

taking his leave, retired to the French palace, where he burnt all his papers, and made every preparation for quitting the capital. The horses were saddled in the court-yard. At this time the principal ministers of the Porte were dressed in their official robes, and the state-barges were in readiness to convey them to the fleet, with offers of entire compliance with the British Minister's demands. Yet the whole population of Constantinople, ignorant of their incapacity, and fired with indignation, rushed to arms, and the gentleman who went on shore with the flag of truce assured me, that the whole Seraglio Point, the shore, the walls and the houses, were completely hidden, as it were, beneath a panoply of moving weapons. Such a species of defence would, had the town been attacked, have only increased the carnage and consternation of the besieged. The ships of war in the harbour were at once manned with a promiscuous crowd of soldiers, sailors, and citizens: the Sultan Selim was filled with not less than three thousand men: they demanded to have the fleet led against the infidels, but at the earnest prayers and intreaties of General Sebastiani, were detained by the Sultan's orders, and saved, as he avowed, from inevitable destruction. At the moment that the Turkish Government had decided upon submission, and the French were on the point of flying from the city, the advice of the Spanish Resident, who thought that no very active operations were decided upon by the commander of the squadron, persuaded a trial at negotiation, the darling but unsuccessful passion of the English people*.

* "*Never was there any treaty between the French and English,*" says De Commines, "*but the French always outwitted them; insomuch (as I have been told) the English have a common proverb with them—That in all, or most of their battles and conflicts with the French, the English have the better, but in their capitulations and treaties they come off still with the loss.*"—Book iii. cap. viii. We have dropped the proverb, which may not perhaps be less applicable to us than to our ancestors, who, it must be confessed, had no great reputation for capacity, as the same author in another place has these

It was hoped that time might be thus gained until all the guns were mounted on the Seraglio walls, and batteries erected which might at least have an imposing appearance, but above all, until the setting in of the north-east wind secured the inactivity of the fleet.

When the flag of truce arrived on shore on the 22d, every artifice was employed to gain time, and the bearer of the dispatches was detained for many hours with pipes and coffee, and repeated invitations to dine and participate in a variety of ceremonies with the ministers of the Divan. This gentleman incessantly pressed, the Turks assiduously protracted, the answer, but both the one and the other expected each moment to hear of the advance of the squadron from Princes' Islands, as the wind was then southerly, and was by those on shore thought strong enough to bring up the ships to the Seraglio. Had the English fleet weighed anchor and stood towards the city on that morning, there had been no war between Great Britain and the Porte. The Grand Signior would have chosen between the two alliances—the Turkish Ministers would have hastened to their barges, and the French Embassy to their horses. As it was, it was presumed that the English had not decided upon what measures they should pursue: the emissaries of our enemies advised a protraction of the negotiation, and at the same time assisted the Turks in forming every possible species of defence. It was, however, never intended that the Turkish fleet should quit the port and fight the squadron. What the Ambassador had reported in his dispatches of the 15th and 27th of January, was perfectly true, that notwithstanding the "ships were called in readiness for sea, seamen of no

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words: "*Before the King of England took shipping, he sent to the King of France one of his heralds called Garter (a Norman born), with a letter of defiance, so well contrived, and in such excellent language, I can scarce persuade myself any Englishman writ it.*"—Book iv. cap. v.

kind could be found to man them*;" and it is not possible, that in the course of a month the case should have been so much altered, as to render the Ottoman fleet an object of just reliance to the Turks, or of reasonable fear to the English Admiral, who, notwithstanding his report, must have known their real inefficiency. This naval superiority rendered a bombardment of Constantinople at all times, when the wind served, practicable, in spite of any land defences; and as a dozen shells would have set the whole city in a blaze, it was so fully expected that the squadron would remain at anchor until the first fair wind should enable them to commence hostilities, that when, on the 2d of May, the English ships were no longer visible from the town, it was some time before the fact of their departure, and of the abandonment of their enterprise, was credited at Constantinople!

An inclination to avoid what might possibly look like the gratuitous censure of any individual, has prevented me from inserting some details, in which the immediate agents in the above proceeding would appear certainly to very little advantage; nor would I have said so much on the subject, if the blame attached to the whole plan and conduct of the Expedition had not been, with the height of injustice, laid solely to the charge of the Ministers composing at that time the British Cabinet; and if that opinion had not been, in a great measure, founded on some expressions contained in the last dispatch from the Ambassador, dated at Malta, after the failure of the attempt†.

This last circumstance, together with the consideration that the Ambassador owed his appointment to, and has since been ranged amongst, the political opponents of the accused Ministers, may be

* Papers, Nos. 7, 8, presented to the House, &c. pursuant to their Address 16th March, 1808.

† See No. 9, Dispatch from the Right Hon. Charles Arbuthnot to Viscount Howick, dated Malta, 10th April, 1807, received May 29th, by Mr. Secretary Canning.

urged in reply to the only remaining charge which can be made against those statesmen, namely, that the employer is answerable for the actions of the employed. It is true that Viscount Howick, in a dispatch to Mr. Arbuthnot, conveyed to him the King's approbation of his conduct*. But it must be recollected, that this approbation was consequent upon the Ambassador's report of his own measures, in which it was not to be expected that he should include the sallies of his Secretary (the true cause of his own unfortunate misapprehensions), and which were not duly appreciated until the breaking out of the war. It was impossible for the Cabinet of London to be aware, that at the moment Mr. Arbuthnot reported so favourably of the interview between the new Reis Effendi and Mr. Pole, the circles of Pera were amusing themselves with the intemperate triumphs of the youthful diplomatist. When the Ambassador saw his Secretary galloping down the streets of Buyuk-dere, waving his hat, and crying victory, it was not perhaps very probable that it should be suggested to him, that in a short time afterwards he himself should retreat no less speedily through a back door, from the palace of Pera to the port. The domestic calamity, and very serious illness, which rendered the Ambassador "incapable of paying due attention to any part of his public business†;" and the nonnage of his substitute, may be some excuse for the mistakes which caused the rupture between Turkey and Great Britain; but the delicacy which prevented the arraignment of the agents by their employers, cannot operate upon the impartial and unconcerned spectator, nor absolve him from the duty, however insignificant may be his efforts, of disclosing such a portion of facts not generally known, as may counteract the imputation cast upon great public characters without the slightest foundation or pretence for blame.

* Papers, No. 6.

† See the above Paper, No. 9.

With the persuasion that a more decisive menace would, on the appearance of the fleet, without any hostility, have effected the purposes of the expedition, we may feel many regrets, that other measures had not produced a different termination of the affair; but as the war was not prevented, we cannot surely lament that we did not, by the rapid conflagration of a wooden city, cause the certain destruction of an immense defenceless population, and the massacre of all the Christian subjects in the capital, which was expected and threatened at the time, and which the power of the Grand Signior, in opposition to a multitude of armed fanatics, might have been unable to prevent.

It may be some consolation, under our discomfiture, to believe, what every thing I could gather on the spot induced me to suppose, that there was not an intelligent man in the empire, who thought that those who had burst through their redoubtable Dardanelles, were intimidated by the cannon on the mouldering walls of the Seraglio, or who attributed the safety of the capital to any other motive than forbearance, and a disinclination from having recourse to unjust extremities.

ALBANIAN LANGUAGE.

I have asserted the Albanian to be an unwritten language, which, as far as the Albanians themselves are concerned, is the case in every part of the country which came under our observation; but it appears, that an attempt was made about the beginning of the last century to reduce it to rule, and embody it in a grammar, by a member of the Society for propagating the Faith, who seemed fully aware of the nature of his task, and called it, indeed, *a new sign in the grammatical heaven.* The book, which is now before me, has the following title: *Osservationi Grammaticali, nella lingua Albanese del P. Francesco Maria da Lecce, Min. Oss. Rif. Esprefetto Apostolico delle Missioni di Macedonio dedicate agli eminentis: e reverendissimi Signori Cardinali della Sagra Congregazione di Propaganda Fede. In Roma, Della Stamperia della Sag. Congr: di Prop. Fede,* 1716. Any one, from a perusal of the grammar, might conceive it to be that of a written tongue; but a sentence of the prefixed notice to the reader, would undeceive him, for there it is said, that the Albanian people dispersed through various provinces and kingdoms, *not having the written knowledge of their own idiom,* expect with impatience the present work, that they may behold, as in the purest chrystal, their proper image. *E quei popoli Albanesi dispersi per varie provincie e regni, non avendo la notizia scritturale de proprio idioma, aspettano con impazienza la presente opera, per osservare, come in chiarissimo cristallo, la propria imgine.* From the concluding sentence of this preface, it appears that father da Lecce directed his grammatical observations to those Italian religious who were destined to the service of the mission; and to them, I believe, it has been confined, for, as is before said, I never heard of the Albanian as a written tongue. The

grammar was composed for the previous instruction of the young missionaries, and to prevent a catastrophe that had before frequently occurred, the return of many of them from Albania, in despair of acquiring without any master, a competent knowledge of the language. Some characters must have been, however, in use amongst the missionaries previously to the date of this attempt, for the Padre talks of an Albanian alphabet as in existence in his time, and as formed, with the exception of five letters, of Roman characters. His words are, *Le lettere appo gl' Albanesi sono* 28, *la figura delle quali e la medesima che quella de Latini, eccetto cinque, come nel seguente alfabetto si mostra, a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, k, l, m, n, o, p, q, r, s, t, u, x, y, z,* ϝ, ϝϝ, ϑ, ε, λ. Whether in the bishoprick of Butrinto, in Dalmatia, Calabria, or amongst any other Roman Catholic Albanians, these characters are in use, I am not qualified decidedly to say, but I never heard of them in the course of our journey. Four of the additional letters are representatives of sounds which are found in the Romaïc, but not in the letters of the language of the Padre Francesco. ϝ is a Romaïc *delta*, pronounced *dth;* ϝϝ is the Greek Θ, of which the Italians are altogether ignorant, calling it *seta;* ϑ is sounded as the modern Greeks read that diphthong, which is shorter than the Italian *u*, but so little different from it, that another character was scarcely necessary to express its signification. λ is the Greek lambda, as we pronounce it, and the addition of this letter to the Italian *e*, seems unnecessary, as only one *l* is sounded by the Albanians; but ε is sometimes stronger than either the Romaïc *z* or English *z;* and after repeated trials with our Albanians, I am not sure that it is quite correctly represented by *dz*. As the Padre was so attentive to the insertion of the additional sounds, he might have taken notice of five which cannot be represented by any of his or our single letters, but which the Albanians pronounce so simply, that they can hardly be called diphthongal:

these are the *m* and *n*, and *g* and *f*, and *k*, prefixed to another consonant; the two first of which the modern Greeks have made use of in spelling words derived from other languages, but have dropped their sound. Thus, although in Romaïc μπάρμπαρος, is *barbarous*, and ντάννο, *danno*, yet if those words were Albanian, the μ and ν would have a half sound, such as I know not how to figure by any written example. As for the combinations of consonants, they are in this tongue productive of words which an English mouth must find it no easy task to produce.

The Turkish, Romaïc, Latin, Italian, French, and English languages, seem to have had a share in the composition of several of the Albanian words and phrases. As might be expected from the instability of an unwritten tongue, the speech of one part of the country differs materially from that of the other quarters of the same region, and the twenty-four dialects of the ancient Asiatic Albania, may be equalled in number by those of the modern European provinces. In the country above Tepellenè, a great portion of the words are Turkish; lower down than Ioannina, the Romaïc is generally borrowed to supply the deficiencies of the tongue; and on the coast, the Italian is the predominant mixture. Mr. Swinburne, in a passage of his travels, referred to at the end of Letter XIII., has given a tolerably copious list of English words, and those not borrowed from the Greek or Latin, or the prevalent languages of modern Europe, which he declares are to be found representing the same meaning in the jargon spoken by the Albanians settled in Calabria; but only three of all he has enumerated, would be understood by an inhabitant of the country which we visited. The Varanges, or English body-guard, who were employed in the service of the latter emperors, and a corps of whom attended Alexius Commenus to the battle of Durazzo, are the only British of whose possible communication with the settlers in Greece and Epirus, history makes any

mention; but if the English and the Albanians could be traced to their original soil, the partial similarity of the two languages might not be considered so singular, as it is rendered by our present limited retrospect into the antiquities of nations. The most striking resemblance is in the present, indicative of the verb *to be*, which is *u* or *ou yam*.

I had collected with considerable pains, a vocabulary of the Albanian spoken by the peasants of Attica, and should have given it a place in this Appendix, if the Grammar of Da Lecce had not fallen in my way. From comparing the two specimens, I find the language of the Attic and Epirote Arnoot to be the same, although with a certain discrepancy, which may be well attributed to the variety of its dialects, and to the different impressions which it has received in the many regions inhabited by this dispersed people.

The Missionary declares in the commencement of his book, that the Albanian coincides in phrase almost entirely with the Italian—*la lingua Albanese conviene quasi in tutto nella frase con la nostra Italiana*. He was evidently talking of those who were inhabitants of, or confined upon, the territories of the Venetians, or the Calabrian Arnoots. He would not have made the same remark relative to the natives of Delvinaki and Tepellenè. A great portion of the phraseology of the Italinized Albanians (if I may use the word), is possibly very similar to that of the Milanese or Tuscan peasant; but the truth seems to be, that in the naked Arnoot may be discerned the visible remains of an ancient language which no longer exists*.

* Nous ne parlerons pas ici de certaines langues peu etendues, reste visible d'un ancien langage qui ne subsiste plus, ou du moins de quelques anciens dialectes si fort altérés qu'il est difficile d'en démêler l'origine—Telles sont dans notre occident, les langues Basques, Galloise, et Flandoise; telle est au voisinage de la Grecè, celle des Albanois, ou Montagnards de l'Epire. Nous avons un dictionnaire de cette dernierè langue, et il semble qu'elle ne soit qu'un mélange de plusieurs langages différens.—Histoire de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, tome 18, p. 69.

Da Lecce, however, appears to have taken much pains in putting together this grammar; and I shall give an abridgement of the performance, with scarcely any remarks on his arrangement or precision.

[*To prevent the necessity of making use of the strange characters given in the grammar of Da Lecce,* ड *will, in the following abridgment, be represented by its equivalent, an English* d *in the Roman character;* ड ड *by a Greek* Θ; ɛ *by* dz *in the Roman character;* ƛ *by an English* l; *and* ȣ *by* ou, *also in Roman letters.*]

In the Albanian language the articles are not prefixed, but added to the nouns; they are, *a, e, i, t—i* is the masculine article of the singular number, *e* of the plural, except in anomalous nouns, when it is *te* or *t;* as *guri**, the stone; *gurete*, the stones; *frati*, the brother; *fratinit*, the brothers; *a* is the feminine article in the singular number, and *t* in the plural; as dz*ogna*, the lady; dz*ognat*, the ladies. The singular article of neuter adjectives and pronouns, is *te*, as,

	Imiri,	*Emireia,*	*Temirete,*
	Bonus,	Bona,	Bonum;
And	*Emi,*	*Emeia,*	*Temte,*
	Meus,	Mea,	Meum;

except the demonstrative pronouns *this* and *that*, which, as well as the proper names in the singular number, have no article. The declensions of nouns are three. The first declension makes the genitive case terminate in *se*, as sd*ogna*, sd*ognese*, the lady, of the lady. The second declension has the genitive in *it*, as dz*ót*, dz*ottit*, the gentleman, of the gentleman. The genitive case of the third declension, ends in *ut*, as *barku*, *barkutt*, the belly, of the belly. *Pape*, a pope, is thus declined: *papa*, the pope; gen. *papese;* dat. *papese;* acc. *papene;* voc. *ò pape;* abl. *prei papet;* plu. *papet*, popes, *papete*, the popes; gen. *papevet;* dat. *papevet;* acc. *papete;* voc. *ò papet;* abl. *prei papese*. It is a general rule, that the vocative is the same as the nominative without the article, and that the genitive and dative cases are alike in both numbers. dz*ogne*, a lady, with the article in the nominative, is dz*ogna;* gen.

* The Albanian words are to be read according to the Italian mode of pronunciation.

dz*ognese;* dat. dz*ognese;* acc. dz*ognene;* voc. *ò* dz*ogne;* abl. *prei* dz*ognet;* and in the plural dz*ogne*, ladies, is dz*ognat;* gen. dz*ognavet;* dat. dz*ognavet;* acc. dz*ognat;* voc. *ò* dz*ogna;* abl. *prei* dz*ognase*.

The letter *t* may be taken from the ablative singular, and *it* may be adjoined to the ablative plural. Thus, instead of *prei paietoret*, may be said, *prei paietore*, from the advocate; and *prei paietorascit* will signify, from the advocates, as well as *prei paietorasc*. The Padre then gives a neuter noun, which seems irregular; *croue*, head; *crouet*, the head; gen. *crese*, of the head; dat. *crese;* acc. *crouet;* voc. *ò croue;* abl. *prei creie*, or *prei creiet;* plu. *crena*, heads (κρανια); *crenat*, the heads; gen. *crenavet;* dat. *crenavet;* acc. *crenat;* voc. *ò crena;* abl. *prei crenasc*, or *crenascit*. This noun, when applied to the name of a title or office, such as head of the church, is turned into the masculine gender.

The Second Declension, Genitive in It.

Dz*ot*, master or sir; dz*otti*, the master; gen. dz*ottit;* dat. dz*ottit;* dat. dz*otne*, or dz*one;* voc. *ò* dz*ot;* plu. dz*ottinij*, masters or sirs; dz*ottinijte*, the masters; gen. dz*ottinijvet;* dat. dz*ottinijvet;* acc. dz*ottinijte;* voc. *ò* dz*ottinij;* abl. *prei* dz*ottinijsc*. There are four other examples of masculine nouns, each of them having their plurals similar to those of the above substantive, but varying in their singular number. Their accusative cases are formed by the addition of *n* to the definite nominative, and shortening the penultimate vowel, ex. grat. *cussaari*, the robber, accusative *cussarin; mescetaari*, the priest; accusative *mescetarin*.

The grammar gives thirteen examples of anomalous nouns belonging to this declension; but the irregularity of ten of them consists, as appears to me, in the nominative plural; for in other respects they are declined like the former example; *prift*, priest, makes *priftinit*, priests, *gardina*, cardinal, *gardinaii*-*gruun*, grain; *grunte—helb*, barley, *helbina—giarpen*, serpent, *giarpagne—gilpan*, a needle, *gilpagne—drappen*, a hook, *drippagne—duchien*, a foundery, *dugagne—sctratt*, a bed, *sctrettina—scpirt*, a spirit, *scpirtina*. The remaining three, *brevia*l, breviary; *ungil*, evangelist; *missa*l, napkin, make their plurals, *breviaj*, *unjii*, *missaj*, but vary in the other case from the foregoing nouns; they are declined as follows: *missaj*, napkins; *missaite*, the napkins; gen. *missaiet;* dat. *missaiet;* acc. *missaiete;* voc. *missai;* abl. *prei missaise*.

The Nouns of the Third Declension,

Are all declined like *fik*, fig; which makes *fiku*, the fig; gen. *fikut;* dat. *fikut;* acc. *fikun;* voc. *ò fik;* abl. *prei fikut;* plu. *ficchie*, figs; *ficchiete*, the figs; gen. *ficchiet;* dat. *ficchiet;* acc. *ficchiete;* voc. *ò ficchie;* abl. *prei ficchiese* or like *bark*, belly, in which noun the plural is different from that of *fich*, making the nom. indef. *barchi;* the nom. def. *barchiete;* gen. *barchiet;* acc. *barchite;* voc. *ò barchi;* abl. *prei barchiesc.*

Nouns Adjective.

All the four instances in the grammar are similar to the following example of, *ilum, blessed;* and from it a general rule may be extracted, which will serve for any adjectives beginning with a vowel, the only kind noticed by the author.

Singular.

	Masculine.	Feminine.	Neuter.
N.	Ilum,	Elume,	Telume.
Nom. def.	Ilumi,	Elumeia,	Telumete.
Gen.	Telumit,	Selumese,	Telumit.
Dat.	Telumit,	Telumese,	Telumit.
Acc.	Telumin,	Telumene,	Telumete.
Voc.	o Ilum,	ò Elume,	ò Telume.
Ablat.	Prei selumit,	Prei selumet,	Prei selumet.

Plural.

	Masculine.	Feminine.	Neuter.
N.	Telume,	Teluma,	Like the feminine.
Nom. def.	Telumte,	Telumat,	
	Telumevet,	Telumavet,	
	Telumte,	Telumat,	
	ò Telume,	ò Teluma,	
	Prei selumisc,	Prei selumasc.	

Pronouns.

I.	Of me.	To me.	Me.	From me.
U, une, unaj.	*Mue.*	*Mue.*	*Mue.*	*Prei meie.*
We.	Of us.	To us.	Us.	From us.
Na.	*Neve.*	*Neve.*	*Ne.*	*Prei pesc.*
Thou.	Of thee.	To thee.	Thee.	From thee.
Ti.	*Tou.*	*Tou.*	*Tou.*	*Prei teie.*
Ye.	Of ye.	To ye.	You.	From ye.
Yu.	*Yuue.*	*Yuue.*	*Yu.*	*Yusc.*
Of himself.	To himself.	Himself.	From himself.	
Veti.	*Veti.*	*Vetehen.*	*Prei veti.*	
Of his very self.	Dative.	Accusative.	Ablative.	
Vetivetiut.	*Vetivetiut.*	*Vetevehen*	*Prei vetiveti.*	
Or, ou*eti,*	ou*eti,*	ou*etehen,*	*pre* ou*eti.*	

The possessive pronoun *em, mine,* is declined like the adjectives in every respect, except that the nom. plural, neut. is *tem,* not *teme;* ou*t thine,* is irregular; nom. sing. ou*t, iote, tat*; nom. def. ou*ti, ioteia, tatt*; gen. *tit, ssate, tit*; dat. *tit, ssate, tit*; acc. *tanden, tandene, tatt*; abl. *prei sitit, prei sate, prei sote.* In the plural, the neuter and feminine are the same. Nom. *tetuu, tetua*; nom. def. *tetuute, tetuat*; gen. *tetuvet, tetuavet*; dat. *tetuvet, tetuavet*; acc. *tetuute, tetuat*; abl. *prei setuusci, prei setuasc.* His is *itij;* hers *etije*.*

Sing. nom. def. *itinaj, etija;* gen. *tetijt,* or *tetinaj, essai,* or *essaine;* dat. the same as genitive; acc. *tetijne, tessaine*; abl. *prei setijt, prei sescut. Tetij,* his, and *tatija,* hers, in the plural are declined like regular adjectives. *Tetij,* his, in the neuter singular, with the article, makes *tetijte.* The other cases are the same as the masculine in the singular, and as the feminine in the plural, number.

Ou*n,* ours, is thus declined: Nom. ou*n, jone, tane;* nom. def. sing. ou*ne, jona, tanete;* gen. tou*nit, sanese, tine;* dat. the same as genitive; acc. *tanen, tanene, tanete;* voc. the same as nominative; abl. *prei* sou*nit, prei sane*

* It must be remembered, that the Italian *j* is pronounced like *y.*

or *sone*, *prei sine*. In the plural, *tane* masculine, and *tona* feminine, are declined like adjectives: there is no neuter plural.

Ou*j*, *yours*; nom. sing. ou*j*, *tuej*, *tai*; nom. def. ou*ij*, *tueja*, *tatt*; gen. *touit*, *ssuej*, *touit*; dat. the same as genitive; acc. *tain*, *taine*, *tattne*; abl. *prei souit*, *prei sote*, *prei sou*; plu. nom. *ait*, *tuei*; nom. def. *taite*, *tueit*; gen. *toouiet*, *tuievet*; dat. the same as genitive; accus. *taite*, *tueit*; ablat. *prei setouescit*, *prei sesuasc*. The neuter the same as the feminine. The pronouns demonstrative *k*ou: this—is thus declined: Nom. *k*ou, *kio*, *keta*; gen. *ketij*, *kessai*, *ketij*; dat. the same as genitive; acc. *kètè*, *kètè*, *ketà*; ablat. *prei kessi*, *prei kessoie*, *prei kessi*; nom. plu. *ketà*, *ketò*, these; gen. *ketoune*, *ketoune*; dat. the same; acc. *keta*, *ketò*; abl. *prei kessisc*, *prei kessosc*. The neuter the same as the feminine.

Ai or *a*ou, that—is declined exactly the same as *k*ou. These two pronouns are declined with substantives, but the ablative case is then made *kesso* and *asso* in both numbers. *Juetimi* or *jouetemi* alone, and *tieter*, another, are declined like adjectives, as also is *isi*l, such. *Ndogn*, or *ndonagni*, some one, is irregular in the neuter gender and the plural number.

Nom. *ndogn*, *ndogne*, or *ndogna*, *ndogne*; gen. *ndognanij*, *ndognese*, *ndognai*; dat. the same; acc. *ndognanin*, *ndognane*, *ndogne*; abl. *prei ndonagnit*, *prei ndogne*; nom. plu. *dissa*, *dissa*; gen. *dissavet*, *dissave*; dat. the same; acc. *dissa*, *dissa*; abl. *prei dissa*, *prei dissa*; neuter the same as feminine.

Numerals.

Gni, one, declined.

Nom. *gni*, *gniani*, *gni*; gen. *gnanit*, *gnianese*, *tegnai*; dat. the same; acc. *gnanin*, *gnanene*, *gni* or *gnia*; abl. *prei gnanit*, *prei gnanet*, *prei gni*.

Nota.—Che non ha plurale: per cagione, che uno di sua natura è singulare. F. M. da Lecce.

*D*ou, two, declined: the same in all genders.

Nom. *d*ou; gen. *douue*; dat. the same; acc. *d*ou; abl. *prei d*ouou*se*.

Trè, three, makes *tri* in the feminine and neuter, and is not declined, except with *prei*, the sign of the ablative case. "One of the two men," is *iddouti*; one of the two women, *eddoute*; and the two vowels are applicable in the same manner to the other numbers. *Pari*, the first, with its feminine *pàra*; *douti*, the second, and the feminine *dou*ta, are declined like substantives.

The Verbs.

It would exceed my limits to give any thing more than a short sketch of the verbs, of which the grammar treats at great length. There are ten conjugations of regular verbs. Those of the first conjugation have their infinitive in *uem*, the indicative in *ogn*, the past tense in *ova*, *mekenduem*, to sing; *kendogn*, *kendova*.

2. Conjug. infin. ou*em;* pres. indic. *egn;* past, *eva*, *me scerbouem*, to serve, *scerbegn*, *scerbeva*.

3. Conjug. infin. *une;* pres. ind. *ign;* past, *a*, *me lidune*, to tie, *lidign*, *lida*.

4. Conjug. infin. *aam;* pres. ind. *agn* or *aign;* past, *ana*, *me baam*, to do, *bagn*, *bana*.

5. Conjug. infin. *re;* pres. indic. *r;* past, *a*, *me marre*, to take, *mar*, *muora*.

6. Conjug. infin. *e;* pres. indic. *el;* past, *a*, *me celle*, to open, *celle cel*, *la*.

7. Conjug. infin. *im;* pres. indic. *i* or *ign;* past, *va*, *me piim*, to drink, *pi*, or *pign*, *piva*.

8. Conjug. infin. *um;* pres. indic. *e;* past, *una*, *me vum*, to put, *ve*, *vuna*.

9. Conjug. infin. *em;* pres. indic. *egn* or *ign;* past, *eva*,—*kiem*, to drink, *kiegn*, *kieva*.

10. Conjug. infin. *ane;* pres. indic. *a;* past, *a*—*me ngrane*, to eat, *ha*, *hangra*.

I have made two or three alterations from the book before me, as the examples were such as to show that the rules were ill-constructed, and the reader may observe that the above division might be simplified and otherwise improved.

The verbs active are conjugated with the auxiliary verb *me passune*, to have, whose tenses are as follows:

Pres. indic. *une kam*, I have; *ti kee*, *ai ka*, *na kemi*, we have; *yu kini*, *atà kàne*.

Past imp. *une kesc*, I did have; *ti kiscgnie*, *ai kisct*, *na kiscgnime*, we did have; *yu kiscgite*, *ata kiscgine*.

Perf. past, *une pace*, or *puccia*, I had; *ti patte*, *ai pat*, *na patme*, or *pame*, we had; *yu pate*, *ata patne* or *pane*—I have had, is made by adding *passune* to the pres. indic.; and, I had had, by adding the same to the past tense.

The future is formed by adding *me passune* to the pres. indic. as *une kam me passune*, I will have, or I am *to* have.

Fut. condit. *nde puccia*, if I may or shall have; *nde pace*, *nde past*, *nde paccim*, if we may, &c. *nde pacci*, *nde paccin*.

Pres. imper. *ki ti*, have thou; *keet ai*, let him have; *kemi na*, have we; *kini yu*, *kene ata*.

The Italian future imperative is formed by putting *me passune* between the verb and pronoun of the indicative present, as *ke me passune ti*.

The optative present and imperfect is formed by adding *scen te* or *scei te*, to the past imperfect indic. as *sceor*, or *scei te kesc*, that I might, or, I would have.

The optative past imperfect is the same as the future condit. present, with the pronoun subjoined, and the *nde* taken away, as *puccia une*, that I may have at some time.

The optative past perfect, *scei te kèem passune*, *kèesc*, *kèet*, *kemi*, *keni*, *kene*.

The optative preter-plu-perfect the same as the present optative, with the addition of *passune*.

The optative future, the same as the optative past perfect without the *passune*.

The conjunctive present, *chi une te kèem*, the same as the *kèem* in the optative present perfect.

The conjunctive past imperfect, *chi une te kesc*, the same as the *kesc* in the optative present and imperfect.

The conjunctive perfect past, *chi une ti kèem passune*, the same as the conjunctive present.

The gerunds, *une tue passune*, I having; *une tue pas passune*, I having had; *chi une te kesc passune*, makes the Italian *conciosiache io havessi avuto*, and *une ndè pàs kesc passune*, make *se io havessi havuto—cur te keem*, when I shall have, *cur te keesc*, &c. *cur te keem passune;* when I shall have had, &c. *nde puccia passune*, If I shall have had.

Infinitive present and imperfect, *me passune*, to have.

Perfect, *me passune passune*, to have had; *kam per te passune*, I am to have, *ke per te passune*, &c.

Participle, *passes*, or *I passune*, or *e passune*, has, or he or she who has.

Supine, *passune*, had.

Me kenduem, to sing, is thus conjugated.

Present tense, *une kendogn*, I sing; *ti kendòn, ai kendon, na kendojemi*, we sing, *yu kendòne, ata kendòine.*

Imperfect, *une kendògnete*, I did sing; *ti kendognie, ai kendònt, na kendògneme*, we did sing; *yu kendògnite, ata kendògnine.*

Past, *une kendòva*, I sang; *ti kendòve, ai kendoi, na kendùeme*, we sang; *yu kendùete, ata kendùene.*

Past perfect, *une kam kendùem*, I have sung, &c.

Plus.-quam.-perfect, *une pace kendùem*, I had sung.

Future, *une kam me kenduem*, I will, or I am to sing.

Future conditional, *ndè kendofscia*, if I shall sing; *nde kendòfsc, nde kendoft, nde kendofscim*, if we shall sing; *nde kendofsci, nde kendofscin.*

Imperative present, *kendon ti*, sing thou, same as indicative present.

Imperative future, *ke me kendúem ti*, in Italian, canterai tu—*ka me kenduem, &c.*

Optative present and imperative, *scei te kendògnete*, would that I might sing; *scei te kendognie, &c.*

Past perfect, *scei te kèem kendùem*, would that I had sung; *scei te kesc kendùem.*

Preter pluperfect, *scei te kesc kendùem*, would that I should have sung; *scei te kiscgnie kendùem.*

Optative future, *scei te kendògn*, dio voglia che io canti, *scei te kendoisc*, and the same as the present indic.

Conjunctive, *chi une te kendogn* conciosiache io canti, and the same as the optative future.

Gerund, *une tue kenduem*, I singing.

Past imperfect conjunctive, *chi une te kendognete* conciosiache io cantassi, or canterei.

Imperfect conditional, *une me kenduem*, if I might sing; *ti me kenduèm, ai me kenduem, na me kendùem, yu me kenduem, ata me kendùem.*

Past perfect, *chi une te kèem kendùem conciosiache io habbia cantuto, &c.*

Gerund, *une tue passúne kendùem*, I having sung, declined with *ti, ai, na, yu, ata.*

Pluperfect, *chi une te kèsch kendùem*, conciosiache io havessi cantato, &c.

Pluperfect conditional, *une nde pas kesé kendùem*, if I should have sung, &c.; or, *une me passùne kendùem.*

Future conditional, *nde paccia kendùem*, if I shall have sung, *nde pace*, &c.; or *cur te kendogn*, when I shall sing; and *cur te kèem kendùem*, when I shall have sung.

Infinitive, *me kendùem*, to sing; *me passune kendùem*, to have sung; *per te kendùem*, to be about to sing.

Participles. *Kanghessi*, he who sings; *kendùem*, sung.

The Second Conjugation.

Me scerbouem, to serve, is formed in every respect like *me kendùem*, to sing; and the only simple tenses which are not composed by the help of the auxiliary verb, are the indic. pres. *scerbegn*, I serve; the imperfect, *scèrbègnete*, I did serve; the past, *scèrbèva*, I served; the future conditional, *nde scerbefscia*, if I shall serve. By compounding these tenses according to the rule of the former verb, it will be easy to form the other tenses of *me scerbouem*.

The Third Conjugation.

Me lidune, to tie, is subject to the same rule as the preceding verb; the indicative present, is *lidign*, I tie; imperf. *lidgnete*, I did tie; *lida*, I tied; fut. condit. *nde lidcia*, if I shall tie; the present imperative is, however, *lid ti*, tie thou.

But the grammar gives examples of verbs belonging to this conjugation, which are irregular in the indicative present, although their infinitives are in *une*, and their part tenses in *a*.

Me buitune, to lodge, makes *une bùgn*, I lodge; *bùgnete*, I did lodge; *buita*, I lodged; *nde buiscia*, if I shall lodge; *buy ti*, lodge thou.

Me prèkune, to take or touch, makes *une perkas*, I touch; *perkisgnete*, I did touch; *prèka*, I touched; *nde prèkscia*, if I shall touch; *prèk ti*, touch thou.

Me pouètune, to demand; *une poues*, I demand; *puesgnete*, I did demand; *poueta*, I demanded; *nde poueccia*, if I shall demand; *pouet ti*, demand thou.

Me paditune, to accuse; *une padis*, I accuse (*ti paditen*, thou accusest) *pàdignète*, I did accuse; *padita*, I accused; *nde padicciá*, if I shall accuse; *pàdite ti*, accuse thou.

Me dàsciune, to love or will; *une due*, I love; *dògnete*, I did love; *descia*, I loved; *nde daccia*, if I shall love; *dùci ti*, love thou.

Me ndègune, to sit; *une ri*, I sit; *rignete*, I did sit; *ndègniá*, I sat; *nde ndègnscia*, if I shall sit; *rì tì*, sit thou.

Me mbaitune, to hold; *une mbà*, I hold; *mbàignete*, I did hold; *mbàita*, I held; *nde mbaicia*, if I shall hold; *mba ti*, hold thou.

Me mpoutune, to suffocate; *une mpous*, I suffocate; *mpousgnete*, I did suffocate; *mpouta*, I suffocated; *nde mpouscia*, if I shall suffocate; *mpououete ti*, suffocate thou.

Me britune, to gnaw; *une brè*, I gnaw; *brègnete*, I did gnaw; *brita*, I gnawed; *nde britscia*, if I shall gnaw; *bry ti*, gnaw thou.

Me brìttune to bray; *une brìtas*, I bray; *brìttasgnete*, I did bray; *britta*, I brayed; *nde brìttescia*, if I shall bray; *britt ti*, bray thou.

Me ardzune, to come; *une vign*, I come; *vìgnete*, I did come; *ersc*, I came*; *nd' arscia*, if I shall come; *eia ti*, come thou; the tenses of this verb are some of them formed by the auxiliary verb *me kiene*, to be.

Me votune, to go; *une vete*, I go; *vègnete*, I did go; *voìta*, I went; *nde vòsfscia*, if I shall go; *(nde vofsc, nde voft)*; *vè ti*, go thou; also partly compounded of *me kiene*, to be.

Me mbètune, to remain; *une jès*, I remain; *jèsgnete*, I did remain; *mbece*, I remained; *nde mbèccia*, if I shall remain; *itt ti*, remain thou.

In like manner, *me bdècune*, to die, make *une bdes*, I die, &c.

By some accident, the Padre then conjugates in part for the second time, *me prèkune*, to take, and *me ndgeniune*, to sit; but as he himself says, *besides the tediousness of the work, it would require a world of paper to go through the whole of his detail*†.

The Fourth Conjugation, Inf. àam.

Me bàam, to do; *une bagn*, I do; *bagnete*, I did do; *bana*, I did; *mbàfscia*, if I shall do; *ban ti*, do thou.

Me dàam, to divide, the same as the last verb, except that the indic. pres. is *daign*.

The tenses of these verbs are formed in the same manner as those of the first conjugation, but there are three examples of irregular verbs, which are,

* The author has forgotten, that his anomalous verbs of the third conjugation have their past tenses in *a*.

† Oltre il tedio vi vorrebbe ancora un mondo di carta, p. 130.

Me nuràam, to slay; *une nuràs*, I slay; *nurisgnete*, I did slay; *nurava*, I slew; *nde nurafscia*, if I shall slay; *nurae ti*, slay thou.

Me ràam, to fall; *une bye*, I fall; *bygnete*, I did fall; *rae*, I fell; *nde rafscia*, if I shall fall; *by ti*, fall thou.

Me pàam, to see; *une scioff*, I see; *scìfgnete*, I did see, *paè*, I saw; *nde pascia*, if I shall see; *sciff ti*, see thou.

The Fifth Conjugation, Infin. re.

Me bdièrre, to loose; *une bdièr*, I loose; *bdièergnete*, I did loose; *bdòra*, I lost; *nde bdièrscia*, if I shall loose; *bdyre ti*, loose thou.

The Sixth Conjugation, Infin. le.

Me cele, to open; *une cèl*, I open; *cèlgnete*, I did open; *cila*, I opened; *nde cilscia*, if I shall open; *cel*, or *cil ti*, open thou.

Me fole, to speak (irregular); *une flas*, I speak; *flisgnete*, I did speak; *fola*, I spoke; *nde fòlscia*, if I shall speak; *fol ti*, speak thou.

Seventh Conjugation, Infin. ijm.

Me hìim, to enter; *une hìign*, I enter; *hìignete*, I did enter; *hìina*, I entered; *nde hìifscia*, if I shall enter; *hìim ti*, enter thou.

Eighth Conjugation, Infin. ùum.

Me vùum, to put; *une vèe*, I put; *vègnete*, I did put; *vùna*, I put; *nde vufscia*, if I shall put; *vèe ti*, put thou.

Ninth Conjugation, Infin. jem.

Me kìiem, to drink; *une kìiegn*, I drink; *kìignete*, I did drink; *kìieva*, I drank; *nde kìiefscia*, if I shall drink; *kiiei ti*, drink thou.

Tenth Conjugation, Infin. ane.

Me ngrane, to eat; *une hà*, I eat; *hàgnete*, I did eat; *hàngra*, I ate; *nde hàngriscia*, if I shall eat; *hà ti*, eat thou.

Me zane, to learn; *une zàa*, I learn; *zignete*, I did learn; *zuna*, I learnt; *nde zància*, if I shall learn; *zee ti*, learn thou.

Under this head the grammar includes *me Θane*, to say; *une Θòm*, I say (*ti Θue, ai Θot*); *Θòscgnete*, I did say; *Θàsc*, I said; *nde Θàscia*, if I shall say; *Θùe ti*, say thou.

On the mountains of Scutari, they say *me Θàsciune*, instead of *me Θàne*.

Me prèem, to cut off; *une perès*, I cut; *perisgnete*, I did cut; *pèreva*, I cut; *nde perefscia*, if I shall cut; *perè ti*, cut thou.

Me blèem, to buy; *une blèe*, I buy; *blìgnete*, I did buy; *blèva*, I bought; *nde blèfscia*, if I shall buy, *blìi ti*, buy thou.

Verbs Passive.

The verbs passive are conjugated by the assistance of *me kiene*, to be, which is thus formed.

Indicative Present.

Une jam (or *yam*), I am; *ti jèe, ai asct, nà jèmi, ju jni, atà jàne.*

Une jèscete, I was once; *ti iscgnie, ai iscte, nà iscgnime, ju iscgnite, atà iscgnine.*

Une kiesc, I was; *ti kiè, ai kiè, nà kième, jù kiète, atà kiène.*

Une kàm kiene, I have been; or *jam kiene, ti jee kiene, ai asct kiene, &c.*

Une pàcc kiene, I had been; *ti pàtte kiene, ai patt kiene* (see verb *me passune*, to have.

Une kàm me kiene, I will be; *ti ke me kiene, &c. &c.*

Une nde kiofscia, I, if I shall be; *nde kiòfsc, nde kiòft, nde kiòfscim, nde kiofsci, nde kiòfcin.*

Ji ti, be thou; *jète ai, jèmi nà, jani jù, jàne atà.*

Kè me kiene ti, be thou shalt; *ka me kiene ai, &c.* (see verb *me passune).*

Scèi te jèscete, that I may be; *scèi te iscgnie, scèi te iscte, scei te iscgime, scèi te iscgnite, scèi te iscgnine.*

Kiofscia une, let me be; *kiofsc ti, &c.*

Scèi te kèem kiene, that I may have been; *scèi te kèesce kiene, &c.*

Scei te kescete kiene, if I might have been; *scèi te kiscgnie kiene, scèi te kisèt kiene, scèi te kiscignime kiene, scèi te kiscgnite kiene, scèi te kiscgnie kiene.*

Scèi te jèem, that I may be about to be; *scèi te jèsce, scèi te jete, scèi te jèmi, scei te ini, scèi te jène.*

Chi une te jèem, would then that I might be; (conciosiache io sia), *chi ti te jèsce, &c.*

Une tue kiene, I being; declined *ti tue kiene, &c.*

Chi une te jèscete, (conciosiache io fossi), *chi ti te iscgnie, &c.*

Une me kiene, if I might be, &c.

Chi une te jèm, or *te kèem kiène* (conciosia che io sia stato), *chi ti te jèsc kiene, chi èi te jète kiene, &c.*

Une tue passune kiene, I having been, declined with *ti*, *ai*, *nà*, *&c.*

Chi une te kèscete kiene, would then that I might or should have been; (conciosia che io fossi, e, sarei stato), *&c.*

Nde pas kescete kiene, if I might have been, &c. *une me pàssune kiene.*

Cur te jèem, when I shall be; *cur te jèsce*, *&c.*

Cur te kèem kiene, when I shall have been, &c.

Nde pàccia kiene, or *nde kiofscia kiene*, if I shall have been.

Me kiene, to be; *me kiene kiene*, to have been.

Une kàm per te kiene, I am about to be, &c.

Me kiene, of being, and, to being; *tue kiene*, being; *tue kiene kiene*, having been.

Kiene, been, and sometimes *kienune.*

To form the passive verb, it is only necessary to add the participle to the tenses of the verb *me kiene*, to be; as *une jam dàsciune*, I am loved, &c. The active participles are formed by changing the last letter of the infinitive mood into *esi*, and taking away the first syllable, as *me sckrùem*, to write, particip. *sckrùesi*, writing; except the verbs of the third conjugation, which change the last three letters of the infinitive into *esi*, as *me lidune*, to tie; *lidesi*, tying; feminine l*edese.*

The passive participles are formed by taking away the first syllable from the infinitive, and adding an *i* both to the beginning and end of the word, as *meu lezùem*, to be read; *i lezuemi*, read; feminine *e lezueme.* The participles active are declined like nouns substantive, the participles passive like nouns adjective.

The grammar gives some examples of reflective verbs, or verbs passive intransitive, of which the infinitive is formed, by adding *u* to the *me* prefixed to the infinitive of verbs active, as *me bàam*, to do; *meu bàam*, to be done oneself. The indicative present is formed by adding *em* to the imperative active, or taking away the last letter from that tense, and adding *hem*, as *ban ti*, do thou; *une bànem*, or *bahem*, I do myself.

Bànem or *bahem*, I do myself.

Une bànem, ti bane, ai banet, na bàneme, ju bànii, atà banen.

Une banesc, I did do myself; *ti bàascgnie, ai bànehi, nà banscim, ju bànscite, atà baànscine.*

Une a bàasc, I did myself; *ti u bàane, ai u baa, na u bàame, ju u bàate, atà u bàane.*

Une jàm bàam, I am done, &c. &c.

Une kàm meu bàam, I was done, &c.

Nd'u bàafscia, if I shall do myself; *nd'u bàfsc*, *nd'u bàft*, *nd'u bafscim*, *ndu bafsci*, *nd'u bàfscin*.

Bàanu ti, do thou thyself; *banet ai*, *bànemi nà*, *bànii ju*, *bànen atà*.

Meu, or *me u bàam*, to do oneself; *me kiene bàam*, to be done oneself; *me kiene kiene bàam*, to have been done oneself; *per tù bàam*, by doing oneself.

Impersonal verbs are also in use in the Albanian language, and are composed of the third persons of the tenses which would belong to the verbs if they were active or reflective.

Me resciune, to snow, makes *rêscen*, it snows; *réscent*, it did snow; *rèsci*, it snows.

Me raam scie, to rain; *biè scii*, it rains; *bytè scii*, it did rain; *ràa scii*, it rained.

Me bumbulriem, to thunder; *bumbulòn*, it thunders; *bumbulòi*, it did thunder.

Me pelchiouem, to please; *mi pèlchien*, it pleases me; *ti pelchien*, it pleases thee; and so on with all the pronouns—*me pelciente*, it did please me, &c.

Me dimbtune, to grieve; *mi dembet*, it grieves me; *mi dimbte*, it did grieve me, &c.

Meu dàsciune, to be needful; *duhet*, it ought; *duèhite*, it was needful, &c.

Me ù dùkune, to seem, to appear; *mi dùket*, it appears to me; *mi dùkehi*, it did appear to me; *m'ù duk*, or *m'ù dukti*, it appeared to me, besides, *banet*, it is made, and several other verbs.

The grammar in the next place considers the particles, which are placed instead of pronouns, before, together with, and after the verbs. The examples given, are,

Mi die v. s. illustrissima una lettera.

Midaa dzottiniia jote e ndricine gni lettre.

Ti hò tante volte ordinato di parlar poco.

Ti kam kach here urdenùem ne fole pak.

Ne diè in quel giorno quaranta sferzate.

Nà dàa nd'àt ditte kattre dsett te raamet.

Ci disse: dover passare di la dal mare.

Ne @à per t'u sckùem per te detit.

Vi piacque, ò signori, ascoltarci.

V. pelchieu, ò *dzottinii yne nà ndièm.*

Gli portò un canestrino di frutti dal suc giardino.
I peruni gni sctporttedze pemesc prei bacit se vete.
Li venne in pensiero di partirsi.
Iràa nde mend me sckùem.
Dacci fratello il tuo cavallo migliore.
Epna Velàa kaalne tande maa temir.
Per unirlo alla cavalleria del rè.
Me e mbàsckùem mbe lueriisc regit.
Darò̀vene un' altro più ornato per il papa.
Kam me jù dane gni tieter màa stolissune per pàpene.
Guardatevi pero di manifestare, che sia il mio.
Ruchii prò me kaledzùem, se asct emi.
Guardici Dio, di no ubbidirti.
Ruitna Houy, mos me te ndiguem.
Se ne vadino dunque con Dio.
Sckòui prà me tenedzòne, or *te sckòine prà me Houyn.*

The *te* in the two last examples seems to be that which, in the Albanian of Attica, is generally the sign of the infinitive mood.

Prepositions.

Nde, in, with a nominative case; *ndai*, near, with nom. and acc.; *perpàra*, before; dat. *cundra*, against; dat. *ze*, or *kete*, from this side; acc. *ReΘ*, *perchiarch*, about; dat. *prei*, towards; nom. *prei*, from; ablat. *jasct*, *por*, besides; dat. *nder*, amongst, between; acc. *ndène*, under; dat. and nom. *per*, through, or for; acc. *affer*, near; dat. ablat. *secùndrese*, according; dat. *per te*, or *te*, beyond; acc. *per mbi*, or *mbi*, above; nom. acc. *ndier*, up to; nom. and dat. *me*, with; acc. *pàa*, without; acc. *mbe*, in, and to; acc. and nom. *tek*, or *te*, from; nom. *m*, from, ablat. and acc. as *asct m' jusc*, it is from you; *n* from, ablat. as *nteje*, from thee. *Pò* and *a* are called by the Padre verbal prepositions; the first of which is used with the present and imperfect tenses of the indicative mood, as *po vign*, I come, or *cisc pò bàn* dzotti, what does the master? and the second serves for all the tenses of the indicative mood, as a sign of interrogation, as *eh Frank à pò vien Marku?* Here, Frank, is Mark coming?

Adverbs.

Sod, today; *die*, yesterday; *nde minghies*, this morning; *mbramene*, this evening; *sonde*, this night; *nèssere*, tomorrow; *nessere heret*, tomorrow

morning; *mbas nèssere*, the day after tomorrow; *te nèssere*, two days after tomorrow; *pora die*, the other day; *nde kete ciàs*, at this instant; *nde kètè sahat*, or *nde kètè ore*, or *nde kètè kohe*, at this hour; *tasc*, or *tascti*, now; *pak here*, a little ago; *ndogn here*, one time; *here here*, sometimes; *giΘhere*, always, every time; *as gni here*, no time; *cuur*, or *ascuur*, never; *heret*, in good time; *vóue*, late; *prei mies ditte*, near mid-day; *prei mbrane*, about the evening; *nde mies ditte*, at mid-day; *ndier se*, until; *dissa here*, at some time; *at here*, immediately; *perpara*, before; *bassandai*, for the future; *parandài*, for the past; *sin victt*, the past year; *para victt*, the year beyond; *mott motti*, from time to time.

The reader will have observed, that the greater part of the above adverbs are in fact only nouns with the preposition prefixed.

Adverbs of Place.

Ketu, here; *kakà*, there; *athie* or *atou*, beyond; *kendei*, from there; *andic*, from beyond; *per te Θouer*, across; *per brignete*, by the side; *ku*, where; *termal*, upon; *siperi*, above; *maà nalt*, more above; *ndène*, beneath; *posct*, below; *màa nkΘell*, lower; *ketu pari*, from here beyond; *kessainde*, from there beyond; *atou pari*, thither beyond; *assaide*, beyond farther; *mbrend*, within; *iasct*, without; *vend*, this place; *vendassit*, from this place.

Adverbs of Quality.

Mire, well; *kecch*, badly; *mirefil*, truly; *ditscim*, learnedly; *marrisct*, ignorantly; *hiescim*, lightly; *hiaurc*, beautifully; *fortscim*, strongly; *triminiscit*, bravely; *urtisct*, prudently; *diekecchist*, cunningly; *cussarisct*, like a robber; *tinedze*, secretly; *vdob*, or *kolai*, easily; *fuctire*, difficultly; *lumscim*, happily; *diemenisct*, devilishly; *parapscte*, on the reverse; *mpare*, to the right; *fratinisct*, brotherly; *priftiniscit*, priestly; *buiarisct*, nobly; *dzottinisct*, gentlemanly; *Talianisct*, or *Latinisct*, Italian-like; *Arbenisct*, Albanian-like; *Turchisct*, Turk-like; *giaurisct*, foreignly; *mbale faccie*, covertly; *fscehas*, hiddenly; *katundsisct*, rusticly; *kecch*, worse.

Adverbs of Quantity.

Scium, much; *schimb* or *sciùm*, very much; *tèpere*, too much; *pak*, little; *pakdz*, a very little; *mengù*, less; *fort*, or *fortscim*, or *màa fort*, all toge-

ther; *giatscim*, at length; *sckurtscim*, shortly; *sàa*, as; *ekΘscim*, deeply; *scium*, or *gni alùi*, a great deal.

Adverbs of Negation.

Mò, or *mos*, or, *nuk*, or *io*, or *s*, or *as*, not and no; *asgiaà*, or *araghij*, or *asperbe*, or *aspak*, nothing, by no means, &c.

Of swearing: *per tenedzone*, by God; *per bukt*, by my bread; *per kroupt*, by my salt. *Examples*, says the good father, *which I deem sufficient, that I may not in this place give to the heedless, rules for swearing.*

Besides the above, there are other adverbs, such as *asctu*, so; *evò*, yes, yes; *burdene*, eh, eh; dzotoun e dzasct, please God; *paa hiir*, luckily; *posta fàt*, in spite; *per dùune*, by force; *per duùne*, for shame; *fat mire*, good luck; *fatoss*, fortunately; *ora e* dzedza, lucky hour; *deh prà*, hold up; *me* dzembre *te mire*, or dzembre *e meri*, cheerfully.

The grammar adds various exclamations, as *ti ndieft* dzot ouni *miscieriere*, God pity you; *hangrete huiku*, may the wolf eat you; *hangrete giarpene*, may the snake bite you; *hangresc mune*, or *gni mutt*, let him eat dung; *te paccia sendosc*, *velaa*, health, brother; *te jam trùem velaa*, I am at your feet, brother; *v bafscia Turk*, *nde mos te vrerafscia*, make me a Turk if I don't kill you; *v bafscia kàur nde mos te perefscia crouet*, make me an infidel if I don't cut off your head; *I kùi à*, or *asct*, whose is it? *kusc a chi*, and *te kuite iane*, whose are they? *te ziiat jane*, what are they? *cisc ban*, what does he do? *cisc doche*, what does he want? *perse erdi*, why does he come? *ban asctu*, do so; *mas ez àtiè*, away from there; *eia ketù*, come here; *ez atou*, go thither, *sckaΘò*, quickly; *per te cpeit*, at once; *merente*, speedily; *tue v lesciùem*, with all haste; *ez si te pelchien*, go where you please; *do ferk do kaadal*, fast or slow; *urdenò* dzot, at your will, Sir; *leppe suldan*, command me, Sir; *bùrdene*, willingly; *per te Θùer*, by the contrary; *kà gnià kà gnià*, one by one; *ingrat*, or *imieri*, or *I paa fut*, or *imiezki*, miserable wretch; *I uobek*, or *I vorfeni*, or *I paa gicia*, poor fellow; *I paa printe*, *I paa veladzone*, without parents, without brothers; *zitto*, silence; *mos ban zàa*, don't make a noise; *cintrò* or *durò*, stop; *mos sckruè màa kessosc*, write no more about it.

The interjections are as follows: *I paa sciveh*, peerless; *i lumi un per* touou, happy I through thee; *epòr*, *haide*, *hicchui*, *picc*, way; *veme sod*, alas; *afferim*, *brè*, *brè*, give me joy; *hè hè kecch per mùe*, bad for me; *eeeh i madi* dzot,

oh great Lord; *hhai, hhai, laabdia*, adverb of wonder; *huu, kecchiaan*, of contempt; *hei, sod, e sod*, of fear; *imieri, i miezki*l, miserable, unlucky, I; *trettu*, off, off; *haide drech*, go to the devil.

The Conjunctions.

Do, or; *mos*, or *io*, not; *une*, I also; *pràa*, then; *perse*, because; *per atà*, for that; *prasctu*, for this; *prò*, however; *nde*, if; *nde mos*, if not; *tascti*, now; *ndere*, whilst; *io menguas*, never the less; *giaa mengu*, by no means the less. *E* is a kind of explicative, which has the meaning of "and," as *e asctu* dzotti *em*, and so my Lord.

The grammar, in the next place, makes some observations on the concords.

Several nouns singular require a verb plural, as *ketu iane prifti, e frati*, here are the priests and brothers.

Nouns governed by verbs active, are put in the accusative case, *as pò ju lutem me lutune tenedzone per mùe*, I intreat you to pray to the Lord for me.

Adjectives, pronouns, and participles, agree with their respective nouns substantive in gender, number, and case.

When one substantive follows another, the second of the two is in the genitive case, and if the first is masculine, an *i* is inserted between the two nouns; if feminine, an *e*, as *kaali i Pietrit*, the horse of Peter; and *sctepia e Pietrit*, the house of Peter.

In the plural, all the genders admit the letter *e*, as *kualte e Pietrit*, the horses of Peter; and *sctepijte e Pietrit*, the houses of Peter.

In the instance of staying in a place, going to, and passing through a place, it seems, *te* is put instead of *e* in the singular number, as *ri nde sctepij te Pietrit*, I stand in the house of Peter, &c. and when the first noun is in the plural number, or both nouns are in the plural number, there is no intermediate syllable; but when the first is singular and the second plural, the *te* is used. (The examples, which I do not thoroughly understand, apply to neuter nouns).

When two substantives are preceded by the prepositions *in* or *with*, the intermediate syllable will be *te*, as *nde fij*l *te ietese*. In the end of life; *me ndime te Tinedzot*, with the help of God.

After the preposition *to*, understood or expressed, the intermediate syllable is *e*, as *veladzenet e Pietrit*, to the brothers of Peter; and after the preposition *from*, *se* is used, as *prei sctepiet se Pietrit*, from the house of Peter.

The grammar concludes with observations on the letters of the alphabet, the comparison of adjectives, a table of the numbers, and a notice of the forms of salutation. The first detail concerns the application of the characters, and the place in which, generally speaking, they are found in the words of the language. Under the head of superlatives, partitives, and comparatives, the Padre gives the following examples, which may serve also to shew in some measure, the syntax of the sentences.

Pascia asct màa i degni i gioutettese,	The Pasha is the most worthy of the city.
Pali ghittet s'amese,	Paul is like unto his mother.
I' besdissun i katundit asct Kecchiani,	The fool of the town is Kecchiano.
Leem per ketè pune,	Born for such a work.
Pa m'eppini gni tràa diet palammesc.	Give me a beam of ten hands long.
E due ghian gnai pircike, dò gioums palammi.	I want it half a hand broad.
Ti ieè maa i deliiri, se Gioni.	You are more innocent than John.
Scin Mihhili asct màa i fort, se Luziferri.	St. Michael is stronger than Lucifer.

The Numbers.

Gni, or *gnia*	1
Dou	2
Trè, or *tri*	3
Kattre	4
Pèss	5
Giasct	6
Sctatt	7
Tette	8
Nand	9
Diett	10
Gni mbdiet	11
Dou mbediet	12
Gni dzett	20
Gnt dziett e gni ...	21
Tri diett	30
Kattre diett	40
Gni cint	100
Gni mije	1000
Dou mije	2000

Kaa gni kaa gni	One by one.
Kaa diett	By tens.
Kaa gni cint	By hundreds.
Kaa gni mije	By thousands.

Gni mij viet perpara souet te tinedzot iane, si gni ditte, ki sckòi.	A thousand years before the eyes of God, are as one day which is gone by.

Salutations.

The Albanians have several forms of salutation: from the rising of the sun to three hours afterwards, they say, *mire nestrascia*, or *nestrascia emire*, good morning. From the third hour to mid-day, *mire minghiessi*, a form derived from the time when the shepherds make their cheese, and signifying, as it should seem, *good cheese-making to you*; a polite and intelligent mode in the intercourse of a pastoral people.

From mid-day to evening, *mire ditte*, good day.

From evening to sun-set, *mire mbe chindie*, or *mire mbrama*, good evening.

From sun-set during the night, *natta e mire*, good night.

The answer to a single person is *mire se erde*, well he is come; and to more than one, *mire se vini*, well ye are come.

They have also some salutations which have a reference to the place and situation of the person addressed. To a man in his own house they say, *mire mbe sctepij*, well at home; or *mire se v ghiecc*, well may you find yourself. To a person at work, the address is, *mire mbe pune*, well at your work; or *puna e mbara*, good end to your work. When sitting, or walking in the shade, *mire mbe hie*, well in the shade; or *mire mbe cunvend*, well met. When the saluted are resting in the sun, the phrase is, *mire mbe dieli*, well in the sun.

The salutations to men of authority are, *jù nghiatt ieta suldan*, long life to you, master—*falemi* dzottinii *suoci*, God save your honour. The answer to which is, *mire se vien*, *mire se vini*, or *mire se erde*, he is welcome, ye are welcome, well come back.

This abridgment of the Albanian grammar is given rather as a literary curiosity, than as a means by which the language might be attained; nevertheless the reader may have received sufficient instruction by it, to be enabled to understand the following address, which is prefixed to the work of *Da Lecce*, and which, if he considers it worth while, he may exercise his ingenuity in attempting to construe, as far as the words have occurred in the grammar, without the help of a translation.

Arbenorit.

Arbenuer i dasciuni ket' gramatiken e sckrova io per dzottinii tande, ki di màa fort, e màa nkΘieet, se une: per atà Fràtini, ki viine per se largu me i ù scerbouem. E persè ket nde dee te Romese skane hàbèr te ghiuse sate: pune

emire asct, ki maa pare ta marrene vesc kaha. Nde te pelchieft hessapi i kessai lettre (te lutem) me fale Tinedzott, se dà mùe scendetne me mbaruem kach pune, nde mos paccia mire rièscpitune fialate ndiiema: persè luftova, sàa mùita, me i vum pàa hile, sicundrese m' i fali dzottouni, me te dzilne pacc jeten' e giatt, e te pouΘdórene.

The only portion which I will extract of the Attic Albanian, are three stanzas of a song containing the exclamations of a despairing maid.

De vdeksa tema kquash be gropa targalissa
Tete coombeesema bundi tema pustrosh me sissa.

If I die a virgin, bury me under your couch.
When you go to your repose, I shall rest beneath your bosom.

Vdekea athe me savanosna.
A pastai me metasnosa.

I am dead, and they have wrapped me in my winding sheet.
Now it is they sorrow for my death.

Vdekea athe de klish me kialn.
A pastai rovne te kliagn.

I am dead, and they have borne me to the church-yard;
There they have begun their lamentation.

In these verses there is a turn of thought and expression very similar, as it strikes me, to that taste which is considered the characteristic of Oriental poetry. If any one would wish to see a happy imitation of the same style, he will find it in a lively, and, it should seem, a faithful picture of the manners of a people, between whom and the Albanians there are many affinities. I allude to a romance by *Madame la Comtesse des Ursins et Rosenberg*, called Les Morlaques, printed in the year 1788, and dedicated to the Empress Catharine. The Morlachs are noticed in the opening of Sir G. Wheler's Journey from Venice to Constantinople.

The Albanians of Attica are no less devotedly attached to music and dancing, than their fellow countrymen of Epirus. On or about the 20th of April, the peasants flock from all the neighbouring villages to Athens, and dance round the Temple of Theseus, for the greater part of a day, which concludes with every demonstration of merriment. The vicinity of this city is on stated days crowded not only by Albanian, but other dancers; for in March, the Turkish women assemble in the groves of Angele-Kipos, and lead along a wild chorus, resembling the orgies of the Menades, during which any male intruder would assuredly be torn to pieces. The Greek women are admitted spectators of the scene, and they also have their separate sports near the fountain Callirrhoe. It would require the pen of Juvenal to describe the fatal effects of these secluded mysteries, for the rites of the Bona Dea were not less innocent.

I fear that the favourable opinion expressed in the course of the volume, of the females of the Levant, must be taken with some reserve, or at least that it does not entirely apply to the women of Athens. No less than four divorces took place in that city in the year 1810, on account of irregularities which, although they may perhaps be charged upon their system of manners, the men are not willing should pass without punishment. The wife of the Disdar of the Acropolis, was severely chastised by her husband, for cutting off all her hair, which was red, and highly esteemed, as too sincere a token of the same preposterous passion.

The following translation of a Romaïc love-song, which is given in Dr. Pouqueville's volume on the Morea, has just been transmitted to me by my friend Lord Byron; and I have only to regret, that it did not arrive in time to be inserted in its proper place in the Appendix.

1.

Ah! Love was never yet without
The pang, the agony, the doubt,
Which rend my heart with ceaseless sigh,
While day and night roll darkling by.

2.

Without one friend to hear my woe,
I faint, I die beneath the blow.
That Love had arrows, well I knew;
Alas! I find them poison'd too.

3.

Birds, yet in freedom, shun the net,
Which Love around your haunts hath set;
Or circled by his fatal fire,
Your hearts shall burn, your hopes expire.

4.

A bird of free and careless wing
Was I, through many a smiling spring;
But caught within the subtle snare,
I burn, and feebly flutter there.

5.

Who ne'er have loved, and loved in vain,
Can neither feel, nor pity pain—
The cold repulse—the look askance—
The lightning of Love's angry glance.

6.

In flattering dreams I deemed thee mine;
Now hope, and he who hoped, decline;
Like melting wax, or withering flower,
I feel my passion, and thy power.

7.

My light of life! ah, tell me why
That pouting lip, and altered eye?
My bird of love! my beauteous mate!
And art thou changed, and can'st thou hate?

8.

Mine eyes like wint'ry streams o'erflow:
What wretch with me would barter woe?
My bird! relent: one note could give
A charm, to bid thy lover live.

9.

My curdling blood, my madd'ning brain,
In silent anguish I sustain;
And still thy heart, without partaking
One pang, exults—while mine is breaking.

10.

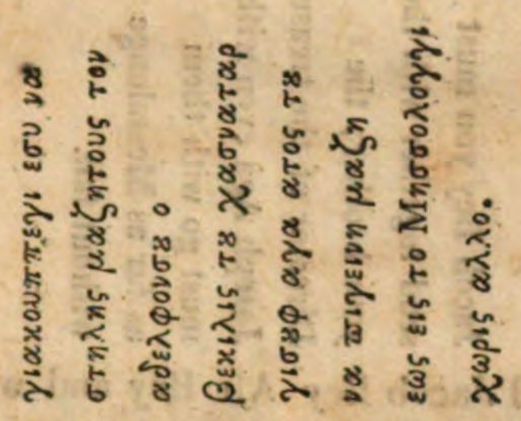
Pour me the poison; fear not thou!
Thou can'st not murder more than now:
I've lived to curse my natal day,
And Love, that thus can lingering slay.

11.

My wounded soul, my bleeding breast,
Can patience preach thee into rest?
Alas! too late, I dearly know,
That joy is harbinger of woe.

London. Published by James Cawthorn, 24, Cockspur Street.

As it must appear almost impossible to read the bad writing of the fac-simile, which, however, is not at all more difficult than the common running hand of the modern Greeks, the letter is given in the usual character, each line corresponding with the original, and preserving all its imperfections.



γιακουπεγι εσυ να
στηλης μαζητους τ
αδελφουσ ο
βεκιλις τ χασναταρ
γισεφ αγα ατος τ
να παιγειη μαζη
εως εις το Μησσολ
χωρις αλλο.

Αγαπημενε μ Γιακουπεγι Αλιπεγι και οποιος απο
τους μπελεμπασαδες μ ευρισκεται εις το Βραχωρ, μετα
τον χαιρετισμον μ σας φανερωνω. οτι τουτοι οι δυω
μιλορδοι Ιγκληζοι φιλοιμας· ερχονται αυτ δια
να περασιν εις Μησσολογγι να τους δεχθητε μ'
καθε ικραμι και περισκιπσιν, και να τους δωσητε
ανθρωπους αρκετας δια φυλαξεν εις τον δρομον
εως εις το Μησσολογγι και να μην αφησατε να δοκιμα-
σιν καμμιαν δισκολιαν εξ απαντος.

1809

οκτομβ

10

Τηπηλτης.

σιον αγαπηλον μ Ηλασμπεγι Γιακου-
πεγι και βεκιλις τ χασναταρι
Γισεφ αγα.

ειγγος

εις Βραχωρ.

Translated into English, as near as I can understand it, the letter is as follows; the crossed lines at the top being apparently a post-script.

Jacob Bey you must
send together with them
your brother; the
Director of the treasury
Joseph Aga even without him,
must go with them
as far as Messalonge
without fail.

My beloved Jacob Bey Ali Bey and whichever of my Bolu-bashees is to be found at Vrachore, after my salutation, I make known to you that these two English Gentlemen* my friends, come hither in order to go to Messalonge. Do you receive them with every respect and attention, and give them men sufficient to guard them on their way as far as Messalonge, and do not let them meet with any difficulty at all.

1809
October
10

Tepeltes (the Secretary's name).

(The direction at the back of the letter).

To my beloved Elias Bey Jacob
Bey and the director of the treasury
Joseph Aga Health
Vrachore.

* The usual appellation of every English traveller in the Levant, of whatever rank, is Μιλορδος, the word used in the original of this letter.

The opposite Fac-simile is given as a specimen of writing from the pen of a more careful scribe.

THE END.

London: Printed by B. M'Millan,
Bow Street, Covent Garden.

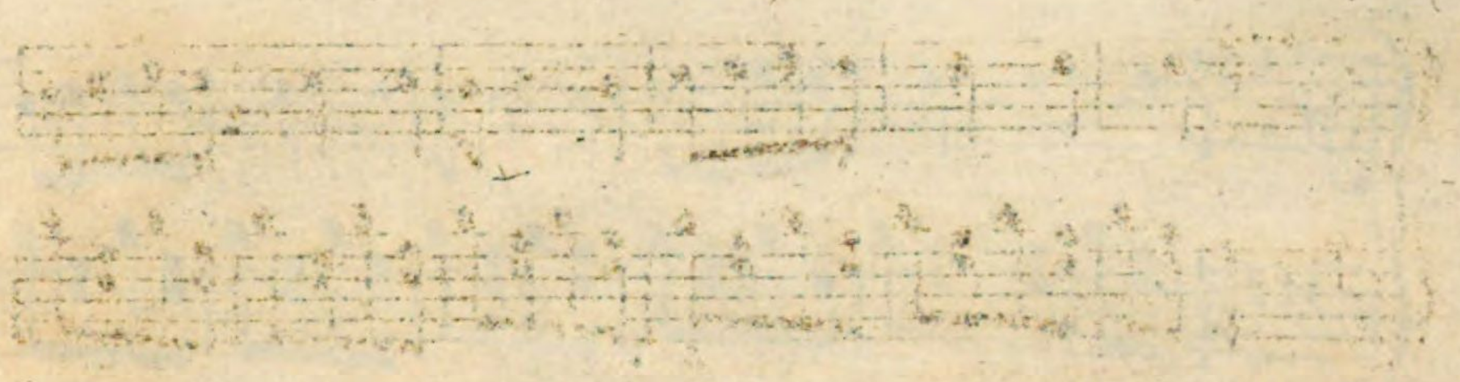
Ἐξοχώτατε, καὶ ἐντιμότατε λόρδ Μπαϊρόν, τὴν ἐξοχότητά της
φιλικῶς χαιρετῶ· ἐρωτῶ τὸ χατίρ ὁρίζει της

Μετὰ τὸν ἀκριβῆ, καὶ φιλικὸν χαιρετισμὸν, καὶ τὴν ἐρώτησιν τῆς ὑγείας μοι
ἀγαθῆς ὑγείας της δηλοποιῶ πρὸς τὴν ἐξοχότητά της, ὅτι προλαβόντως ἔλαβον τὸ
πρὸς ἐμὲ φιλικὸν γράμμα της, καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀξίωσίν της διὰ ταῦτα παρακινημένος
ἀπὸ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὴν μου χρέος νὰ δώσω ἄμεσα ἄλογα διὰ τὸν ἀπεσταλμένον ἄνθρωπόν της
διὰ Πάτρας· καὶ νὰ φροντίσω διὰ νὰ τὸν φέρω τὸν σιμνέρ Μοντριγκλὶ διὰ τὴν ἔξοδόν του
ἀπὸ τὸ ὀσπιτάλι καὶ διὰ τὸ ἐξῆς δὲν ἔχοντες ἄδειαν νὰ ἀπολυθῇ ἐπαρασταθῶ
διὰ τὸ ἐξόχως ὑποσχεθέν της τὸ χασατὴρ ζητῶ σημάδι μιᾶς ἀληθινῆς φιλίας
παρακαλῶ νὰ μὲ τιμᾷ μὲ συχνὰ γράμματά της, καὶ νὰ μὲ προστάζῃ εἰς τὰ δυνατά
ὡς φίλον μου προθυμότατον διὰ τὰς ἀπολαύσεις της κατὰ τὸ φιλικὸν χρέος μου, ὁ
ὑποσημειωτής εἰς φιλικήν

1822 Μαρτίου 17. εἰς Κόρινθον.
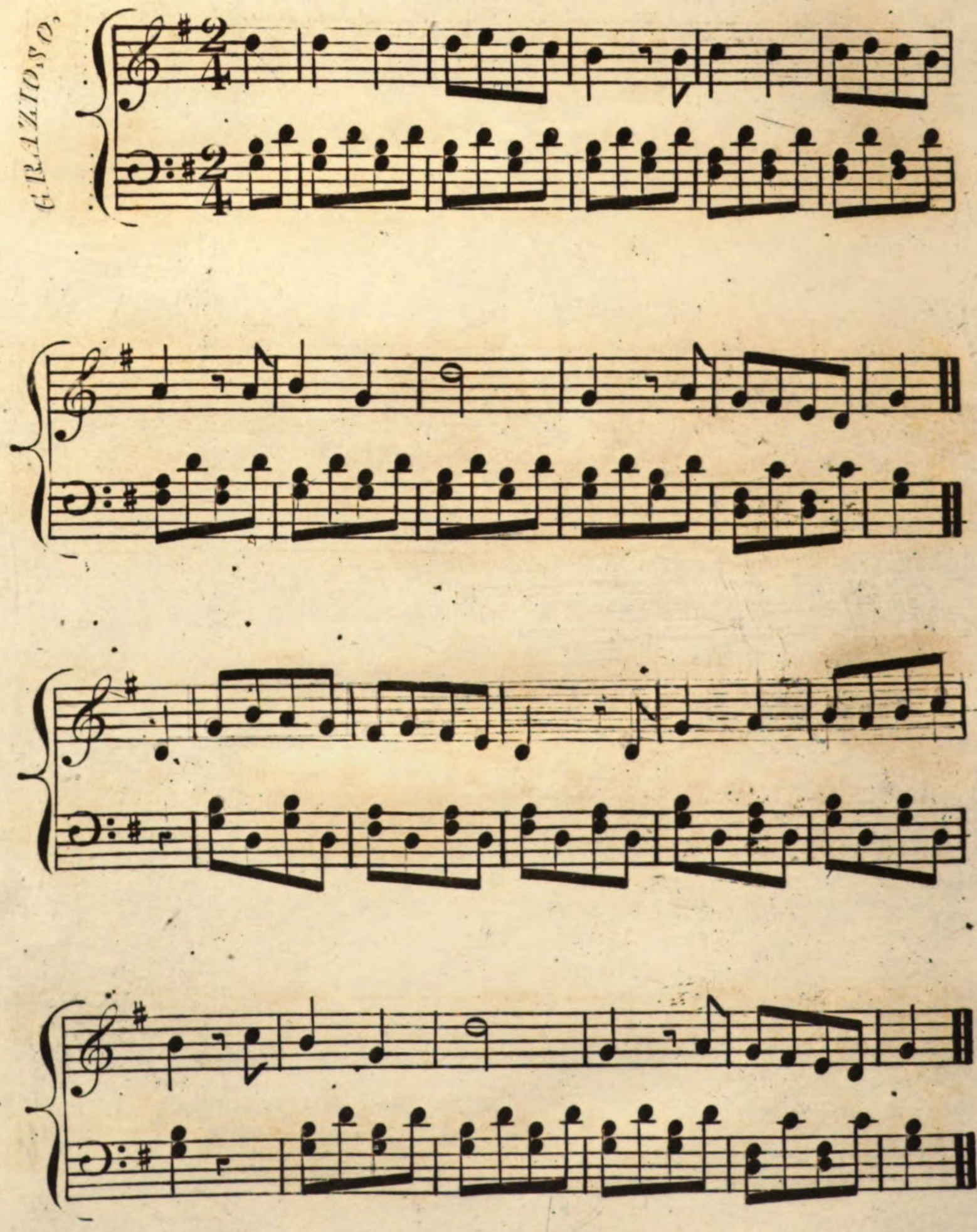


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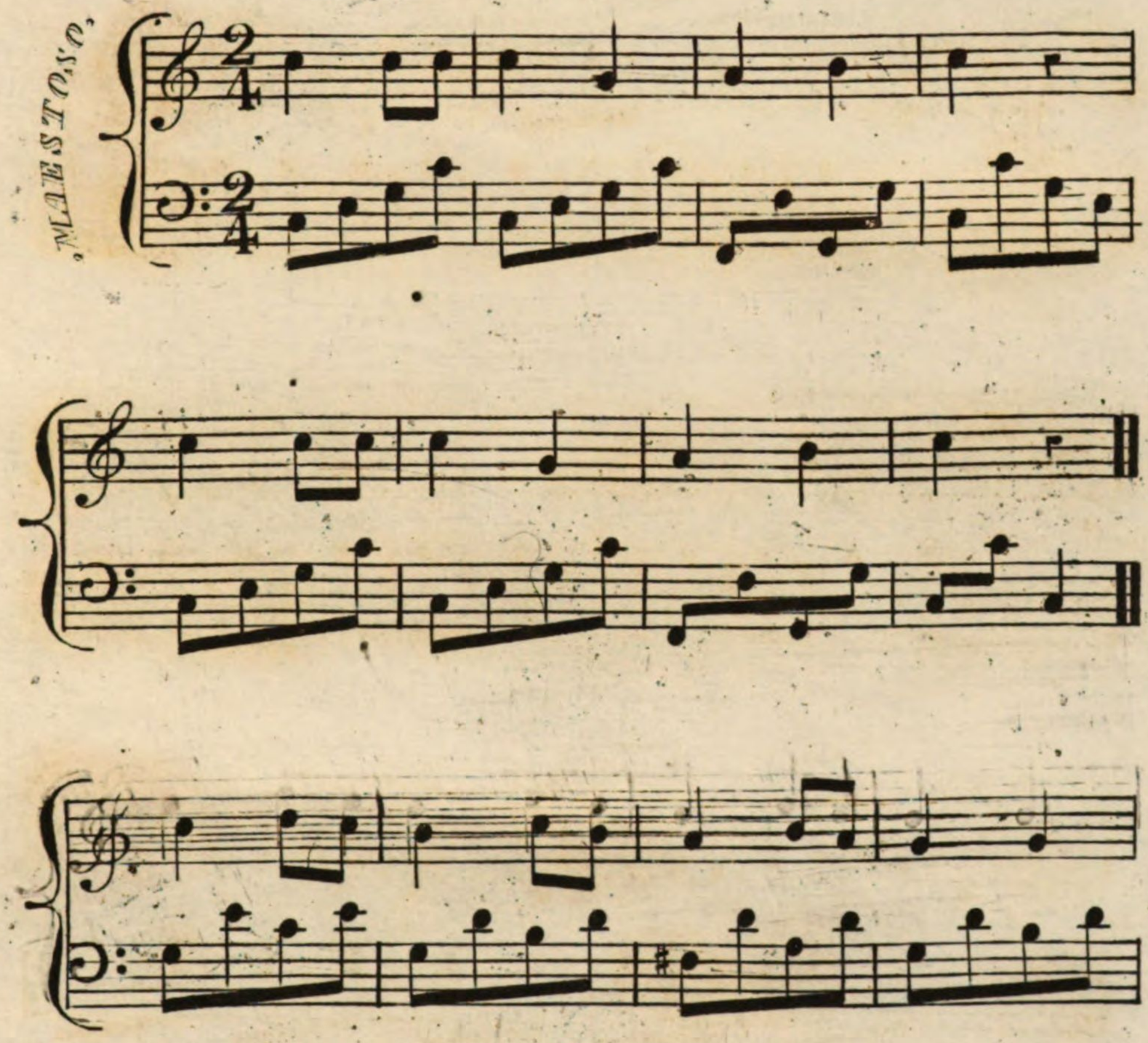


GREEK MUSIC.

GRAZIOSO.



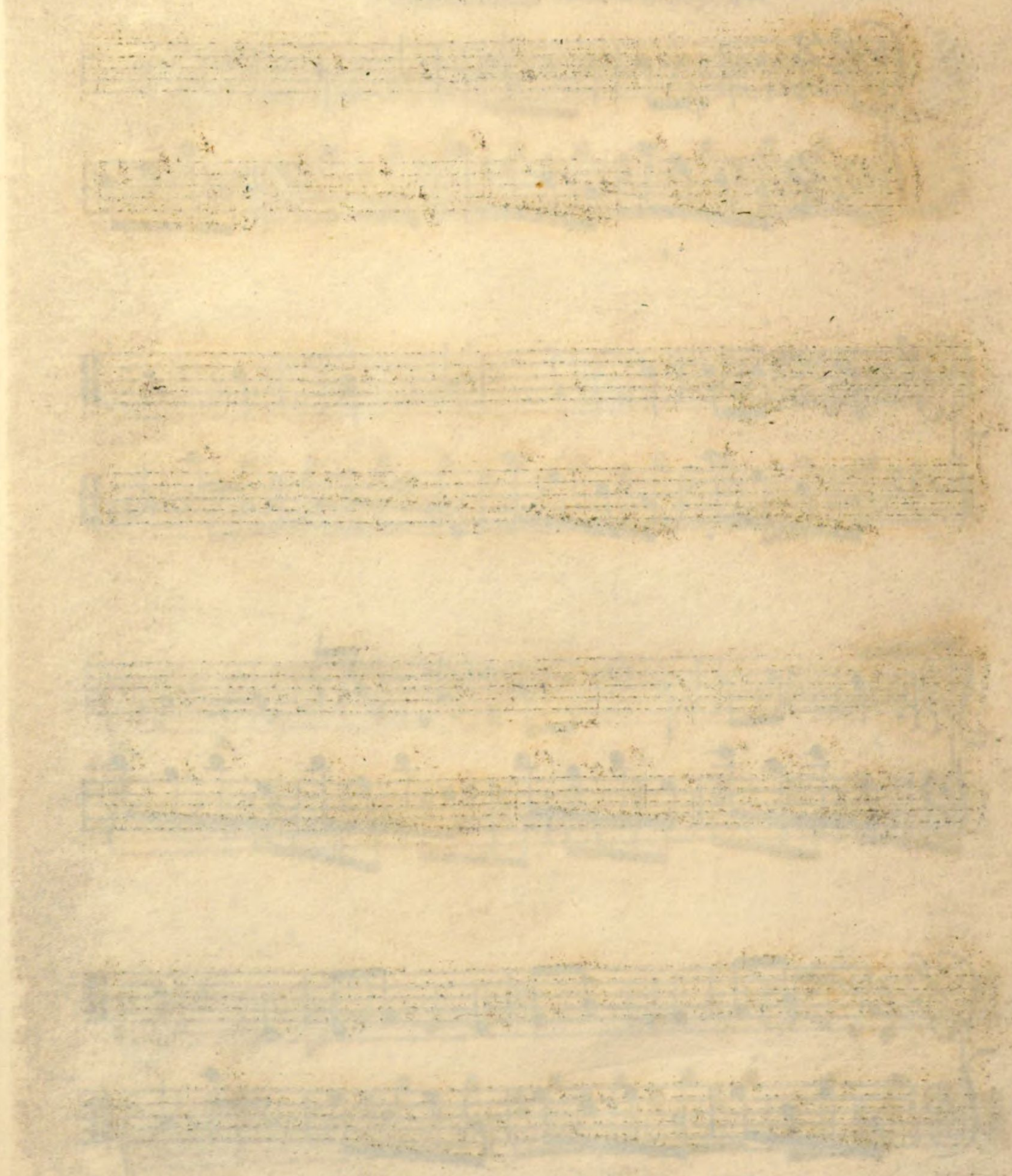
London, Published by

GREEK MUSIC.



Cawthorn, 24 Cockspur Street. 1843.

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A journey through Albania, and other provinces of Turkey in Europe and Asia, to Constantinople, during the years 1809 and 1810

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